THE NEW GROVE
Dictionary of Music and Musicians

SECOND EDITION

Edited by
Stanley Sadie

Executive editor
John Tyrrell

新格罗夫
音乐与音乐家辞典

第二版



主　　编：斯坦利·萨迪
执行主编：约翰·泰瑞尔

Nisard TO ***Palestrina***

GROVE

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General Abbreviations

Abbreviation	Meaning
A	alto, contralto [voice]
a	alto [instrument]
AA	Associate of the Arts
AB	Alberta; Bachelor of Arts
ABC	American Broadcasting Company; Australian Broadcasting Commission
Abt.	Abteilung [section]
ACA	American Composers Alliance
acc.	accompaniment, accompanied by
accdn	accordion
addl	additional
addn(s)	addition(s)
ad lib	ad libitum
aft(s)	afterpiece(s)
Ag	Agnus Dei
AGMA	American Guild of Musical Artists
AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
AK	Alaska
AL	Alabama
all(s)	alleluia(s)
AM	Master of Arts
a.m.	ante meridiem [before noon]
AMC	American Music Center
Amer.	American
amp	amplified
AMS	American Musicological Society
Anh.	Anhang [appendix]
anon.	anonymous(ly)
ant(s)	antiphon(s)
appx(s)	appendix(es)
AR	Arkansas
arr(s).	arrangement(s), arranged by/for
a-s	all-sung
ASCAP	American Society of Composers, Authors and Publishers
ASOL	American Symphony Orchestra League
attrib(s).	attribution(s), attributed to; ascription(s), ascribed to
Aug	August
aut.	autumn
AZ	Arizona
aztl	*azione teatrale*
B	bass [voice], bassus
B	Brainard catalogue [Tartini], Benton catalogue [Pleyel]
b	bass [instrument]
b	born
BA	Bachelor of Arts
bal(s)	ballad opera(s)
bap.	baptized
Bar	baritone [voice]
bar	baritone [instrument]
B-Bar	bass-baritone
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
BC	British Columbia
BCE	before Common Era [BC]
bc	basso continuo
Bd.	Band [volume]
BEd	Bachelor of Education
Beds.	Bedfordshire
Berks.	Berkshire
Berwicks.	Berwickshire
BFA	Bachelor of Fine Arts
BFE	British Forum for Ethnomusicology
bk(s)	book(s)
BLitt	Bachelor of Letters/Literature
blq(s)	burlesque(s)
blt(s)	burletta(s)
BM	Bachelor of Music
BME, BMEd	Bachelor of Music Education
BMI	Broadcast Music Inc.
BMus	Bachelor of Music
bn	bassoon
BRD	Federal Republic of Germany (Bundesrepublik Deutschland [West Germany])
Bros.	Brothers
BRTN	Belgische Radio en Televisie Nederlands
BS, BSc	Bachelor of Science
Bs	Benedictus
BSM	Bachelor of Sacred Music
Bte	Benedicite
Bucks.	Buckinghamshire
Bulg.	Bulgarian
bur.	buried
BVM	Blessed Virgin Mary
BWV	Bach-Werke-Verzeichnis [Schmieder, catalogue of J.S. Bach's works]
C	contralto
c	circa [about]
¢	cent
CA	California
Cambs.	Cambridgeshire
Can.	Canadian
CanD	Cantate Domino
cant(s).	cantata(s)
cap.	capacity
carn.	Carnival
cb	contrabass [instrument]
CBC	Canadian Broadcasting Corporation
CBE	Commander of the Order of the British Empire
CBS	Columbia Broadcasting System
CBSO	City of Birmingham Symphony Orchestra
CD(s)	compact disc(s)
CE	Common Era [AD]
CeBeDeM	Centre Belge de Documentation Musicale
cel	celesta
CEMA	Council for the Encouragement of Music and the Arts
cf	confer [compare]
c.f.	cantus firmus
CFE	Composers Facsimile Edition
CG	Covent Garden, London
CH	Companion of Honour
chap(s).	chapter(s)
chbr	chamber
Chin.	Chinese
chit	chitarrone
choreog(s).	choreography, choreographer(s), choreographed by
Cie	Compagnie
cimb	cimbalom
cl	clarinet
clvd	clavichord
cm	centimetre(s); *comédie en musique*
cmda	*comédie mêlée d'ariettes*

CNRS	Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique
CO	Colorado
Co.	Company; County
Cod.	Codex
col(s).	column(s)
coll.	collected by
collab.	in collaboration with
com	*componimento*
comm(s)	communion(s)
comp(s).	composer(s), composed (by)
conc(s).	concerto(s)
cond(s).	conductor(s), conducted by
cont	continuo
contrib(s).	contribution(s)
Corp.	Corporation
c.p.s.	cycles per second
cptr(s)	computer(s)
Cr	Credo, Creed
CRI	Composers Recordings, Inc.
CSc	Candidate of Historical Sciences
CT	Connecticut
Ct	Contratenor, countertenor
CUNY	City University of New York
CVO	Commander of the Royal Victorian Order
Cz.	Czech
D	Deutsch catalogue [Schubert]; Dounias catalogue [Tartini]
d.	denarius, denarii [penny, pence]
d	died
DA	Doctor of Arts
Dan.	Danish
db	double bass
DBE	Dame Commander of the Order of the British Empire
dbn	double bassoon
DC	District of Columbia
Dc	Discantus
DD	Doctor of Divinity
DDR	German Democratic Republic (Deutsche Demokratische Republik [East Germany])
DE	Delaware
Dec	December
ded(s).	dedication(s), dedicated to
DeM	Deus misereatur
Dept(s)	Department(s)
Derbys.	Derbyshire
DFA	Doctor of Fine Arts
dg	*dramma giocoso*
dir(s).	director(s), directed by
diss.	dissertation
dl	*drame lyrique*
DLitt	Doctor of Letters/Literature
DM	Doctor of Music
dm	*dramma per musica*
DMA	Doctor of Musical Arts
DME, DMEd	Doctor of Musical Education
DMus	Doctor of Music
DMusEd	Doctor of Music Education
DPhil	Doctor of Philosophy
Dr	Doctor
DSc	Doctor of Science/Historical Sciences
DSM	Doctor of Sacred Music
Dut.	Dutch
E.	East, Eastern
EBU	European Broadcasting Union
ed(s).	editor(s), edited (by)
EdD	Doctor of Education
edn(s)	edition(s)
EdS	Education Specialist
EEC	European Economic Community
e.g.	exempli gratia [for example]
el-ac	electro-acoustic
elec	electric, electronic
EMI	Electrical and Musical Industries
Eng.	English
eng hn	english horn
ENO	English National Opera
ens	ensemble
ENSA	Entertainments National Service Association
EP	extended-play (record)
esp.	especially
etc.	et cetera
EU	European Union
ex., exx.	example, examples
f, ff	following page, following pages
f., ff.	folio, folios
f	forte
fa(s)	farsa(s)
facs.	facsimile(s)
fasc(s).	fascicle(s)
Feb	February
ff	fortissimo
fff	fortississimo
fig(s).	figure(s) [illustration(s)]
FL	Florida
fl	flute
fl	floruit [he/she flourished]
Flem.	Flemish
fp	fortepiano [dynamic marking]
Fr.	French
frag(s).	fragment(s)
FRAM	Fellow of the Royal Academy of Music, London
FRCM	Fellow of the Royal College of Music, London
FRCO	Fellow of the Royal College of Organists, London
FRS	Fellow of the Royal Society, London
fs	full score
GA	Georgia
Gael.	Gaelic
GEDOK	Gemeinschaft Deutscher Organisationen von Künstlerinnen und Kunstfreundinnen
GEMA	Gesellschaft für Musikalische Aufführungs- und Mechanische Vervielfaltingungsrechte
Ger.	German
Gk.	Greek
Gl	Gloria
Glam.	Glamorgan
glock	glockenspiel
Glos.	Gloucestershire
GmbH	Gesellschaft mit Beschränkter Haftung [limited-liability company]
grad(s)	gradual(s)
GSM	Guildhall School of Music, London (to 1934)
GSMD	Guildhall School of Music and Drama, London (1935–)
gui	guitar
H	Hoboken catalogue [Haydn]; Helm catalogue [C.P.E. Bach]
Hants.	Hampshire
Heb.	Hebrew
Herts.	Hertfordshire
HI	Hawaii
hmn	harmonium
HMS	His/Her Majesty's Ship
HMV	His Master's Voice
hn	horn
Hon.	Honorary; Honourable
hp	harp
hpd	harpsichord
HRH	His/Her Royal Highness
Hung.	Hungarian
Hunts.	Huntingdonshire
Hz	Hertz [c.p.s.]
IA	Iowa
IAML	International Association of Music Libraries
IAWM	International Alliance for Women in Music
ibid.	ibidem [in the same place]
ICTM	International Council for Traditional Music
ID	Idaho
i.e.	id est [that is]
IFMC	International Folk Music Council
IL	Illinois
ILWC	International League of Women Composers

IMC	International Music Council
IMS	International Musicological Society
IN	Indiana
Inc.	Incorporated
inc.	incomplete
incid	incidental
incl.	includes, including
inst(s)	instrument(s), instrumental
int(s)	intermezzo(s), introit(s)
IPEM	Instituut voor Psychoakoestiek en Elektronische Muziek, Ghent
IRCAM	Institut de Recherche et Coordination Acoustique/Musique
ISAM	Institute for Studies in American Music
ISCM	International Society for Contemporary Music
ISDN	Integrated Services Digital Network
ISM	Incorporated Society of Musicians
ISME	International Society for Music Education
It.	Italian
Jan	January
Jap.	Japanese
Jb	Jahrbuch [yearbook]
JD	Doctor of Jurisprudence
Jg.	Jahrgang [year of publication/volume]
jr	junior
Jub	Jubilate
K	Kirkpatrick catalogue [D. Scarlatti]; Köchel catalogue [Mozart: no. after '/' is from 6th edn; also Fux]
kbd	keyboard
KBE	Knight Commander of the Order of the British Empire
KCVO	Knight Commander of the Royal Victorian Order
kg	kilogram(s)
Kgl	Königlich(e, er, es) [Royal]
kHz	kilohertz [1000 c.p.s.]
km	kilometre(s)
KS	Kansas
KY	Kentucky
Ky	Kyrie
£	libra(e) [pound(s) sterling]
L.	no. of song in R.W. Linker: *A Bibliography of Old French Lyrics* (University, MS, 1979)
L	Longo catalogue [A. Scarlatti]
LA	Louisiana
Lanarks.	Lanarkshire
Lancs.	Lancashire
Lat.	Latin
Leics.	Leicestershire
LH	left hand
lib(s)	libretto(s)
Lincs.	Lincolnshire
lit(s)	litany (litanies)
Lith.	Lithuanian
LittD	Doctor of Letters/Literature
LLB	Bachelor of Laws
LLD	Doctor of Laws
loc. cit.	loco citato [in the place cited]
LP	long-playing record
LPO	London Philharmonic Orchestra
LSO	London Symphony Orchestra
Ltd	Limited
Ltée	Limitée
M, MM.	Monsieur, Messieurs
m	metre(s)
MA	Massachusetts; Master of Arts
Mag	Magnificat
MALS	Master of Arts in Library Sciences
mand	mandolin
mar	marimba
MAT	Master of Arts and Teaching
MB	Bachelor of Music; Manitoba
MBE	Member of the Order of the British Empire
MD	Maryland
ME	Maine
MEd	Master of Education
mel	*melodramma, mélodrame*
mels	*melodramma serio*
melss	*melodramma semiserio*
Met	Metropolitan Opera House, New York
Mez	mezzo-soprano
mf	mezzo-forte
MFA	Master of Fine Arts
MGM	Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer
MHz	megahertz [megacycles]
MI	Michigan
mic	microphone
Middx	Middlesex
MIDI	Musical Instrument Digital Interface
MIT	Massachusetts Institute of Technology
MLitt	Master of Letters/Literature
Mlle, Mlles	Mademoiselle, Mesdemoiselles
MM	Master of Music
M.M.	Metronome Maelzel
mm	millimetre(s)
MMA	Master of Musical Arts
MME, MMEd	Master of Music Education
Mme, Mmes	Madame, Mesdames
MMT	Master of Music in Teaching
MMus	Master of Music
MN	Minnesota
MO	Missouri
mod	modulator
Mon.	Monmouthshire
movt(s)	movement(s)
MP(s)	Member(s) of Parliament
mp	mezzo-piano
MPhil	Master of Philosophy
Mr	Mister
Mrs	Mistress; Messieurs
MS	Master of Science(s); Mississippi
MS(S)	manuscript(s)
MSc	Master of Science(s)
MSLS	Master of Science in Library and Information Science
MSM	Master of Sacred Music
MT	Montana
Mt	Mount
mt(s)	music-theatre piece(s)
MTNA	Music Teachers National Association
MusB, MusBac	Bachelor of Music
muscm(s)	musical comedy (comedies)
MusD, MusDoc	Doctor of Music
musl(s)	musical(s)
MusM	Master of Music
N.	North, Northern
n(n).	footnote(s)
nar(s)	narrator(s)
NB	New Brunswick
NBC	National Broadcasting Company
NC	North Carolina
ND	North Dakota
n.d.	no date of publication
NDR	Norddeutscher Rundfunk
NE	Nebraska
NEA	National Endowment for the Arts
NEH	National Endowment for the Humanities
NET	National Educational Television
NF	Newfoundland and Labrador
NH	New Hampshire
NHK	Nippon Hōsō Kyōkai [Japanese broadcasting system]
NJ	New Jersey
NM	New Mexico
no(s).	number(s)
Nor.	Norwegian
Northants.	Northamptonshire
Notts.	Nottinghamshire
Nov	November
n.p.	no place of publication
nr	near
NRK	Norsk Rikskringkasting [Norwegian broadcasting system]

NS	Nova Scotia
NSW	New South Wales
NT	North West Territories
Nunc	Nunc dimittis
NV	Nevada
NY	New York [State]
NZ	New Zealand
ob	*opera buffa*; oboe
obbl	obbligato
OBE	Officer of the Order of the British Empire
obl	*opéra-ballet*
OC	Opéra-Comique, Paris [the company]
oc	*opéra comique* [genre]
Oct	October
off(s)	offertory (offertories)
OH	Ohio
OK	Oklahoma
OM	Order of Merit
ON	Ontario
op(s)	opera(s)
op., opp.	opus, opera [plural of opus]
op. cit.	opere citato [in the work cited]
opt.	optional
OR	Oregon
orat(s)	oratorio(s)
orch	orchestra(tion), orchestral
orchd	orchestrated (by)
org	organ
orig.	original(ly)
ORTF	Office de Radiodiffusion-Télévision Française
os	*opera seria*
oss	*opera semiseria*
OUP	Oxford University Press
ov(s).	overture(s)
Oxon.	Oxfordshire
P	Pincherle catalogue [Vivaldi]
p.	*pars*
p., pp.	page, pages
p	piano [dynamic marking]
PA	Pennsylvania
p.a.	per annum [annually]
pan(s)	pantomime(s)
PBS	Public Broadcasting System
PC	no. of chanson in A. Pillet and H. Carstens: *Bibliographie der Troubadours* (Halle, 1933)
PE	Prince Edward Island
perc	percussion
perf(s).	performance(s), performed (by)
pf	piano [instrument]
pfmr(s)	performer(s)
PhB	Bachelor of Philosophy
PhD	Doctor of Philosophy
PhDEd	Doctor of Philosophy in Education
pic	piccolo
pl(s).	plate(s); plural
p.m.	post meridiem [after noon]
PO	Philharmonic Orchestra
Pol.	Polish
pop.	population
Port.	Portuguese
posth.	posthumous(ly)
POW(s)	prisoner(s) of war
pp	pianissimo
ppp	pianississimo
PQ	Province of Quebec
PR	Puerto Rico
pr.	printed
prep pf	prepared piano
PRO	Public Record Office, London
prol(s)	prologue(s)
PRS	Performing Right Society
Ps(s)	Psalm(s)
ps(s)	psalm(s)
pseud(s).	pseudonym(s)
pt(s)	part(s)
ptbk(s)	partbook(s)
pubd	published
pubn(s)	publication(s)
PWM	Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne
QC	Queen's Counsel
qnt(s)	quintet(s)
qt(s)	quartet(s)
R	[in signature] editorial revision
R	photographic reprint [edn of score or early printed source]
R.	no. of chanson in G. Raynaud, *Bibliographie des chansonniers français des XIIIe et XIVe siècles* (Paris, 1884)
R	Ryom catalogue [Vivaldi]
r	recto
R	response
RAF	Royal Air Force
RAI	Radio Audizioni Italiane
RAM	Royal Academy of Music, London
RCA	Radio Corporation of America
RCM	Royal College of Music, London
re(s)	response(s) [type of piece]
rec	recorder
rec.	recorded [in discographic context]
recit(s)	recitative(s)
red(s).	reduction(s), reduced for
reorchd	reorchestrated (by)
repr.	reprinted
resp(s)	respond(s)
Rev.	Reverend
rev(s).	revision(s); revised (by/for)
RH	right hand
RI	Rhode Island
RIAS	Radio im Amerikanischen Sektor
RIdIM	Répertoire International d'Iconographie Musicale
RILM	Répertoire International de Littérature Musicale
RIPM	Répertoire International de la Presse Musicale
RISM	Répertoire International des Sources Musicales
RKO	Radio-Keith-Orpheum
RMCM	Royal Manchester College of Music
rms	root mean square
RNCM	Royal Northern College of Music, Manchester
RO	Radio Orchestra
Rom.	Romanian
r.p.m.	revolutions per minute
RPO	Royal Philharmonic Orchestra
RSFSR	Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic
RSO	Radio Symphony Orchestra
RTÉ	Radio Telefís Éireann
RTF	Radiodiffusion-Télévision Française
Rt Hon.	Right Honourable
RTVB	Radio-Télévision Belge de la Communauté Française
Russ.	Russian
RV	Ryom catalogue [Vivaldi]
S	San, Santa, Santo, São [Saint]; soprano [voice]
S	sound recording
S.	South, Southern
$	dollars
s	soprano [instrument]
s.	solidus, solidi [shilling, shillings]
SACEM	Société d'Auteurs, Compositeurs et Editeurs de Musique
San	Sanctus
sax	saxophone
SC	South Carolina
SD	South Dakota
sd	*scherzo drammatico*
SDR	Süddeutscher Rundfunk
Sept	September
seq(s)	sequence(s)
ser(s)	serenata(s)
ser.	series
Serb.	Serbian
sf, *sfz*	sforzando, sforzato
sing.	singular
SJ	Societas Jesu [Society of Jesus]
SK	Saskatchewan
SO	Symphony Orchestra

SOCAN	Society of Composers, Authors and Music Publishers of Canada
Sp.	Spanish
spkr(s)	speaker(s)
Spl	Singspiel
SPNM	Society for the Promotion of New Music
spr.	spring
sq	square
sr	senior
SS	Saints (It., Sp.); Santissima, Santissimo [Most Holy]
SS	steamship
SSR	Soviet Socialist Republic
St(s)	Saint(s)/Holy, Sankt, Sint, Szent
Staffs.	Staffordshire
STB	Bachelor of Sacred Theology
Ste	Sainte
str	string(s)
sum.	summer
SUNY	State University of New York
Sup	superius
suppl(s).	supplement(s), supplementary
Swed.	Swedish
SWF	Südwestfunk
sym(s).	symphony (symphonies), symphonic
synth	synthesizer, synthesized
T	tenor [voice]
t	tenor [instrument]
tc	*tragicommedia*
td(s)	*tonadilla*(s)
TeD	Te Deum
ThM	Master of Theology
timp	timpani
tm	*tragédie en musique*
TN	Tennessee
tpt	trumpet
Tr	treble [voice]
tr(s)	tract(s); treble [instrument]
trad.	traditional
trans.	translation, translated by
transcr(s).	transcription(s), transcribed by/for
trbn	trombone
TV	television
TWV	Menke catalogue [Telemann]
TX	Texas
U.	University
UCLA	University of California at Los Angeles
UHF	ultra-high frequency
UK	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland
Ukr.	Ukrainian
unacc.	unaccompanied
unattrib.	unattributed
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
unorchd	unorchestrated

unperf.	unperformed
unpubd	unpublished
UP	University Press
US	United States [adjective]
USA	United States of America
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
UT	Utah
v, vv	voice, voices
v., vv.	verse, verses
v	verso
v.	versus
V	versicle
VA	Virginia
va	viola
vc	cello
vcle(s)	versicle(s)
VEB	Volkseigener Betrieb [people's own industry]
Ven	Venite
VHF	very high frequency
VI	Virgin Islands
vib	vibraphone
viz	videlicet [namely]
vle	violone
vn	violin
vol(s).	volume(s)
vs	vocal score, piano-vocal score
VT	Vermont
W.	West, Western
WA	Washington [State]
Warwicks.	Warwickshire
WDR	Westdeutscher Rundfunk
WI	Wisconsin
Wilts.	Wiltshire
wint.	winter
WNO	Welsh National Opera
WoO	Werke ohne Opuszahl
Worcs.	Worcestershire
WPA	Works Progress Administration
WQ	Wotquenne catalogue [C.P.E. Bach]
WV	West Virginia
ww	woodwind
WY	Wyoming
xyl	xylophone
YMCA	Young Men's Christian Association
Yorks.	Yorkshire
YT	Yukon Territory
YWCA	Young Women's Christian Association
YYS	(Zhongguo yishu yanjiuyuan) Yinyue yanjiusuo and variants (Music Research Institute (of the Chinese Academy of Arts))
Z	Zimmermann catalogue [Purcell]
zar(s)	zarzuela(s)
zargc	*zarzuela género chico*

Bibliographical Abbreviations

All bibliographical abbreviations used in this dictionary are listed below, following the typography used in the text of the dictionary. Broadly, *italic* type is used for periodicals and for reference works; roman type is used for anthologies, series etc. (titles of individual volumes are italicized).

Full bibliographical information is not normally supplied in the list below if it is available elsewhere in the dictionary. Its availability is indicated as follows: D – in the list of 'Dictionaries and encyclopedias of music'; E – in the list of 'Editions, historical'; and P – in the list of 'Periodicals'; these lists are located in vol.28. For other items, in particular national (non-musical) biographical dictionaries, basic bibliographical information is given here; and in some cases extra information is supplied to clarify the abbreviation used.

Festschriften and congress reports are not generally covered in this list. Although Festschrift titles are sometimes shortened in the dictionary, sufficient information is always given for unambiguous identification (dedicatee; occasion, if the same person is dedicatee of more than one Festschrift; place and date of publication; and name(s) of editor(s) if known). For fuller information on musical Festschriften up to 1967 see W. Gerboth: *An Index to Musical Festschriften and Similar Publications* (New York, 1969). The published titles of congress reports are generally reduced to their essentials, but sufficient information is always given for purposes of identification (society or topic; place and date of occurrence; journal issue if published in a periodical; editor(s) and publication details in unfamiliar cases). A comprehensive list of musical and music-related 'Congress reports' appears in vol.28. Further information can be found in J. Tyrrell and R. Wise: *A Guide to International Congress Reports in Music, 1900–1975* (London, 1979).

19CM	*19th Century Music* P
ACAB	*American Composers Alliance Bulletin* P
AcM	*Acta musicologica* P
ADB	*Allgemeine deutsche Biographie* (Leipzig, 1875–1912)
AdlerHM	G. Adler, ed.: *Handbuch der Musikgeschichte* (Frankfurt, 1924, 2/1930/*R*)
AfM	*African Music* P
AH	Analecta hymnica medii aevi E
AllacciD	L. Allacci: *Drammaturgia* D
AM	*Antiphonale monasticum pro diurnis horis* (Tournai, 1934)
AmbrosGM	A.W. Ambros: *Geschichte der Musik* (Leipzig, 1862–82/*R*)
AMe, AMeS	*Algemene muziekencyclopedie* and suppl. D
AMf	*Archiv für Musikforschung* P
AMI	L'arte musicale in Italia E
AMMM	Archivium musices metropolitanum mediolanense E
AMP	Antiquitates musicae in Polonia E
AMw	*Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* P
AMZ	*Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* (1798–1848, 1863–5, 1866–82) P
AMz	*Allgemeine (deutsche) Musik-Zeitung/Musikzeitung* (1874–1943) P
Anderson2	E.R. Anderson: *Contemporary American Composers: a Biographical Dictionary* D
AnM	*Anuario musical* P
AnMc, AnMc	*Analecta musicologica* P
AnnM	*Annales musicologiques* P
AnthonyFB	J.R. Anthony: *French Baroque Music from Beaujoyeulx to Rameau* (London, 1973, 3/1997)
AntMI	Antiquae musicae italicae E
AÖAW	*Anzeiger der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse* (1948–)
ApelG	W. Apel: *Geschichte der Orgel- und Klaviermusik bis 1700* (Kassel, 1967; Eng. trans., rev., 1972)
AR	*Antiphonale sacrosanctae romanae ecclesiae pro diurnis horis* (Paris, Tournai and Rome, 1949)
AS	W.H. Frere, ed.: *Antiphonale sarisburiense* (London, 1901–25/*R*)
AshbeeR	A. Ashbee: *Records of English Court Music* (Snodland/Aldershot, 1986–95)
AsM	*Asian Music* P
AudaM	A. Auda: *La musique et les musiciens de l'ancien pays de Liège* D
AusDB	*Australian Dictionary of Biography* (Melbourne, 1966–96)
Baker5[–8]	*Baker's Biographical Dictionary of Musicians* D
BAMS	*Bulletin of the American Musicological Society* P
BDA	*A Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actresses, Musicians, Dancers, Managers & Other Stage Personnel in London, 1660–1800* (Carbondale, IL, 1973–93)
BDECM	A. Ashbee and D. Lasocki, eds.: *A Biographical Dictionary of English Court Musicians, 1485–1714* (Aldershot, 1998)
BDRSC	A. Ho and D. Feofanov, eds.: *Biographical Dictionary of Russian/Soviet Composers* D
BeckEP	J.H. Beck: *Encyclopedia of Percussion* D
BeJb	*Beethoven-Jahrbuch* P
BenoitMC	M. Benoit: *Musiques de cour: chapelle, chambre, écurie, 1661–1733* (Paris, 1971)
BenzingB	J. Benzing: *Die Buchdrucker des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts* (Wiesbaden, 1963, 2/1982)
BerliozM	H. Berlioz: *Mémoires* (Paris, 1870; ed. and trans. D. Cairns, 1969, 2/1970); ed. P. Citron (Paris, 1969, 2/1991)
BertolottiM	A. Bertolotti: *Musici alla corte dei Gonzaga in Mantova dal secolo XV al XVIII* (Milan, 1890/*R*)

BicknellH	S. Bicknell: *The History of the English Organ* (Cambridge, 1996)
BJb	*Bach-Jahrbuch* P
BladesPI	J. Blades: *Percussion Instruments and their History* (London, 1970, 2/1974)
BlumeEK	F. Blume: *Die evangelische Kirchenmusik* (Potsdam, 1931–4/R, enlarged 2/1965 as *Geschichte der evangelischen Kirchenmusik*; Eng. trans., enlarged, 1974, as *Protestant Church Music: a History*)
BMB	Bibliotheca musica bononiensis (Bologna, 1967–)
BMw	*Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft* P
BNB	*Biographie nationale [belge]* (Brussels, 1866–1986)
BoalchM	D.H. Boalch: *Makers of the Harpsichord and Clavichord 1440 to 1840* D
BoetticherOL	W. Boetticher: *Orlando di Lasso und seine Zeit* (Kassel, 1958)
Bouwsteenen: JVNM	*Bouwsteenen: jaarboek der Vereeniging voor Nederlandsche muziekgeschiedenis* P
BoydenH	D.D. Boyden: *A History of Violin Playing from its Origins to 1761* (London, 1965)
BPM	*Black Perspective in Music* P
BrenetC	M. Brenet: *Les concerts en France sous l'ancien régime* (Paris, 1900/R)
BrenetM	M. Brenet: *Les musiciens de la Sainte-Chapelle du Palais* (Paris, 1910/R)
BrookB	B.S. Brook, ed.: *The Breitkopf Thematic Catalogue, 1762–1787* (New York, 1966)
BrookSF	B.S. Brook: *La symphonie française dans la seconde moitié du XVIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1962)
BrownI	H.M. Brown: *Instrumental Music Printed Before 1600: a Bibliography* (Cambridge, MA, 1965)
Brown-Stratton BMB	J.D. Brown and S.S. Stratton: *British Musical Biography* D
BSIM	*Bulletin français de la S.I.M.* [also *Mercure musical* and other titles] P
BUCEM	E.B. Schnapper, ed.: *British Union-Catalogue of Early Music* (London, 1957)
BurneyFI	C. Burney: *The Present State of Music in France and Italy* (London, 1771, 2/1773)
BurneyGN	C. Burney: *The Present State of Music in Germany, the Netherlands, and the United Provinces* (London, 1773, 2/1775)
BurneyH	C. Burney: *A General History of Music from the Earliest Ages to the Present Period* (London, 1776–89); ed. F. Mercer (London, 1935/R) [p. nos. refer to this edn]
BWQ	*Brass and Woodwind Quarterly* P
CaffiS	F. Caffi: *Storia della musica sacra nella già cappella ducale di San Marco in Venezia dal 1318 al 1797* (Venice, 1854–5/R); ed. E. Surian (Florence, 1987)
CaM	Catalogus musicus (Kassel, 1963–)
CampbellGC	M. Campbell: *The Great Cellists* D
CampbellGV	M. Campbell: *The Great Violinists* D
CAO	Corpus antiphonalium officii (Rome, 1963–79)
CBY	*Current Biography Yearbook* (1955–)
CC	B. Morton and P. Collins, eds.: *Contemporary Composers* D
CeBeDeM directory	*CeBeDeM et ses compositeurs affiliés*, ed. D. von Volborth-Danys (Brussels, 1977–80)
CEKM	Corpus of Early Keyboard Music E
CEMF	Corpus of Early Music (in Facsimile) (Brussels, 1970–72)
CHM	*Collectanea historiae musicae* (1953–66)
Choron-FayolleD	A.-E. Choron and F.J.M. Fayolle: *Dictionnaire historique des musiciens* D
ClinkscaleMP	M.N. Clinkscale: *Makers of the Piano* D
CM	Le choeur des muses E
CMc	*Current Musicology* P
CMI	I classici musicali italiani (Milan, 1941–56)
CMM	Corpus mensurabilis musicae E
ČMm	*Časopis Moravského musea* [*muzea*, 1977–] P
CMR	*Contemporary Music Review* P
CMz	*Cercetări de muzicologie* P
CohenE	A.I. Cohen: *International Encyclopedia of Women Composers* D
CohenWE	Y.W. Cohen: *Werden und Entwicklung der Musik in Israel* (Kassel, 1976)
COJ	*Cambridge Opera Journal* P
CooverMA	J.B. Coover: *Music at Auction: Puttick and Simpson* (Warren, MI, 1988)
CoussemakerS	C.-E.-H. de Coussemaker: *Scriptorum de musica medii aevi nova series* (Paris, 1864–76/R, 2/1908, ed. U. Moser)
CroceN	B. Croce: *I teatri di Napoli* (Naples, 1891/R, 5/1966)
ČSHS	*Československy hudební slovník* D
CSM	Corpus scriptorum de musica (Rome, later Stuttgart, 1950–)
CSPD	*Calendar of State Papers (Domestic)* (London, 1856–1972)
Cw	Das Chorwerk E
DAB	*Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1928–37, suppls., 1944–)
DAM	*Dansk aarbog for musikforskning* P
Day-Murrie ESB	C.L. Day and E.B. Murrie: *English Song-Books* (London, 1940)
DBF	*Dictionnaire de biographie française* (Paris, 1933–)
DBI	*Dizionario biografico degli italiani* (Rome, 1960–)
DBL, DBL2, DBL3	*Dansk biografisk leksikon* (Copenhagen, 1887–1905, 2/1933–45, 3/1979–84)
DBNM, DBNM	*Darmstädter Beiträge zur neuen Musik* P
DBP	E. Vieira, ed.: *Diccionário biográphico de musicos portuguezes* (Lisbon, 1900)
DČHP	Dějiny české hudby v příkladech (Prague, 1958)
DDT	Denkmäler deutscher Tonkunst E
DEMF	A. Devriès and F. Lesure: *Dictionnaire des éditeurs de musique français* D
DEUMM	*Dizionario enciclopedico universale della musica e dei musicisti* D
DeutschMPN	O.E. Deutsch: *Music Publishers' Numbers* (London, 1946)
DHM	Documenta historica musicae E
Dichter-ShapiroSM	H. Dichter and E. Shapiro: *Early American Sheet Music* D
DJbM	*Deutsches Jahrbuch der Musikwissenschaft* P
DlabacžKL	G.J. Dlabacž: *Allgemeines historisches Künstler-Lexikon* D
DM	Documenta musicologica (Kassel, 1951–)
DMt	*Dansk musiktidsskrift* P
DMV	Drammaturgia musicale veneta (Milan, 1983–)
DNB	*Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 1885–1901, suppls., 1901–96)
DoddI	G. Dodd, ed.: *Thematic Index of Music for Viols* (London, 1980–)
DTB	Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Bayern E
DTÖ	Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich E
DugganIMI	M.K. Duggan: *Italian Music Incunabula: Printers and Type* (Berkeley, 1991)
DVLG	*Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte* (1923–)
ECCS	The Eighteenth-Century Continuo Sonata E
ECFC	The Eighteenth-Century French Cantata E
EDM	Das Erbe deutscher Musik E
EECM	Early English Church Music E
EG	*Etudes grégoriennes* P
EI	*The Encyclopaedia of Islam* (Leiden, 1928–38, 2/1960–)
EinsteinIM	A. Einstein: *The Italian Madrigal* (Princeton, NJ, 1949/R)
EIT	*Yezhegodnik imperatorskikh teatrov* P
EitnerQ	R. Eitner: *Biographisch-bibliographisches Quellen-Lexikon* D
EitnerS	R. Eitner: *Bibliographie der Musik-Sammelwerke des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1877/R)
EKM	Early Keyboard Music E
EL	The English School of Lutenist Songwriters, rev. as The English Lute-Songs E
EM	The English Madrigal School, rev. as The English Madrigalists E
EMc	*Early Music* P
EMC1, 2	*Encyclopedia of Music in Canada* (Toronto, 1981, 2/1992) D

EMDC A. Lavignac and L. de La Laurencie, eds.: *Encyclopédie de la musique et dictionnaire du Conservatoire* D

EMH *Early Music History* P

EMN Exempla musica neerlandica E

EMS see EM

EMuz *Encyklopedia muzyczne* D

ERO Early Romantic Opera E

ES English Song 1600–1675 (New York, 1986–9)

ES *Enciclopedia dello spettacolo* D

ESLS see EL

EthM *Ethnomusicology* P

EthM Newsletter *Ethno[-]musicology Newsletter* P

EwenD D. Ewen: *American Composers: a Biographical Dictionary* D

FAM *Fontes artis musicae* P

FasquelleE *Encyclopédie de la musique* D

FCVR Florilège du concert vocal de la Renaissance E

FellererG K.G. Fellerer: *Geschichte der katholischen Kirchenmusik* (Düsseldorf, 1939, enlarged 2/1949; Eng. trans., 1961/*R*)

FellererP K.G. Fellerer: *Der Palestrinastil und seine Bedeutung in der vokalen Kirchenmusik des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Augsburg, 1929/*R*)

FenlonMM I. Fenlon: *Music and Patronage in Sixteenth-Century Mantua* (Cambridge, 1980–82)

FétisB, FétisBS F.-J. Fétis: *Biographie universelle des musiciens* and suppl. D

FisherMP W.A. Fisher: *One Hundred and Fifty Years of Music Publishing in the United States* (Boston, 1933)

FiskeETM R. Fiske: *English Theatre Music in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1973, 2/1986)

FlorimoN F. Florimo: *La scuola musicale di Napoli e i suoi conservatorii* (Naples, 1880–83/*R*)

FO French Opera in the 17th and 18th Centuries (New York, 1983–)

FortuneISS N. Fortune: *Italian Secular Song from 1600 to 1635: the Origins and Development of Accompanied Monody* (diss., U. of Cambridge, 1954)

FriedlaenderDL M. Friedlaender: *Das deutsche Lied im 18. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart and Berlin, 1902/*R*)

FrotscherG G. Frotscher: *Geschichte des Orgelspiels und der Orgelkomposition* (Berlin, 1935–6/*R*, music suppl. 1966)

FuldWFM J.J. Fuld: *The Book of World-Famous Music* D

FullerPG S. Fuller: *The Pandora Guide to Women Composers: Britain and the United States (1629 – Present)* D

FürstenauG M. Fürstenau: *Zur Geschichte der Musik und des Theaters am Hofe zu Dresden* (Dresden, 1861–2/*R*)

GänzlBMT K. Gänzl: *The British Musical Theatre* (London, 1986)

GänzlEMT K. Gänzl and A. Lamb: *Encyclopedia of Musical Theatre* D

GaspariC G. Gaspari: *Catalogo della Biblioteca del Liceo musicale di Bologna*, i–iv (Bologna, 1890–1905/*R*); v, ed. U. Sesini (Bologna, 1943/*R*)

GerberL E.L. Gerber: *Historisch-biographisches Lexikon der Tonkünstler* D

GerberNL E.L. Gerber: *Neues historisch-biographisches Lexikon der Tonkünstler* D

GerbertS M. Gerbert: *Scriptores ecclesiastici de musica sacra potissimum* (St Blasien, 1784/*R*, 3/1931)

GEWM *The Garland Encyclopedia of World Music* D

GfMKB *Gesellschaft für Musikforschung: Kongress-Bericht* [1950–]

GiacomoC S. di Giacomo: *I quattro antichi conservatorii musicali di Napoli* (Milan, 1924–8)

GLMT Greek and Latin Music Theory (Lincoln, NE, 1984–)

GMB Geschichte der Musik in Beispielen E

GMM *Gazzetta musicale di Milano* P

GOB German Opera 1770–1800, ed. T. Bauman (New York, 1985–6)

GöhlerV A. Göhler: *Verzeichnis der in den Frankfurter und Leipziger Messkatalogen der Jahre 1564 bis 1759 angezeigten Musikalien* (Leipzig, 1902/*R*)

GoovaertsH A. Goovaerts: *Histoire et bibliographie de la typographie musicale dans les Pays-Bas* (Antwerp, 1880/*R*)

GR *Graduale sacrosanctae romanae ecclesiae* (Tournai, 1938)

Grove1[–5] G. Grove, ed.: *A Dictionary of Music and Musicians* D

Grove6 *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* D

GroveA *The New Grove Dictionary of American Music* D

GroveI *The New Grove Dictionary of Musical Instruments* D

GroveJ *The New Grove Dictionary of Jazz* D

GroveJapan *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, Jap. trans. D

GroveO *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera* D

GroveW *The New Grove Dictionary of Women Composers* D

GS W.H. Frere, ed.: *Graduale sarisburiense* (London, 1894/*R*)

GSJ *Galpin Society Journal* P

GSL K.J. Kutsch and L. Riemann: *Grosses Sängerlexikon* D

GV R. Celletti: *Le grandi voci: dizionario critico-biografico dei cantanti* D

HAM Historical Anthology of Music E

HarrisonMMB F.Ll. Harrison: *Music in Medieval Britain* (London, 1958, 4/1980)

HawkinsH J. Hawkins: *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music* (London, 1776)

HBSJ *Historical Brass Society Journal* P

HDM W. Apel: *Harvard Dictionary of Music* D

HJb *Händel-Jahrbuch* P

HJbMw *Hamburger Jahrbuch für Musikwissenschaft* P

HM Hortus musicus E

HMC Historical Manuscripts Commission [Publications]

HMT *Handwörterbuch der musikalischen Terminologie* D

HMw Handbuch der Musikwissenschaft (Potsdam, 1927–34)

HMYB *Hinrichsen's Musical Year Book* P

HoneggerD M. Honegger: *Dictionnaire de la musique* D

HopkinsonD C. Hopkinson: *A Dictionary of Parisian Music Publishers 1700–1950* D

Hopkins-RimbaultO E.J. Hopkins and E.F. Rimbault: *The Organ: its History and Construction* (London, 1855, 3/1887/*R*)

HPM Harvard Publications in Music E

HR *Hudební revue* P

HRo *Hudební rozhledy* P

Humphries-SmithMP C. Humphries and W.C. Smith: *Music Publishing in the British Isles* D

HV *Hudební věda* P

ICSC The Italian Cantata in the Seventeenth Century (New York, 1985–6)

IIM Italian Instrumental Music of the Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries E

IIM *Izvestiya na Instituta za muzika* P

IMa Instituta et monumenta E

IMi Istituzioni e monumenti dell'arte musicale italiana (Milan, 1931–9, new ser., 1956–64)

IMSCR *International Musicological Society: Congress Report* [1930–]

IMusSCR *International Musical Society: Congress Report* [II–IV, 1906–11]

IO The Italian Oratorio 1650–1800 E

IOB Italian Opera 1640–1770, ed. H.M. Brown E

IOG Italian Opera 1810–1840, ed. P. Gossett E

IRASM *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music* P

IRMAS *International Review of Music Aesthetics and Sociology* P

IRMO S.L. Ginzburg: *Istoriya russkoy muziki v notnïkh obraztsakh* (Leningrad, 1940–52, 2/1968–70)

ISS Italian Secular Song 1606–1636 (New York, 1986)

IZ *Instrumentenbau-Zeitschrift* P

JAMIS *Journal of the American Musical Instrument Society* P

JAMS *Journal of the American Musicological Society* P

JASA *Journal of the Acoustical Society of America* P

JazzM *Jazz Monthly* P

JBIOS *Journal of the British Institute of Organ Studies* P

JbLH — *Jahrbuch für Liturgik und Hymnologie* P
JbMP — *Jahrbuch der Musikbibliothek Peters* P
JbO — *Jahrbuch für Opernforschung* P
JbSIM — *Jahrbuch des Staatlichen Instituts für Musikforschung Preussischer Kulturbesitz* P
JEFDSS — *Journal of the English Folk Dance and Song Society* P
JFSS — *Journal of the Folk-Song Society* P
JIFMC — *Journal of the International Folk Music Council* P
JJ — *Jazz Journal* P
JJI — *Jazz Journal International* P
JJS — *Journal of Jazz Studies* P
JLSA — *Journal of the Lute Society of America* P
JM — *Journal of Musicology* P
JMR — *Journal of Musicological Research* P
JMT — *Journal of Music Theory* P
JoãoIL — [João IV:] *Primeira parte do index da livraria de musica do muyto alto, e poderoso Rey Dom João o IV. nosso senhor* (Lisbon, 1649); ed. J. de Vasconcellos (Oporto, 1874–6)
Johansson FMP — C. Johansson: *French Music Publishers' Catalogues* (Stockholm, 1955)
JohanssonH — C. Johansson: *J.J. & B. Hummel: Music Publishing and Thematic Catalogues* (Stockholm, 1972)
JR — *Jazz Review* P
JRBM — *Journal of Renaissance and Baroque Music* P
JRMA — *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* P
JRME — *Journal of Research in Music Education* P
JT — *Jazz Times* P
JVdGSA — *Journal of the Viola da Gamba Society of America* P
JVNM — see *Bouwsteenen: JVNM*

KdG — *Komponisten der Gegenwart*, ed. H.-W. Heister and W.-W. Sparrer D
KermanEM — J. Kerman: *The Elizabethan Madrigal: a Comparative Study* (New York, 1962)
KidsonBMP — F. Kidson: *British Music Publishers, Printers and Engravers* D
KingMP — A.H. King: *Four Hundred Years of Music Printing* (London, 1964)
KJb — *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch* P
KM — *Kwartalnik muzyczny* P
KöchelKHM — L. von Köchel: *Die kaiserliche Hof-Musikkapelle in Wien von 1543 bis 1867* (Vienna, 1869/R)
KretzschmarG — H. Kretzschmar: *Geschichte des neuen deutschen Liedes* (Leipzig, 1911/R)
KrummelEMP — D.W. Krummel: *English Music Printing* (London, 1975)

LaborD — *Diccionario de la música Labor* D
La BordeE — J.-B. de La Borde: *Essai sur la musique ancienne et moderne* D
LabordeMP — L.E.S.J. de Laborde: *Musiciens de Paris, 1535–1792* D
LafontaineKM — H.C. de Lafontaine: *The King's Musick* (London, 1909/R)
La Laurencie EF — L. de La Laurencie: *L'école française de violon de Lully à Viotti* (Paris, 1922–4/R)
LAMR — *Latin American Music Review* P
LaMusicaD — *La musica: dizionario* D
LaMusicaE — *La musica: enciclopedia storica* D
LangwillI7 — see *Waterhouse-LangwillI*
LedeburTLB — C. von Ledebur: *Tonkünstler-Lexicon Berlin's* (Berlin, 1861/R)
Le HurayMR — P. Le Huray: *Music and the Reformation in England, 1549–1660* (London, 1967, 2/1978)
LipowskyBL — F.J. Lipowsky: *Baierisches Musik-Lexikon* D
LM — *Lucrări de muzicologie* P
Lockwood MRF — L. Lockwood: *Music in Renaissance Ferrara* (Oxford, 1984)
LoewenbergA — A. Loewenberg: *Annals of Opera, 1597–1940* D
LPS — The London Pianoforte School 1766–1860 E
LS — *The London Stage, 1660–1800* (Carbondale, IL, 1960–68)
LSJ — *Lute Society Journal* P
LU — *Liber usualis missae et officii pro dominicis et festis duplicibus cum cantu gregoriano* (Solesmes, 1896, and later edns incl. Tournai, 1963)
Lütgendorff GL — W.L. von Lütgendorff: *Die Geigen- und Lautenmacher vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart* D
LZMÖ — *Lexikon zeitgenössischer Musik aus Österreich* (Vienna, 1997)

MA — *Musical Antiquary* P
MAB — Musica antiqua bohemica E
MAk — *Muzïkal'naya akademiya* P
MAM — Musik alter Meister E
MAMS — Monumenta artis musicae Sloveniae E
MAn — *Music Analysis* P
MAP — Musica antiqua polonica E
MAS — Musical Antiquarian Society [Publications] E
Mattheson GEP — J. Mattheson: *Grundlage einer Ehren-Pforte* (Hamburg, 1740); ed. Max Schneider (Berlin, 1910/R)
MB — Musica britannica E
MC — Musica da camera E
McCarthyJR — A. McCarthy: *Jazz on Record* (London, 1968)
MCL — H. Mendel and A. Reissmann, eds.: *Musikalisches Conversations-Lexikon* (Berlin, 1870–80, 3/1890–91/R)
MD — *Musica disciplina* P
ME — *Muzïkal'naya entsiklopediya* D
MEM — Mestres de l'Escolanía de Montserrat E
MersenneHU — M. Mersenne: *Harmonie universelle* D
MeyerECM — E.H. Meyer: *English Chamber Music* (London, 1946/R, rev. 3/1982 with D. Poulton as *Early English Chamber Music*)
MeyerMS — E.H. Meyer: *Die mehrstimmige Spielmusik des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Kassel, 1934)
MF — Music in Facsimile (New York, 1983–91)
Mf — *Die Musikforschung* P
MG — *Musik und Gesellschaft* P
MGG1, 2 — *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* D
MGH — Monumenta Germaniae historica
MH — Música hispana E
MischiatiI — O. Mischiati: *Indici, cataloghi e avvisi degli editori e librai musicali italiani* (Florence, 1984)
MISM — *Mitteilungen der Internationalen Stiftung Mozarteum* P
MJb — *Mozart-Jahrbuch* [Salzburg, 1950–] P
ML — *Music & Letters* P
MLE — Music for London Entertainment 1660–1800 E
MLMI — Monumenta lyrica medii aevi italica E
MM — *Modern Music* P
MMA — *Miscellanea musicologica* [Australia] P
MMB — Monumenta musicae byzantinae E
MMBel — Monumenta musicae belgicae E
MMC — *Miscellanea musicologica* [Czechoslovakia] P
MME — Monumentos de la música española E
MMFTR — Monuments de la musique française au temps de la Renaissance E
MMg — *Monatshefte für Musikgeschichte* P
MMI — Monumenti di musica italiana E
MMMA — Monumenta monodica medii aevi E
MMN — Monumenta musica neerlandica E
MMP — Monumenta musicae in Polonia E
MMR — *Monthly Musical Record* P
MMRF — Les maîtres musiciens de la Renaissance française E
MMS — Monumenta musicae svecicae E
MNAN — Music of the New American Nation E
MO — *Musical Opinion* P
MooserA — R.-A. Mooser: *Annales de la musique et des musiciens en Russie au XVIIIme siècle* D
MoserGV — A. Moser: *Geschichte des Violinspiels* (Berlin, 1923, rev. 2/1966–7 by H.J. Nösselt)
MQ — *Musical Quarterly* P
MR — *Music Review* P
MRM — Monuments of Renaissance Music E
MRS — Musiche rinascimentali siciliane E
MS — *Muzïkal'nïy sovremennik* P
MSD — Musicological Studies and Documents E
MT — *Musical Times* P
MusAm — *Musical America* P
MVH — Musica viva historica E
MVSSP — Musiche vocali e strumentali sacre e profane E
Mw — Das Musikwerk E
MZ — *Muzikološki zbornik* P

NA — *Note d'archivio per la storia musicale* P
NBeJb — *Neues Beethoven-Jahrbuch* P
NBL — *Norsk biografisk leksikon* (Oslo, 1923–83)
NDB — *Neue deutsche Biographie* (Berlin, 1953–)

Neighbour-TysonPN	O.W. Neighbour and A. Tyson: *English Music Publishers' Plate Numbers* (London, 1965)
NericiS	L. Nerici: *Storia della musica in Lucca* (Lucca, 1879/R)
NewcombMF	A. Newcomb: *The Madrigal at Ferrara, 1579–1597* (Princeton, NJ, 1980)
NewmanSBE	W.S. Newman: *The Sonata in the Baroque Era* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1959, 4/1983)
NewmanSCE	W.S. Newman: *The Sonata in the Classic Era* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1963, 3/1983)
NewmanSSB	W.S. Newman: *The Sonata since Beethoven* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1969, 3/1983)
NicollH	A. Nicoll: *The History of English Drama, 1660–1900* (Cambridge, 1952–9)
NM	Nagels Musik-Archiv E
NMÅ	*Norsk musikkgranskning årbok* P
NNBW	*Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek* (Leiden, 1911–37)
NÖB	*Neue österreichische Biographie* (Vienna, 1923–35)
NOHM, NOHM	*The New Oxford History of Music* (Oxford, 1954–90)
NRMI	*Nuova rivista musicale italiana* P
NZM	*Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* P
OHM, OHM	*The Oxford History of Music* (Oxford, 1901–5, 2/1929–38)
OM	*Opus musicum* P
ÖMz	*Österreichische Musikzeitschrift* P
ON	*Opera News* P
OQ	*Opera Quarterly* P
OW	*Opernwelt* P
PalMus	Paléographie musicale E
PAMS	*Papers of the American Musicological Society* P
PÄMw	Publikation älterer praktischer und theoretischer Musikwerke E
PazdírekH	B. Pazdírek: *Universal-Handbuch der Musikliteratur aller Zeiten und Völker* (Vienna, 1904–10/R)
PBC	Publicaciones del departamento de música E
PEM	C. Dahlhaus and S. Döhring, eds.: *Pipers Enzyklopädie des Musiktheaters* (Munich and Zürich, 1986–97)
PG	*Patrologiae cursus completus*, ii: Series graeca, ed. J.-P. Migne (Paris, 1857–1912)
PGfM	see PÄMw
PierreH	C. Pierre: *Histoire du Concert spirituel 1725–1790* (Paris, 1975)
PIISM	Pubblicazioni dell'Istituto italiano per la storia della musica E
PirroHM	A. Pirro: *Histoire de la musique de la fin du XIVe siècle à la fin du XVIe* (Paris, 1940)
PirrottaDO	N. Pirrotta and E. Povoledo: *Li due Orfei: da Poliziano a Monteverdi* (Turin, 1969, enlarged 2/1975; Eng. trans., 1982, as *Music and Theatre from Poliziano to Monteverdi*)
PitoniN	G.O. Pitoni: *Notitia de contrapuntisti e de compositori di musica* (MS, c1725, *I-Rvat* C.G.I/1–2); ed. C. Ruini (Florence, 1988)
PL	*Patrologiae cursus completus*, i: Series latina, ed. J.-P. Migne (Paris, 1844–64)
PM	Portugaliae musica E
PMA	*Proceedings of the Musical Association* P
PMFC	Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century E
PMM	*Plainsong and Medieval Music* P
PNM	*Perspectives of New Music* P
PraetoriusSM	M. Praetorius: *Syntagma musicum*, i (Wittenberg and Wolfenbüttel, 1614–15, 2/1615/R); ii (Wolfenbüttel, 1618, 2/1619/R; Eng. trans., 1986, 2/1991); iii (Wolfenbüttel, 1618, 2/1619/R)
PraetoriusTI	M. Praetorius: *Theatrum instrumentorum* [pt ii/2 of *PraetoriusSM*]
PRM	*Polski rocznik muzykologiczny* P
PRMA	*Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* P
Przywecka-SameckaDM	M. Przywecka-Samecka: *Drukarstwo muzyczne w Polsce do końca XVIII wieku* (Kraków, 1969)
PSB	*Polskich słownik biograficzny* (Kraków, 1935)
PSFM	Publications [Société française de musicologie] E
Quaderni della RaM	*Quaderni della Rassegna musicale* P
Rad JAZU	*Rad Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti* P
RaM	*Rassegna musicale* P
RBM	*Revue belge de musicologie* P
RdM	*Revue de musicologie* P
RdMc	*Revista de musicología* P
ReeseMMA	G. Reese: *Music in the Middle Ages* (New York, 1940)
ReeseMR	G. Reese: *Music in the Renaissance* (New York, 1954, 2/1959)
RefardtHBM	E. Refardt: *Historisch-biographisches Musikerlexikon der Schweiz* D
ReM	*Revue musicale* P
RFS	Romantic French Song 1830–1870 E
RGMP	*Revue et gazette musicale de Paris* P
RHCM	*Revue d'histoire et de critique musicales* P
RicciTB	C. Ricci: *I teatri di Bologna nei secoli XVII e XVIII: storia aneddotica* (Bologna, 1888/R)
RicordiE	C. Sartori and R. Allorto: *Enciclopedia della musica* D
RiemannG	H. Riemann: *Geschichte der Musiktheorie im IX.–XIX. Jahrhundert* (Berlin, 2/1921/R; Eng. trans. of pts i–ii, 1962/R, and pt iii, 1977)
RiemannL11, 12	*Hugo Riemanns Musiklexikon* (11/1929, 12/1959–75) D
RIM	*Rivista italiana di musicologia* P
RIMS	*Rivista internazionale di musica sacra* P
RM	*Ruch muzyczny* P
RMARC	*R.M.A. [Royal Musical Association] Research Chronicle* P
RMC	*Revista musical chilena* P
RMF	Renaissance Music in Facsimile (New York, 1986–8)
RMFC	*Recherches sur la musique française classique* P
RMG	*Russkaya muzïkal'naya gazeta* P
RMI	*Rivista musicale italiana* P
RMS	Renaissance Manuscript Studies (Stuttgart, 1975–)
RN	*Renaissance News* P
RosaM	C. de Rosa, Marchese di Villarosa: *Memorie dei compositori di musica del regno di Napoli* (Naples, 1840)
RRAM	Recent Researches in American Music E
RRMBE	Recent Researches in the Music of the Baroque Era E
RRMCE	Recent Researches in the Music of the Classical Era E
RRMMA	Recent Researches in the Music of the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance E
RRMNETC	Recent Researches in the Music of the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries E
RRMR	Recent Researches in the Music of the Renaissance E
SachsH	C. Sachs: *The History of Musical Instruments* (New York, 1940)
SainsburyD	J.H. Sainsbury: *A Dictionary of Musicians* D
SartoriB	C. Sartori: *Bibliografia della musica strumentale italiana stampata in Italia fino al 1700* (Florence, 1952–68)
SartoriD	C. Sartori: *Dizionario degli editori musicali italiani* D
SartoriL	C. Sartori: *I libretti italiani a stampa dalle origini al 1800* (Cuneo, 1990–94)
SBL	*Svenskt biografiskt lexikon* (Stockholm, 1918–)
SCC	The Sixteenth-Century Chanson E
ScheringGIK	A. Schering: *Geschichte des Instrumental-Konzerts* (Leipzig, 1905, 2/1927/R)
ScheringGO	A. Schering: *Geschichte des Oratoriums* (Leipzig, 1911/R)
SchillingE	G. Schilling: *Encyclopädie der gesammten musikalischen Wissenschaften, oder Universal-Lexicon der Tonkunst* D
SČHK	*Slovník české hudební kultury* (Prague, 1997)
SchmidlD, SchmidlDS	C. Schmidl: *Dizionario universale dei musicisti* and suppl. D
SchmitzG	E. Schmitz: *Geschichte der weltlichen Solokantate* (Leipzig, 1914, 2/1955)
SchullerEJ	G. Schuller: *Early Jazz* (New York, 1968/R)
SchullerSE	G. Schuller: *The Swing Era* (New York, 1989)
SchwarzGM	B. Schwarz: *Great Masters of the Violin* D
SCISM	Seventeenth-Century Italian Sacred Music E
SCKM	Seventeenth-Century Keyboard Music (New York, 1987–8)
SCMA	Smith College Music Archives E
SCMad	Sixteenth-Century Madrigal E

SCMot	Sixteenth-Century Motet E
SeegerL	H. Seeger: *Musiklexikon* D
SEM	Series of Early Music [University of California] E
SennMT	W. Senn: *Musik und Theater am Hof zu Innsbruck* (Innsbruck, 1954)
SH	*Slovenská hudba* P
SIMG	*Sammelbände der Internationalen Musik-Gesellschaft* P
SKM	*Sovetskiye kompozitorï i muzïkovedï* (Moscow, 1978–89)
SM	see *SMH*
SMA	*Studies in Music* [Australia] P
SMC	*Studies in Music from the University of Western Ontario* [Canada] P
SMd	Schweizerische Musikdenkmäler E
SMH	*Studia musicologica Academiae scientiarum hungaricae* P
SmitherHO	H. Smither: *A History of the Oratorio* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1977–)
SML	*Schweizer Musikerlexikon* D
SMM	Summa musicae medii aevi E
SMN	*Studia musicologica norvegica* P
SMP	*Słownik muzyków polskich* D
SMSC	Solo Motets from the Seventeenth Century (New York, 1987–8)
SMw	*Studien zur Musikwissenschaft* P
SMz	*Schweizerische Musikzeitung/Revue musicale suisse* P
SOB	Süddeutsche Orgelmeister des Barock E
SOI	L. Bianconi and G. Pestelli, eds.: *Storia dell'opera italiana* (Turin, 1987–; Eng. trans., 1998–)
SolertiMBD	A. Solerti: *Musica, ballo e drammatica alla corte medicea dal 1600 al 1637* (Florence, 1905/*R*)
SouthernB	E. Southern: *Biographical Dictionary of Afro-American and African Musicians* D
SovM	*Sovetskaya muzïka* P
SpataroC	B.J. Blackburn, E.E. Lowinsky and C.A. Miller: *A Correspondence of Renaissance Musicians* (Oxford, 1991)
SPFFBU	*Sborník prací filosofické [filozofické] fakulty brněnské university [univerzity]* P
SpinkES	I. Spink: *English Song: Dowland to Purcell* (London, 1974, repr. 1986 with corrections)
StevensonRB	R. Stevenson: *Renaissance and Baroque Musical Sources in the Americas* (Washington DC, 1970)
Stevenson SCM	R. Stevenson: *Spanish Cathedral Music in the Golden Age* (Berkeley, 1961/*R*)
StevensonSM	R. Stevenson: *Spanish Music in the Age of Columbus* (The Hague, 1960/*R*)
StiegerO	F. Stieger: *Opernlexikon* D
STMf	*Svensk tidskrift för musikforskning* P
StrohmM	R. Strohm: *Music in Late Medieval Bruges* (Oxford, 1985)
StrohmR	R. Strohm: *The Rise of European Music* (Cambridge, 1993)
StrunkSR1, 2	O. Strunk: *Source Readings in Music History* (New York, 1950/*R*, rev. 2/1998 by L. Treitler)
SubiráHME	J. Subirá: *Historia de la música española e hispanoamericana* (Barcelona, 1953)
TCM	Tudor Church Music E
TCMS	Three Centuries of Music in Score (New York, 1988–90)
Thompson1 [–11]	O. Thompson: *The International Cyclopedia of Music and Musicians*, 1st–11th edns D
TM	Thesauri musici E
TSM	*Tesoro sacro musical* P
TVNM	*Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse muziekgeschiedenis* [and earlier variants] P
UVNM	Uitgave van oudere Noord-Nederlandsche Meesterwerken E
Vander Straeten MPB	E. Vander Straeten: *La musique aux Pays-Bas avant le XIXe siècle* D
VannesD	R. Vannes, with A. Souris: *Dictionnaire des musiciens (compositeurs)* D
VannesE	R. Vannes: *Essai d'un dictionnaire universel des luthiers* D
VintonD	J. Vinton: *Dictionary of Contemporary Music* D
VirdungMG	S. Virdung: *Musica getutscht* (Basle, 1511/*R*)
VMw	*Vierteljahrsschrift für Musikwissenschaft* P
VogelB	E. Vogel: *Bibliothek der gedruckten weltlichen Vocalmusik Italiens, aus den Jahren 1500 bis 1700* (Berlin, 1892/*R*)
WalterG	F. Walter: *Geschichte des Theaters und der Musik am kurpfalzischen Hofe* (Leipzig, 1898/*R*)
WaltherML	J.G. Walther: *Musicalisches Lexicon, oder Musicalische Bibliothec* D
Waterhouse-LangwillI	W. Waterhouse: *The New Langwill Index: a Dictionary of Musical Wind-Instrument Makers and Inventors* D
WDMP	Wydawnictwo dawnej muzyki polskiej E
WE	The Wellesley Edition E
WECIS	Wellesley Edition Cantata Index Series (Wellesley, MA, 1964–72)
Weinmann WM	A. Weinmann: *Wiener Musikverleger und Musikalienhändler von Mozarts Zeit bis gegen 1860* (Vienna, 1956)
WilliamsNH	P. Williams: *A New History of the Organ: from the Greeks to the Present Day* (London, 1980)
WinterfeldEK	C. von Winterfeld: *Der evangelische Kirchengesang und sein Verhältniss zur Kunst des Tonsatzes* (Leipzig, 1843–7/*R*)
WolfeMEP	R.J. Wolfe: *Early American Music Engraving and Printing* (Urbana, IL, 1980)
WolfH	J. Wolf: *Handbuch der Notationskunde* (Leipzig, 1913–19/*R*)
WurzbachL	C. von Wurzbach: *Biographisches Lexikon des Kaiserthums Oesterreich* (Vienna, 1856–91)
YIAMR	*Yearbook, Inter-American Institute for Musical Research*, later *Yearbook for Inter-American Musical Research* P
YIFMC	*Yearbook of the International Folk Music Council* P
YoungHI	P.T. Young: *4900 Historical Woodwind Instruments* (London, 1993) [enlarged 2nd edn of *Twenty Five Hundred Historical Woodwind Instruments* (New York, 1982)]
YTM	*Yearbook for Traditional Music* P
ZahnM	J. Zahn: *Die Melodien der deutschen evangelischen Kirchenlieder* (Gütersloh, 1889–93/*R*)
ZDADL	*Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur* (1876–)
ZfM	*Zeitschrift für Musik* P
ŹHMP	Źródła do historii muzyki polskiej E
ZI	*Zeitschrift für Instrumentenbau* P
ZIMG	*Zeitschrift der Internationalen Musik-Gesellschaft* P
ZL	*Zenei lexikon* D
ZMw	*Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft* P
ZT	*Zenetudományi tanulmányok* P

Discographical Abbreviations

20C	20th Century
20CF	20th Century-Fox
AAFS	Archive of American Folksong (Library of Congress)
A&M Hor.	A&M Horizon
ABC-Para.	ABC-Paramount
AH	Artists House
AIMP	Archives Internationales de Musique Populaire (Musée d'Ethnographie, Geneva), pubd by VDE-Gallo
Ala.	Aladdin
AM	American Music
Amer.	America
AN	Arista Novus
Ant.	Antilles
Ari.	Arista
Asy.	Asylum
Atl.	Atlantic
Aut.	Autograph
Bak.	Bakton
Ban.	Banner
Bay.	Baystate
BB	Black and Blue
Bb	Bluebird
Beth.	Bethlehem
BH	Bee Hive
BL	Black Lion
BN	Blue Note
Bruns.	Brunswick
BS	Black Saint
BStar	Blue Star
Cad.	Cadence
Can.	Canyon
Cand.	Candid
Cap.	Capitol
Car.	Caroline
Cas.	Casablanca
Cat.	Catalyst
Cen.	Century
Chi.	Chiaroscuro
Cir.	Circle
CJ	Classic Jazz
Cob.	Cobblestone
Col.	Columbia
Com.	Commodore
Conc.	Concord
Cont.	Contemporary
Contl	Continental
Cot.	Cotillion
CP	Charlie Parker
CW	Creative World
Del.	Delmark
DG	Deutsche Grammophon
Dis.	Discovery
Dra.	Dragon
EB	Electric Bird
Elec.	Electrola
Elek.	Elektra
Elek. Mus.	Elektra Musician
EmA	EmArcy
ES	Elite Special
Eso.	Esoteric
Ev.	Everest
EW	East Wind
Ewd	Eastworld
FaD	Famous Door
Fan.	Fantasy
FD	Flying Dutchman
FDisk	Flying Disk
Fel.	Felsted
Fon.	Fontana
Fre.	Freedom
FW	Folkways
Gal.	Galaxy
Gen.	Gennett
GM	Groove Merchant
Gram.	Gramavision
GTJ	Good Time Jazz
HA	Hat Art
Hal.	Halcyon
Har.	Harmony
Harl.	Harlequin
HH	Hat Hut
Hick.	Hickory
HM	Harmonia Mundi
Hor.	Horizon
Hyp.	Hyperion
IC	Inner City
IH	Indian House
ImA	Improvising Artists
Imp.	Impulse!
Imper.	Imperial
IndN	India Navigation
Isl.	Island
JAM	Jazz America Marketing
Jlgy	Jazzology
Jlnd	Jazzland
Jub.	Jubilee
Jwl	Jewell
Jzt.	Jazztone
Key.	Keynote
Kt.	Keytone
Lib.	Liberty
Lml.	Limelight
Lon.	London
Mdsv.	Moodsville
Mer.	Mercury
Met.	Metronome
Metro.	Metrojazz
MJR	Master Jazz Recordings
Mlst.	Milestone
Mlt.	Melotone
Moers	Moers Music
MonE	Monmouth-Evergreen
Mstr.	Mainstream
Musi.	Musicraft

Nat.	National
NewJ	New Jazz
Norg.	Norgran
NW	New World
OK	Okeh
OL	Oiseau-Lyre
Omni.	Omnisound
PAct	Pathé Actuelle
PAlt	Palo Alto
Para.	Paramount
Parl.	Parlophone
Per.	Perfect
Phi.	Philips
Phon.	Phontastic
PJ	Pacific Jazz
PL	Pablo Live
Pol.	Polydor
Prog.	Progressive
Prst.	Prestige
PT	Pablo Today
PW	Paddle Wheel
Qual.	Qualiton
Reg.	Regent
Rep.	Reprise
Rev.	Revelation
Riv.	Riverside
Roul.	Roulette
RR	Red Records
RT	Real Time
Sack.	Sackville
Sat.	Saturn
SE	Strata-East
Sig.	Signature
Slnd	Southland
SN	Soul Note
SolS	Solid State
Son.	Sonora
Spot.	Spotlite
Ste.	Steeplechase
Sto.	Storyville
Sup.	Supraphon
Tak.	Takoma
Tan.	Tangent
TE	Toshiba Express
Tei.	Teichiku
Tel.	Telefunken
The.	Theresa
Tim.	Timeless
TL	Time-Life
Tran.	Transition
UA	United Artists
Upt.	Uptown
Van.	Vanguard
Var.	Variety
Vars.	Varsity
Vic.	Victor
VJ	Vee-Jay
Voc.	Vocalion
WB	Warner Bros.
WP	World Pacific
Xan.	Xanadu

Library Sigla

The system of library sigla in this dictionary follows that used by Répertoire International des Sources Musicales, Kassel, as listed in its publication *RISM-Bibliothekssigel* (Kassel, 1999). Below are listed the sigla to be found; a few of them are additional to those published in the RISM list, but have been established in consultation with the RISM organization. Some original RISM sigla that have now been changed are retained here.

More information on individual libraries is available in the libraries list in volume 28.

In the dictionary, sigla are always printed in *italic*. In any listing of sources a national sigillum applies without repetition until it is contradicted.

Within each national list, entries are alphabetized by sigillum, first by capital letters (showing the city or town) and then by lower-case ones (showing the institution or collection).

A: AUSTRIA

A Admont, Benediktinerstift, Archiv und Bibliothek
DO Dorfbeuren, Pfarramt
Ed Eisenstadt, Domarchiv, Musikarchiv
Ee ——, Esterházy-Archiv
Eh ——, Haydn-Museum
Ek ——, Stadtpfarrkirche
El ——, Burgenländisches Landesmuseum
ETgoëss Ebenthal (nr Klagenfurt), Goëss private collection
F Fiecht, St Georgenberg, Benediktinerstift, Bibliothek
FB Fischbach (Oststeiermark), Pfarrkirche
FK Feldkirch, Domarchiv
Gd Graz, Diözesanarchiv
Gk ——, Universität für Musik und Darstellende Kunst
Gl ——, Steiermärkische Landesbibliothek am Joanneum
Gmi ——, Institut für Musikwissenschaft
Gu ——, Universitätsbibliothek
GÖ Göttweig, Benediktinerstift, Musikarchiv
GÜ Güssing, Franziskaner Kloster
H Herzogenburg, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift, Musikarchiv
HE Heiligenkreuz, Zisterzienserkloster
Ik Innsbruck, Tiroler Landeskonservatorium
Imf ——, Tiroler Landesmuseum Ferdinandeum
Imi ——, Musikwissenschaftliches Institut der Universität
Iu ——, Universitätsbibliothek
Kk Klagenfurt, Kärntner Landeskonservatorium, Stiftsbibliothek
Kla ——, Landesarchiv
Kse ——, Schlossbibliothek Ebental
KN Klosterneuburg, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift, Stiftsbibliothek
KR Kremsmünster, Benediktinerstift, Musikarchiv
L Lilienfeld, Zisterzienser-Stift, Musikarchiv und Bibliothek
LA Lambach, Benediktinerstift
LIm Linz, Oberösterreichisches Landesmuseum
LIs ——, Bundesstaatliche Studienbibliothek
M Melk, Benediktiner-Superiorat Mariazell
MB Michaelbeuern, Benediktinerabtei
MS Mattsee, Stiftsarchiv
MT Maria Taferl (Niederösterreich), Pfarre
MZ Mariazell, Benediktiner-Priorat, Bibliothek und Archiv
N Neuburg, Pfarrarchiv
R Rein, Zisterzienserstift
RB Reichersberg, Stift
Sca Salzburg, Carolino Augusteum: Salzburger Museum für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte, Bibliothek
Sd ——, Dom, Konsistorialarchiv, Dommusikarchiv
Sk ——, Kapitelbibliothek
Sl ——, Landesarchiv
Sm ——, Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum, Bibliotheca Mozartiana
Smi ——, Universität Salzburg, Institut für Musikwissenschaft, Bibliothek
Sn ——, Nonnberg (Benediktiner-Frauenstift), Bibliothek
Sp ——, Bibliothek des Priesterseminars
Ssp ——, Erzabtei St Peter, Musikarchiv
Sst ——, Bundesstaatliche Studienbibliothek [in *Su*]
Su ——, Universitätsbibliothek
SB Schlierbach, Stift
SCH Schlägl, Prämonstratenser-Stift, Bibliothek
SE Seckau, Benediktinerabtei
SEI Seitenstetten, Benediktinerstift, Musikarchiv
SF St Florian, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift, Stiftsbibliothek, Musikarchiv
SL St Lambrecht, Benediktiner-Abtei, Bibliothek
SPL St Paul, Benediktinerstift St Paul im Lavanttal
ST Stams, Zisterzienserstift, Musikarchiv
STEp Steyr, Stadtpfarre
TU Tulln, Pfarrkirche St Stephan
VOR Vorau, Stift
Wa Vienna, St Augustin, Musikarchiv
Waf ——, Pfarrarchiv Altlerchenfeld
Wdo ——, Zentralarchiv des Deutschen Orden
Wdtö ——, Gesellschaft zur Herausgabe von Denkmälern der Tonkunst in Österreich
Wgm ——, Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde
Wh ——, Pfarrarchiv Hernals
Whh ——, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv
Whk ——, Hofburgkapelle [in *Wn*]
Wk ——, St Karl Borromäus
Wkm ——, Kunsthistorisches Museum
Wlic ——, Pfarrkirche Wien-Lichtental
Wm ——, Minoritenkonvent
Wmi ——, Institut für Musikwissenschaft der Universität
Wn ——, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Musiksammlung
Wp ——, Musikarchiv, Piaristenkirche Maria Treu
Ws ——, Schottenabtei, Musikarchiv
Wsa ——, Stadtarchiv
Wsfl ——, Schottenfeld, Pfarrarchiv St Laurenz

Wsp	——, St Peter, Musikarchiv
Wst	——, Stadt- und Landesbibliothek, Musiksammlung
Wu	——, Universitätsbibliothek
Wwessely	——, Othmar Wessely, private collection
WAIp	Waidhofen (Ybbs), Stadtpfarre
WIL	Wilhering, Zisterzienserstift, Bibliothek und Musikarchiv
Z	Zwettl, Zisterzienserstift, Stiftsbibliothek

AUS: AUSTRALIA

CAnl	Canberra, National Library of Australia
Msl	Melbourne, State Library of Victoria
Pml	Perth, Central Music Library
PVgm	Parkville, Grainger Museum, University of Melbourne
Sb	Sydney, Symphony Australia National Music Library
Scm	——, New South Wales State Conservatorium of Music
Sfl	——, University of Sydney, Fisher Library
Smc	——, Australia Music Centre Ltd, Library
Sml	——, Music Branch Library, University of Sydney
Sp	——, Public Library
Ssl	——, State Library of New South Wales, Mitchell Library

B: BELGIUM

Aa	Antwerp, Stadsarchief
Aac	——, Archief en Museum voor het Vlaamse Culturleven
Ac	——, Koninklijk Vlaams Muziekconservatorium
Ak	——, Onze-Lieve-Vrouw-Kathedraal, Archief
Amp	——, Museum Plantin-Moretus
As	——, Stadsbibliotheek
Asj	——, Collegiale en Parochiale Kerk St-Jacob, Bibliotheek en Archief
Ba	Brussels, Archives de la Ville
Bc	——, Conservatoire Royal, Bibliothèque, Koninklijk Conservatorium, Bibliotheek
Bcdm	——, Centre Belge de Documentation Musicale [CeBeDeM]
Bg	——, Cathédrale St-Michel et Ste-Gudule [in *Bc* and *Br*]
Bmichotte	——, Michotte private collection [in *Bc*]
Br	——, Bibliothèque Royale Albert 1er/Koninlijke Bibliotheek Albert I, Section de la Musique
Brtb	——, Radiodiffusion-Télévision Belge
Bsp	——, Société Philharmonique
BRc	Bruges, Stedelijk Muziekconservatorium, Bibliotheek
BRs	——, Stadsbibliotheek
D	Diest, St Sulpitiuskerk
Gc	Ghent, Koninklijk Muziekconservatorium, Bibliotheek
Gcd	——, Culturele Dienst Province Oost-Vlaanderen
Geb	——, St Baafsarchief
Gu	——, Universiteit, Centrale Bibliotheek, Handskriftenzaal
La	Liège, Archives de l'État, Fonds de la Cathédrale St Lambert
Lc	——, Conservatoire Royal de Musique, Bibliothèque
Lg	——, Musée Grétry
Lu	——, Université de Liège, Bibliothèque
LVu	Leuven, Katholieke Universiteit van Leuven
MA	Morlanwelz-Mariemont, Musée de Mariemont, Bibliothèque
MEa	Mechelen, Archief en Stadsbibliotheek
Tc	Tournai, Chapitre de la Cathédrale, Archives
Tv	——, Bibliothèque de la Ville

BR: BRAZIL

Rem	Rio de Janeiro, Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro, Escola de Música, Biblioteca Alberto Nepomuceno
Rn	——, Fundação Biblioteca Nacional, Divisão de Música e Arquivo Sonoro

BY: BELARUS

MI	Minsk, Biblioteka Belorusskoj Gosudarstvennoj Konservatorii

C: CUBA

HABn	Havana, Biblioteca Nacional José Martí

CDN: CANADA

Cu	Calgary, University of Calgary, Library
E	Edmonton (AB), University of Alberta
HNu	Hamilton (ON), McMaster University, Mills Memorial Library, Music Section
Lu	London (ON), University of Western Ontario, Music Library
Mc	Montreal, Conservatoire de Musique, Centre de Documentation
Mcm	——, Centre de Musique Canadienne
Mm	——, McGill University, Faculty and Conservatorium of Music Library
Mn	——, Bibliothèque Nationale
On	Ottawa, National Library of Canada, Music Division
Qmu	Quebec, Monastère des Ursulines, Archives
Qsl	——, Musée de l'Amérique Françaische
Qul	——, Université Laval, Bibliothèque des Sciences Humaines et Sociales
Tcm	Toronto, Canadian Music Centre
Tu	——, University of Toronto, Faculty of Music Library
Vcm	Vancouver, Canadian Music Centre
VIu	Victoria, University of Victoria

CH: SWITZERLAND

A	Aarau, Aargauische Kantonsbibliothek
Bab	Basle, Archiv der Evangelischen Brüdersozietät
Bps	——, Paul Sacher Stiftung, Bibliothek
Bu	——, Universität Basel, Öffentliche Bibliothek, Musikabteilung
BEb	Berne, Burgerbibliothek/Bibliothèque de la Bourgeoisie
BEl	——, Schweizerische Landesbibliothek/Bibliothèque Nationale Suisse/Biblioteca Nationale Svizzera/Biblioteca Naziunala Svizra
BEsu	——, Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek
BM	Beromünster, Musikbibliothek des Stifts
BU	Burgdorf, Stadtbibliothek
CObodmer	Cologny-Geneva, Fondation Martin Bodmer, Bibliotheca Bodmeriana
D	Disentis, Stift, Musikbibliothek
E	Einsiedeln, Benedikterkloster, Musikbibliothek
EN	Engelberg, Kloster, Musikbibliothek
Fcu	Fribourg, Bibliothèque Cantonale et Universitaire
FF	Frauenfeld, Thurgauische Kantonsbibliothek
Gc	Geneva, Conservatoire de Musique, Bibliothèque
Gpu	——, Bibliothèque Publique et Universitaire
Lmg	Lucerne, Allgemeine Musikalische Gesellschaft
Lz	——, Zentralbibliothek
LAac	Lausanne, Archives Cantonales Vaudoises
LAcu	——, Bibliothèque Cantonale et Universitaire
LU	Lugano, Biblioteca Cantonale
MSbk	Mariastein, Benediktinerkloster
MÜ	Müstair, Frauenkloster St Johann
N	Neuchâtel, Bibliothèque Publique et Universitaire
OB	Oberbüren, Kloster Glattburg
P	Porrentruy, Bibliothèque Cantonale Jurasienne (incl. Bibliothèque du Lycée Cantonal)
R	Rheinfelden, Christkatholisches Pfarramt
S	Sion, Bibliothèque Cantonale du Valais
SAf	Sarnen, Benediktinerinnen-Abtei St Andreas
SAM	Samedan, Biblioteca Fundaziun Planta
SGd	St Gallen, Domchorarchiv
SGs	——, Stiftsbibliothek, Handschriftenabteilung
SGv	——, Kantonsbibliothek (Vadiana)
SH	Schaffhausen, Stadtbibliothek
SO	Solothurn, Zentralbibliothek, Musiksammlung
SObo	——, Bischöfliches Ordinariat der Diözese Basel, Diözesanarchiv des Bistums Basel
W	Winterthur, Stadtbibliothek
Zi	Zürich, Israelitische Kultusgemeinde
Zma	——, Schweizerisches Musik-Archiv [in *Nf*]
Zz	——, Zentralbibliothek
ZGm	Zug, Pfarrarchiv St Michael

CO: COLOMBIA

B	Bogotá, Archivo de la Catedral

CZ: CZECH REPUBLIC

Bam	Brno, Archiv města Brna
Bb	——, Klášter Milosrdnych Bratří [in *Bm*]
Bm	——, Moravské Zemské Muzeum, Oddělení Dějin Hudby
Bsa	——, Státní Oblastní Archiv
Bu	——, Moravská Zemeská Knihovna, Hudební Oddělení
BER	Beroun, Statní Okresní Archiv
BROb	Broumov, Knihovna Benediktinů [in *HK*]
CH	Cheb, Okresní Archiv
CHRm	Chrudim, Okresní Muzeum
D	Dačice, Knihovna Františkánů [in *Bu*]
H	Hronov, Muzeum
HK	Hradec Králové, Státní Vědecká Knihovna
HKm	——, Muzeum Východních Čech
HR	Hradiště u Znojma, Knihovna Křižovníků[in *Bu*]
JIa	Jindřichův Hradec, Státní Oblastní Archív Třeboni
K	Český Krumlov, Státní Oblastní Archiv v Třeboni, Hudební Sbírka
KA	Kadaň, Děkansky Kostel
KL	Klatovy, Státní Oblastní Archiv v Plzni, Pobočka Klatovy
KR	Kroměříž, Knihovna Arcibiskupského Zámku
KRa	——, Státní y Zámek a Zahrady, Historicko-Umělecké Fondy, Hudební Archív
KRA	Králíky, Kostel Sv. Michala [in *UO*]
KU	Kutná Hora, Okresní Muzeum [in *Pnm*]
LIa	Česká Lípa, Okresní Archív
LIT	Litoměřice, Státní Oblastní Archiv
LO	Loukov, Farní Kostel
LUa	Louny, Okresní Archív
ME	Mělník, Okresní Muzeum [on loan to *Pnm*]
MH	Mnichovo Hradiště, Vlastivědné Muzeum
MHa	——, Státní Oblatní Archiv v Praze – Pobočka v Mnichovoě Hradišti
MT	Moravská Třebová, Knihovna Františkánů [in *Bu*]
NR	Nová Říše, Klášter Premonstrátů, Knihovna a Hudební Sbírka
OLa	Olomouc, Zemeský Archiv Opava, Pracoviště Olomouc
OP	Opava, Slezské Muzeum
OS	Ostrava, Česky Rozhlas, Hudební Archiv
OSE	Osek, Knihovna Cisterciáků [in *Pnm*]
Pa	Prague, Státní Ústřední Archiv
Pak	——, Pražská Metropolitní Kapitula
Pdobrovského	——, Národní Muzeum, Dobrovského (Nostická) Knihovna
Pk	——, Konservatoř, Archiv a Knihovna
Pn	——, Knihovna Národního Muzea
Pnd	——, Národní Divadlo, Hudební Archiv
Pnm	——, Národní Muzeum
Pr	——, Česky Rozhlas, Archívní a Programové Fondy, Fond Hudebnin
Ps	——, Památník Národního Písemnictví, Knihovna
Psj	——, Kostel Sv. Jakuba, Farní Rad
Pst	——, Knihovna Kláštera Premonstrátů (Strahovská Knihovna) [in *Pnm*]
Pu	——, Národní Knihovna, Hudenbí Oddělení
Puk	——, Karlova Univerzita, Filozofická Fakulta, Ústav Hudební Vědy, Knihovna
PLa	Plzeň, Městský Archiv
PLm	——, Západočeské Muzeum, Uměleckoprůmyslové Oddělení
POa	Poděbrady, Okresní Archiv Nymburk, Pobočka Poděbrady
POm	——, Muzeum
R	Rajhrad, Knihovna Benediktinského Kláštera [in *Bm*]
RO	Rokycany, Okresní Muzeum
ROk	——, Děkansky Úřad, Kostel
SE	Semily, Okresní Archiv v Semilech se Sídlem v Bystré nad Jizerou
SO	Sokolov, Okresní Archiv se Sídlem Jindřchovice, Zámek
TC	Třebíč, Městsky Archiv
TU	Turnov, Muzeum, Hudební Sbírka [in *SE*]
VB	Vyšší Brod, Knihovna Cisterciáckého Kláštera
Z	Žatec, Muzeum
ZI	Žitenice, Státní Oblastní Archiv v Litoměřicích
ZL	Zlonice, Památník Antonína Dvořáka

D: GERMANY

Aa	Augsburg, Kantoreiarchiv St Annen
Aab	——, Archiv des Bistums Augsburg
Af	——, Fuggersche Domänenkanzlei, Bibliothek
Ahk	——, Heilig-Kreuz-Kirche, Dominikanerkloster, Biliothek [in *Asa*]
As	——, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek
Asa	——, Stadtarchiv
Au	——, Universität Augsburg, Universitätsbibliothek
AAm	Aachen, Domarchiv (Stiftsarchiv)
AAst	——, Öffentliche Bibliothek, Musikbibliothek
AB	Amorbach, Fürstlich Leiningische Bibliothek
ABG	Annaberg-Buchholz, Kirchenbibliothek St Annen
ABGa	——, Kantoreiarchiv St Annen
AG	Augustusburg, Evangelisch-Lutherisches Pfarramt der Stadtkirche St Petri, Musiksammlung
AIC	Aichach, Stadtpfarrkirche [on loan to *FS*]
ALa	Altenburg, Thüringisches Hauptstaatdsarchiv Weimar, Aussenstelle Altenburg
AM	Amberg, Staatliche Bibliothek
AN	Ansbach, Staatliche Bibliothek
ANsv	——, Sing- und Orchesterverein (Ansbacher Kantorei), Archiv [in *AN*]
AÖhk	Altötting, Kapuziner-Kloster St Konrad, Bibliothek
ARk	Arnstadt, Evangelisch-Lutherisches Pfarramt, Bibliothek
ARsk	——, Stadt- und Kreisbibliothek
ASh	Aschaffenburg, Schloss Johannisburg, Hofbibliothek
ASsb	——, Schloss Johannisburg, Stiftsbibliothek
Ba	Berlin, Amerika-Gedenkbibliothek, Musikabteilung [in *Bz*]
Bda	——, Akademie der Künste, Stiftung Archiv
Bdhm	——, Hochschule für Musik Hanns Eisler
Bga	——, Geheimes Staatsarchiv, Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz
Bgk	——, Bibliothek zum Grauen Kloster [in *Bs*]
Bhbk	——, Staatliche Hochschule für Bildende Kunst, Bibliothek
Bhm	——, Hochschule der Künste, Hochschulbibliothek, Abteilung Musik und Darstellende Kunst
Bim	——, Staatliches Institut für Musikforschung, Bibliothek
Bk	——, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kunstbibliothek
Bkk	——, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett
Br	——, Deutsches, Rundfunkarchiv Frankfurt am Main – Berlin, Historische Archive, Bibliothek
Bs	——, Stadtbibliothek, Musikbibliothek [in *Bz*]
Bsb	——, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preussischer Kulturbesitz
Bsommer	——, Sommer private collection
Bsp	——, Evangelische Kirche Berlin-Brandenburg, Sprachenkonvikt, Bibliothek
Bst	——, Stadtbücherei Wilmersdorf, Hauptstelle
BAa	Bamberg, Staatsarchiv
BAs	——, Staatsbibliothek
BAL	Ballenstedt, Stadtbibliothek
BAR	Bartenstein, Fürst zu Hohenlohe-Bartensteinsches Archiv [on loan to *NEhz*]
BAUd	Bautzen, Domstift und Bischöfliches Ordinariat, Bibliothek und Archiv
BAUk	Bautzen, Stadtbibliothek
BAUm	——, Stadtmuseum
BB	Benediktbeuern, Pfarrkirche, Bibliothek
BDk	Brandenburg, Dom St Peter und Paul, Domstiftsarchiv und -bibliothek
BDH	Bad Homburg vor der Höhe, Stadtbibliothek
BDS	Bad Schwalbach, Evangelisches Pfarrarchiv
BE	Bad Berleburg, Fürstlich Sayn-Wittgenstein-Berleburgsche Bibliothek

BEU Beuron, Bibliothek der Benediktiner-Erzabtei
BFb Burgsteinfurt, Fürst zu Bentheimsche Musikaliensammlung [on loan to *MÜu*]
BG Beuerberg, Stiftskirche
BGD Berchtesgaden, Stiftkirche, Bibliothek [on loan to *FS*]
BH Bayreuth, Stadtbücherei
BIB Bibra, Pfarrarchiv
BIT Bitterfeld, Kreis-Museum
BKÖs Bad Köstritz, Forschungs- und Gedenkstätte Heinrich-Schütz-Haus
BMs Bremen, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek
BNba Bonn, Beethoven-Haus, Beethoven-Archiv
BNms ——, Musikwissenschaftliches Seminar der Rheinischen Friedrich-Wilhelm-Universität
BNsa ——, Stadtarchiv und Wissenschaftliche Stadtbibliothek
BNu ——, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek
BO Bollstedt, Evangelische Kirchengemeinde, Pfarrarchiv
BOCHmi Bochum, Ruhr-Universität, Fakultät für Geschichtswissenschaft, Musikwissenschaftliches Institut
BS Brunswick, Stadtarchiv und Stadtbibliothek
BUCH Buchen (Odenwald), Bezirksmuseum, Kraus-Sammlung
Cl Coburg, Landesbibliothek, Musiksammlung
Cs ——, Staatsarchiv
Cv ——, Kunstsammlung der Veste Coburg, Bibliothek
CEbm Celle, Bomann-Museum, Museum für Volkskunde Landes- und Stadtgeschichte
CR Crimmitschau, Stadtkirche St Laurentius, Notenarchiv
CZ Clausthal-Zellerfeld, Kirchenbibliothek [in *CZu*]
CZu ——, Technische Universität, Universitätsbibliothek
Dhm Dresden, Hochschule für Musik Carl Maria von Weber, Bibliothek [in *Dl*]
Dl ——, Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitäts-Bibliothek, Musikabteilung
Dla ——, Sächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv
Dmb ——, Städtische Bibliotheken, Haupt- und Musikbibliothek [in *Dl*]
Ds ——, Sächsische Staatsoper, Notenbibliothek [in *Dl*]
DB Dettelbach, Franziskanerkloster, Bibliothek
DEl Dessau, Anhaltische Landesbücherei
DEsa ——, Stadtarchiv
DGs Duisburg, Stadtbibliothek, Musikbibliothek
DI Dillingen an der Donau, Kreis- und Studienbibliothek
DL Delitzsch, Museum, Bibliothek
DM Dortmund, Stadt- und Landesbibliothek, Musikabteilung
DO Donaueschingen, Fürstlich Fürstenbergische Hofbibliothek
DS Darmstadt, Hessische Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek, Musikabteilung
DSim ——, Internationales Musikinstitut, Informationszentrum für Zeitgenössische Musik, Bibliothek
DSsa Darmstadt, Hessisches Staatsarchiv
DT Detmold, Lippische Landesbibliothek, Musikabteilung
DTF Dietfurt, Franziskanerkloster [in *Ma*]
DÜha ——, Nordrhein-Westfälisches Hauptstaatsarchiv
DÜk Düsseldorf, Goethe-Museum, Bibliothek
DÜl ——, Universitätss- und Landesbibliothek, Heinrich Heine Universität
DWc Donauwörth, Cassianeum
Ed Eichstätt, Dom [in *Eu*]
Es ——, Staats- und Seminarbibliothek [in *Eu*]
Eu ——, Katholische Universität, Universitätsbibliothek
Ew ——, Benediktinerinnen-Abtei St Walburg, Bibliothek
EB Ebrach, Katholisches Pfarramt, Bibliothek
EC Eckartsberga, Pfarrarchiv
EF Erfurt, Statd- und Regionalbibliothek, Abteilung Wissenschaftliche Sondersammlungen
EIa Eisenach, Stadtarchiv, Bibliothek
EIb ——, Bachmuseum
EN Engelberg, Franziskanerkloster, Bibliothek
ERu Erlangen, Universitätsbibliothek
ERP Landesberg am Lech-Erpfting, Katholische Pfarrkirche [on loan to *Aab*]
EW Ellwangen (Jagst), Stiftskirche
F Frankfurt, Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek
Ff ——, Freies Deutsches Hochstift, Frankfurter Goethe-Museum, Bibliothek
Frl ——, Musikverlag Robert Lienau
Fsa ——, Stadtarchiv
FBa Freiberg (Lower Saxony), Stadtarchiv
FBo ——, Geschwister-Scholl-Gymnasium, Andreas-Möller-Bibliothek
FLa Flensburg, Stadtarchiv
FLs Flensburg, Landeszentralbibliothek Schleswig-Holstein
FRu Freiburg, Albert-Ludwigs-Universität, Universitätsbibliothek, Abteilung Handschriften, Alte Drucke und Rara
FRva ——, Deutsches Volksliedarchiv
FRIts Friedberg, Bibliothek des Theologischen Seminars der Evangelischen Kirche in Hessen und Nassau
FS Freising, Erzbistum München und Freising, Dombibliothek
FUl Fulda, Hessische Landesbibliothek
FÜS Füssen, Katholisches Stadtpfarramt St Mang
FW Frauenchiemsee, Benediktinerinnenabtei Frauenwörth, Archiv
Ga Göttingen, Staatliches Archivlager
Gb ——, Johann-Sebastian-Bach-Institut
Gms ——, Musikwissenschaftliches Seminar der Georg-August-Universität
Gs ——, Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek
GBR Grossbreitenbach (nr Arnstadt), Pfarramt, Archiv
GD Goch-Gaesdonck, Collegium Augustinianum
GI Giessen, Justus-Liebig-Universität, Bibliothek
GLAU Glauchau, St Georgen, Musikarchiv
GM Grimma, Göschenhaus-Seume-Gedenkstätte
GMl ——, Landesschule [in *Dl*]
GOa Gotha, Augustinerkirche, Notenbibliothek
GOl ——, Forschungs- und Landesbibliothek, Musiksammlung
GÖs Görlitz, Oberlausitzische Bibliothek der Wissenschaften bei den Städtischen Sammlungen
GOL Goldbach (nr Gotha), Pfarrbibliothek
GRu Greifswald, Universitätsbibliothek
GRH Gerolzhofen, Katholische Pfarrei [on loan to *WÜd*]
GÜ Güstrow, Museum der Stadt
GZsa Greiz, Thüringisches Staatsarchiv Rudolstadt, Aussenstelle Greiz
Ha Hamburg, Staatsarchiv
Hkm ——, Kunstgewerbemuseum, Bibliothek
Hmb ——, Öffentlichen Bücherhallen, Musikbücherei
Hs ——, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Carl von Ossietzky, Musiksammlung
HAf Halle, Hauptbibliothek und Archiv der Franckeschen Stiftungen
HAh ——, Händel-Haus
HAmi ——, Martin-Luther-Universität, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt, Institut für Musikwissenschaft, Bibliothek
HAmk ——, Marktkirche Unser Lieben Frauen, Marienbibliothek
HAu ——, Martin-Luther-Universität, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
HAR Hartha (Kurort), Kantoreiarchiv
HB Heilbronn, Stadtarchiv
HEms Heidelberg, Musikwissenschaftliches Seminar der Rupert-Karls-Universität
HEu ——, Ruprecht-Karls-Universität, Universitätsbibliothek, Abteilung Handschriften und Alte Drucke
HER Herrnhut, Evangelische Brüder-Unität, Archiv
HGm Havelberg, Prignitz-Museum, Bibliothek
HL Haltenbergstetten, Schloss (über Niederstetten, Baden-Württemburg), Fürst zu Hohenlohe-Jagstberg'sche Bibliothek [in *Mbs*]

HOE	Hohenstein-Ernstthal, Kantoreiarchiv der Christophorikirche
HR	Harburg (nr Donauwörth), Fürstlich Oettingen-Wallerstein'sche Bibliothek Schloss Harburg [in *Au*]
HRD	Arnsberg-Herdringen, Schlossbibliothek (Bibliotheca Fürstenbergiana) [in *Au*]
HSj	Helmstedt, Ehemalige Universitätsbibliothek
HSk	——, Kantorat St Stephani [in *W*]
HVkm	Hanover, Bibliothek des Kestner-Museums
HVl	——, Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek
HVs	——, Stadtbibliothek, Musikbibliothek
HVsa	——, Staatsarchiv
IN	Markt Indersdorf, Katholisches Pfarramt, Bibliothek [on loan to *FS*]
ISL	Iserlohn, Evangelische Kirchengemeinde, Varnhagen-Bibliothek
Jmb	Jena, Ernst-Abbe-Bücherei und Lesehalle der Carl-Zeiss-Stiftung, Musikbibliothek
Jmi	Jena, Friedrich-Schiller-Universität, Sektion Literatur- und Kunstwissenschaften, Bibliothek des ehem. Musikwissenschaftlichen Instituts [in *Ju*]
Ju	——, Friedrich-Schiller-Universität, Thüringer Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek
JE	Jever, Marien-Gymnasium, Bibliothek
Kdma	Kassel, Deutsches Musikgeschichtliches Archiv
Kl	——, Gesamthochschul-Bibliothek, Landesbibliothek und Murhardsche Bibliothek, Musiksammlung
Km	——, Musikakademie, Bibliothek
Ksp	——, Louis Spohr-Gedenk- und Forschungsstätte, Archiv
KA	Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek
KAsp	——, Pfarramt St Peter
KAu	——, Universitätsbibliothek
KBs	Koblenz, Stadtbibliothek
KFp	Kaufbeuren, Protestantisches Kirchenarchiv
KIl	Kiel, Schleswig-Holsteinische Landesbibliothek
KIu	——, Universitätsbibliothek
KMs	Kamenz, Stadtarchiv
KNa	Cologne, Historisches Archiv der Stadt
KNd	——, Kölner Dom, Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek
KNh	——, Staatliche Hochschule für Musik, Bibliothek
KNmi	——, Musikwissenschaftliches Institut der Universität
KNu	——, Universitäts- und Stadtbibliothek
KPs	Kempten, Stadtbücherei
KPsl	——, Stadtpfarrkirche St Lorenz, Musikarchiv
KR	Kleinröhrsdorf (nr Bischofswerda), Pfarrkirchenbibliothek
KZa	Konstanz, Stadtarchiv
Lm	Lüneburg, Michaelisschule
Lr	——, Ratsbücherei, Musikabteilung
LA	Landshut, Historischer Verein für Niederbayern, Bibliothek
LB	Langenburg, Fürstlich Hohenlohe-Langenburg'sche Schlossbibliothek [on loan to *NEhz*]
LEb	Leipzig, Bach-Archiv
LEbh	——, Breitkopf & Härtel, Verlagsarchiv
LEdb	——, Deutsche Bücherei, Musikaliensammlung
LEm	——, Leipziger Städtische Bibliotheken, Musikbibliothek
LEmi	——, Universität, Zweigbibliothek Musikwissenschaft und Musikpädagogik [in *LEu*]
LEsm	——, Stadtgeschichtliches Museum, Bibliothek, Musik- und Theatergeschichtliche Sammlungen
LEst	——, Stadtbibliothek [in *LEu* and *LEm*]
LEt	——, Thomanerchor, Bibliothek [in *LEb*]
LEu	——, Karl-Marx-Universität, Universitätsbibliothek, Bibliotheca Albertina
LFN	Laufen, Stiftsarchiv
LI	Lindau, Stadtbibliothek
LIM	Limbach am Main, Pfarrkirche Maria Limbach
LST	Lichtenstein, Stadtkirche St Laurentius, Kantoreiarchiv
LÜh	Lübeck, Bibliothek der Hansestadt, Musikabteilung
LUC	Luckau, Stadtkirche St Nikolai, Kantoreiarchiv

Ma	Munich, Franziskanerkloster St Anna, Bibliothek
Mb	——, Benediktinerabtei St Bonifaz, Bibliothek
Mbm	——, Bibliothek des Metropolitankapitels
Mbn	——, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Bibliothek
Mbs	——, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek
Mf	——, Frauenkirche [on loan to *FS*]
Mh	——, Staatliche Hochschule für Musik, Bibliothek
Mhsa	——, Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv
Mk	——, Theatinerkirche St Kajetan
Mm	——, Bibliothek St Michael
Mo	——, Opernarchiv
Msa	——, Staatsarchiv
Mth	——, Theatermuseum der Clara-Ziegler-Stiftung
Mu	——, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität, Universitätsbibliothek, Abteilung Handschriften, Nachlässe, Alte Drucke
MAl	Magdeburg, Landeshauptarchiv Sachsen-Anhalt [in *WERa*]
MAs	——, Stadtbibliothek Wilhelm Weitling, Musikabteilung
ME	Meissen, Stadt- und Kreisbibliothek
MEIk	Meiningen, Bibliothek der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Kirchengemeinde
MEIl	——, Thüringisches Staatsarchiv
MEIr	——, Meininger Museen, Abteilung Musikgeschichte/Max-Reger-Archiv
MERa	Merseburg, Domstift, Stiftsarchiv
MG	Marburg, Westdeutsche Bibliothek [in *Bsb*]
MGmi	——, Musikwissenschaftliches Institut der Philipps-Universität, Abteilung Hessisches Musikarchiv
MGs	——, Staatsarchiv und Archivschule
MGu	——, Philipps-Universität, Universitätsbibliothek
MGB	Mönchen-Gladbach, Bibliothek Wissenschaft und Weisheit, Johannes-Duns-Skotus-Akademie der Kölnischen Ordens-Provinz der Franziskaner
MH	Mannheim, Wissenschaftliche Stadtbibliothek
MHrm	——, Städtisches Reiss-Museum
MHst	——, Stadtbücherei, Musikbücherei
MLHb	Mühlhausen, Blasiuskirche, Pfarrarchiv Divi Blasii [on loan to *MLHm*]
MLHm	——, Marienkirche
MLHr	——, Stadtarchiv
MMm	Memmingen, Evangelisch-Lutherisches Pfarramt St Martin, Bibliothek
MR	Marienberg, Kirchenbibliothek
MT	Metten, Abtei, Bibliothek
MÜd	Münster, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv
MÜp	——, Bischöflishes Priesterseminar, Bibliothek
MÜs	——, Santini-Bibliothek [in *MÜp*]
MÜu	——, Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Musiksammlung
MÜG	Mügeln, Evangelisch-Lutherisches Pfarramt St Johannis, Musikarchiv
MY	Mylau, Kirchenbibliothek
MZmi	Mainz, Musikwissenschaftliches Institut der Johannes-Gutenberg-Universität
MZp	——, Bischöfliches Priesterseminar, Bibliothek
MZs	——, Stadtbibliothek
MZsch	——, Musikverlag B. Schott's Söhne, Verlagsarchiv
MZu	——, Johannes-Gutenberg-Universität, Universitätsbibliothek, Musikabteilung
Ngm	Nuremberg, Germanisches National-Museum, Bibliothek
Nla	——, Bibliothek beim Landeskirchlichen Archiv
Nst	——, Bibliothek Egidienplatz
NA	Neustadt an der Orla, Evangelisch-Lutherische Kirchgemeinde, Pfarrarchiv
NAUs	Naumburg, Stadtarchiv
NAUw	——, St Wenzel, Bibliothek
NEhz	Neuenstein, Hohenlohe-Zentralarchiv
NH	Neresheim, Bibliothek der Benediktinerabtei
NL	Nördlingen, Stadtarchiv, Stadtbibliothek und Volksbücherei
NLk	——, Evangelisch-Lutherisches Pfarramt St Georg, Musikarchiv
NM	Neumünster, Schleswig-Holsteinische Musiksammlung der Stadt Neumünster [in *KIl*]

NNFw Neunhof (nr Nürnberg), Freiherrliche Welser'sche Familienstiftung
NO Nordhausen, Wilhelm-von-Humboldt-Gymnasium, Bibliothek
NS Neustadt an der Aisch, Evangelische Kirchenbibliothek
NT Neumarkt-St Veit, Pfarrkirche
NTRE Niedertrebra, Evangelisch-Lutherische Kirchgemeinde, Pfarrarchiv
OB Ottobeuren, Benediktinerabtei
OBS Gessertshausen-Oberschönenfeld, Abtei
OF Offenbach am Main, Verlagsarchiv André
OLH Olbernhau, Evangelisch-Lutherisches Pfarramt, Pfarrarchiv
ORB Oranienbaum, Landesarchiv
Pg Passau, Gymnasialbibliothek
Po ——, Bistum, Archiv
PA Paderborn, Erzbischöfliche Akademische Bibliothek [in *HRD*]
PE Perleberg, Pfarrbibliothek
PI Pirna, Stadtarchiv
PL Plauen, Stadtkirche St Johannis, Pfarrarchiv
PO Pommersfelden, Graf von Schönbornsche Schlossbibliothek
POL Polling, Katholisches Pfarramt
POTh Potsdam, Fachhochschule Potsdam, Hochschulbibliothek
Rp Regensburg, Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek, Proske-Musikbibliothek
Rs ——, Staatliche Bibliothek
Rtt ——, Fürst Thurn und Taxis Hofbibliothek
Ru ——, Universität Regensburg, Universitätsbibliothek
RAd Ratzeburg, Domarchiv
RB Rothenburg ob der Tauber, Stadtarchiv und Rats- und Konsistorialbibliothek
RH Rheda, Fürst zu Bentheim-Tecklenburgische Musikbibliothek [on loan to *MÜu*]
ROmi Rostock, Universitätsbibliothek, Fachbibliothek Musikwissenschaften
ROs ——, Stadtbibliothek, Musikabteilung
ROu ——, Universität, Universitätsbibliothek
RT Rastatt, Bibliothek des Friedrich-Wilhelm-Gymnasiums
RUh Rudolstadt, Hofkapellarchiv [in *RUl*]
RUl ——, Thüringisches Staatsarchiv
Sl Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek
SBj Straubing, Kirchenbibliothek St Jakob [in *Rp*]
SCHOT Schotten, Liebfrauenkirche
SHk Sondershausen, Stadtkirche/Superintendentur, Bibliothek
SHm ——, Schlossmuseum
SHs ——, Schlossmuseum, Bibliothek [in *SHm*]
SI Sigmaringen, Fürstlich Hohenzollernsche Hofbibliothek
SNed Schmalkalden, Evangelisches Dekanat, Bibliothek
SPlb Speyer, Pfälzische Landesbibliothek, Musikabteilung
STBp Steinbach (nr Bad Salzungen), Evangelische-Lutherisches Pfarramt, Pfarrarchiv
STOm Stolberg (Harz), Pfarramt St Martini, Pfarrarchiv
SUH Suhl, Wissenschaftliche Allgemeinbibliothek, Musikabteilung
SÜN Sünching, Schloss
SWl Schwerin, Landesbibliothek Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, Musiksammlung
SWs ——, Stadtbibliothek, Musikabteilung [in *SWl*]
SWth ——, Mecklenburgisches Staatstheater, Bibliothek
Tl Tübingen, Schwäbisches Landesmusikarchiv [in *Tmi*]
Tmi ——, Bibliothek des Musikwissenschaftlichen Institut
Tu ——, Eberhard-Karls-Universität, Universitätsbibliothek
TEG Tegernsee, Pfarrkirche
TEGha ——, Herzogliches Archiv
TEI Teisendorf, Katholisches Pfarramt, Pfarrbibliothek
TIT Tittmoning, Pfarrkirche [in *Fs*]
TO Torgau, Evangelische Kirchengemeinde, Johann-Walter-Kantorei
TRb Trier, Bistumarchiv
TRs ——, Stadtbibliothek
TZ Bad Tölz, Katholisches Pfarramt Maria Himmelfahrt [in *FS*]
Us Ulm, Stadtbibliothek
Usch ——, Von Schermar'sche Familienstiftung, Bibliothek
UDa Udestedt, Evangelisch-Lutherisches Pfarramt [in *Dl*]
URS Ursberg, St Josef-Kongregation, Orden der Franziskanerinnen
W Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Handschriftensammlung
Wa ——, Niedersächsisches Staatsarchiv
WA Waldheim, Stadtkirche St Nikolai, Bibliothek
WAB Waldenburg, St Bartholomäus, Kantoreiarchiv
WD Wiesentheid, Musiksammlung des Grafen von Schönborn-Wiesentheid
WERhb Wernigerode, Harzmuseum, Harzbücherei
WEY Weyarn, Pfarrkirche, Bibliothek [on loan to *FS*]
WF Weissenfels, Schuh- und Stadtmuseum Weissenfels (mit Heinrich-Schütz-Gedenkstätte) [on loan to *BKÖs*]
WFe ——, Ephoralbibliothek
WFmk ——, Marienkirche, Pfarrarchiv [in *HAmk*]
WGl Wittenberg, Lutherhalle, Reformationsgeschichtliches Museum
WGH Waigolshausen, Katholische Pfarrei [on loan to *WÜd*]
WH Bad Windsheim, Stadtbibliothek
WIl Wiesbaden, Hessische Landesbibliothek
WINtj Winhöring, Gräflich Toerring-Jettenbachsche Bibliothek [on loan to *Mbs*]
WO Worms, Stadtbibliothek und Öffentliche Büchereien
WRdn Weimar, Deutsches Nationaltheater und Staatskappelle, Archiv
WRgm ——, Goethe-National-Museum (Goethes Wohnhaus)
WRgs ——, Stiftung Weimarer Klassik, Goethe–Schiller-Archiv
WRh ——, Hochschule für Musik Franz Liszt
WRiv ——, Hochschule für Musik Franz Liszt, Institut für Volksmusikforschung
WRl ——, Thüringisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Weimar
WRtl ——, Thüringische Landesbibliothek, Musiksammlung [in *WRz*]
WRz ——, Stiftung Weimarer Klassik, Herzogin Anna Amalia Bibliothek
WS Wasserburg am Inn, Chorarchiv St Jakob, Pfarramt [on loan to *FS*]
WÜd Würzburg, Diözesanarchiv
WÜst ——, Staatsarchiv
WÜu ——, Bayerische Julius-Maximilians-Universität, Universitätsbibliothek
Z Zwickau, Ratsschulbibliothek, Wissenschaftliche Bibliothek
Zsa ——, Stadtarchiv
Zsch ——, Robert-Schumann-Haus
ZE Zerbst, Stadtarchiv
ZEo ——, Gymnasium Francisceum, Bibliothek
ZGh Zörbig, Heimatmuseum
ZI Zittau, Christian-Weise-Bibliothek, Altbestand [in *Dl*]
ZL Zeil, Fürstlich Waldburg-Zeil'sches Archiv
ZZs Zeitz, Stiftsbibliothek

DK: DENMARK

A Århus, Statsbiblioteket
Ch Christiansfeld, Brødremenigheden (Herrnhutgemeinde)
Kar Copenhagen, Det Arnamagnaeanske Institut
Kc ——, Carl Claudius Musikhistoriske Samling [in *Km*]
Kk ——, Kongelige Bibliotek
Kmk ——, Kongelige Danske Musikkonservatorium
Ku ——, Det Kongelige Bibliotek Fiolstraede
Kv ——, Københavns Universitét, Musikvidenskabeligt Institut, Bibliotek
Ol Odense, Landsarkivet for Fyen

Ou	——, Universitetsbibliotek, Musikafdelingen
Sa	Sorø, Sorø Akademi, Biblioteket
Tv	Tåsinge, Valdemars Slot

E: SPAIN

Ac	Avila, S Apostólica Iglesia Catedral de el Salvador, Archivo Catedralicio
Asa	——, Monasterio de S Ana
AL	Alquézar, Colegiata
ALB	Albarracín, Catedral, Archivo
AR	Aránzazu, Archivo Musical del Monasterio de Aránzazu
AS	Astorga, Catedral
Bac	Barcelona, Archivo de la Corona de Aragón/Arixiu de la Corona d'Aragó
Bbc	——, Biblioteca de Catalunya, Seccíon de Música
Bc	——, S.E. Catedra Basiclica, Arixiu
Bcd	——, Centro de Documentació Musical de la Generalitat de Catalunya 'El Jardi Dels Tarongers'
Bih	——, Arixiu Históric de la Ciutat
Bim	——, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Departamento de Musicología, Biblioteca
Bit	——, Institut del Teatre, Centre d'Investigació, Documentació i Difusió
Boc	——, Orfeó Catalá, Biblioteca
Bu	——, Universitat Autónoma
BA	Badajoz, Catedral, Archivo Capitular
BUa	Burgos, Catedral, Archivo
BUlh	——, Cistercian Monasterio de Las Huelgas
C	Córdoba, S Iglesia Catedral, Archivo de Música
CA	Calahorra, Catedral
CAL	Calatayud, Colegiata de S María
CU	Cuenca, Catedral, Archivo Capitular
CUi	——, Instituto de Música Religiosa
CZ	Cádiz, Archivo Capitular
E	San Lorenzo de El Escorial, Monasterio, Real Biblioteca
G	Gerona, Catedral, Archivo/Arxiu Capitular
Gp	——, Biblioteca Pública
GRc	Granada, Catedral Metropolitana, Archivo Capitular [in *GRcr*]
GRcr	——, Capilla Real, Archivo de Música
GRmf	——, Archivo Manuel de Falla
GU	Guadalupe, Real Monasterio de S María, Archivo de Música
H	Huesca, Catedral
J	Jaca, Catedral, Archivo Musical
JA	Jaén, Catedral, Archivo Capitular
JEc	Jerez de la Frontera, Colegiata
L	León, Catedral, Archivo Histórico
Lc	——, Real Basilica de S Isidoro
LEc	Lérida, Catedral
LPA	Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, Catedral de Canarias
Mah	Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional
Mba	——, Archivo de Música, Real Academia de Bellas Artes de S Fernando
Mc	——, Real Conservatorio Superior de Música, Biblioteca
Mca	——, Casa de Alba
Mcns	——, Congregación de Nuestra Señora
Md	——, Centro de Documentación Musical del Ministerio de Cultura
Mdr	——, Convento de las Descalzas Reales
Mm	——, Biblioteca Histórica Municipal
Mmc	——, Casa Ducal de Medinaceli, Biblioteca
Mn	——, Biblioteca Nacional
Mp	——, Patrimonio Nacional
Msa	——, Sociedad General de Autores y Editores
MA	Málaga, Catedral, Archivo Capitular
MO	Montserrat, Abadía
MON	Mondoñedo, Catedral, Archivo
OL	Olot, Biblioteca Popular
ORI	Orihuela, Catedral, Archivo
OV	Oviedo, Catedral Metropolitana, Archivo
P	Plasencia, Catedral, Archivo de Música
PAc	Palma de Mallorca, Catedral, Archivo
PAp	——, Biblioteca Provincial
PAL	Palencia, Catedral de S Antolín, Archivo de Música
PAMc	Pamplona, Catedral, Archivo
PAS	Pastrana, Museo Parroquial
RO	Roncesvalles, Monasterio S María, Biblioteca
Sc	Seville, Institución Colombina
SA	Salamanca, Catedral, Archivo Catedralicio
SAc	——, Conservatorio Superior de Música de Salamanca, Biblioteca
SAu	——, Biblioteca Universitaria
SAN	Santander, Biblioteca de la Universidad Menéndez, Sección de Música
SC	Santiago de Compostela, Catedral Metropolitana
SCu	——, Biblioteca de la Universidad
SD	Santo Domingo de la Calzada, Catedral Archivo
SE	Segovia, Catedral, Archivo Capitular
SEG	Segorbe, Archivo de la Catedral
SI	Silos, Abadía de S Domingo, Archivo
SU	Seo de Urgel, Catedral
Tc	Toledo, Catedral, Archivo y Biblioteca Capítulares
Tp	——, Biblioteca Pública Provincial y Museo de la S Cruz
TAc	Tarragona, Catedral
TE	Teruel, Catedral, Archivo Capitular
TO	Tortosa, Catedral
TUY	Tuy, Catedral
TZ	Tarazona, Catedral, Archivo Capitular
V	Valladolid, Catedral Metropolitana, Archivo de Música
Vp	——, Parroquia de Santiago
VAa	Valencia, Archivo Municipal
VAc	——, Catedral Metropolitana, Archivo y Biblioteca, Archivo de Música
VAcp	——, Real Colegio: Seminario de Corpus Christi, Archivo Musical del Patriarca
VAu	——, Biblioteca Universitaria
VI	Vich, Museu Episcopal
Zac	Zaragoza, Catedrale de La Seo y Basílica del Pilar, Archivo de Música de las Catedrales
Zcc	——, Colegio de las Escuelas Pías de S José de Calasanz, Biblioteca
Zs	——, La Seo, Biblioteca Capitular [in *Zac*]
Zvp	——, Iglesia Metropolitana [in *Zac*]
ZAc	Zamora, Catedral

ET: EGYPT

Cn	Cairo, National Library (Dar al-Kutub)
MSsc	Mount Sinai, St Catherine's Monastery

EV: ESTONIA

TALg	Tallinn, National Library of Estonia

F: FRANCE

A	Avignon, Médiathèque Ceccano
Ac	——, Bibliothèque du Conservatoire
AB	Abbeville, Bibliothèque Nationale
AG	Agen, Archives Départementales de Lot-et-Garonne
AI	Albi, Bibliothèque Municipale
AIXc	Aix-en-Provence, Bibliothèque du Conservatoire
AIXm	——, Bibliothèque Méjanes
AIXmc	——, Bibliothèque de la Maîtrise de la Cathédrale
AL	Alençon, Bibliothèque Municipale
AM	Amiens, Bibliothèque Municipale
AN	Angers, Bibliothèque Municipale
APT	Apt, Basilique Ste Anne
AS	Arras, Médiathèque Municipale
ASOlang	Asnières-sur-Oise, Collection François Lang
AUT	Autun, Bibliothèque Municipale
AVR	Avranches, Bibliothèque Nationale
B	Besançon, Bibliothèque Municipale
Ba	——, Bibliothèque de l'Archevêché
BE	Beauvais, Bibliothèque Municipale
BG	Bourg-en-Bresse, Bibliothèque Municipale
BO	Bordeaux, Bibliothèque Municipale
BS	Bourges, Bibliothèque Municipale
C	Carpentras, Bibliothèque Municipale (Inguimbertine)

CA Cambrai, Médiathèque Municipale
CAc ——, Cathédrale
CC Carcassonne, Bibliothèque Municipale
CF Clermont-Ferrand, Bibliothèque Municipale et Interuniversitaire, Département Patrimoine
CH Chantilly, Musée Condé
CHd ——, Musée Dobrie
CHRm Chartres, Bibliothèque Municipale
CLO Clermont-de-l'Oise, Bibliothèque
CO Colmar, Bibliothèque de la Ville
COM Compiègne, Bibliothèque Municipale
CSM Châlons-en-Champagne, Bibliothèque Municipale
Dc Dijon, Conservatoire Jean-Philippe Rameau, Bibliothèque
Dm ——, Bibliothèque Municipale
DI Dieppe, Fonds Anciens et Local, Médiathèque Jean Renoir
DO Dôle, Bibliothèque Municipale
DOU Douai, Bibliothèque Nationale
E Epinal, Bibliothèque Nationale
EMc Embrun, Trésor de la Cathédrale
EV Evreux, Bibliothèque Municipale
F Foix, Bibliothèque Municipale
G Grenoble, Bibliothèque Municipale
Lad Lille, Archives Départementales du Nord
Lc ——, Bibliothèque du Conservatoire
Lm ——, Bibliothèque Municipale Jean Levy
LA Laon, Bibliothèque Municipale
LG Limoges, Bibliothèque Francophone Municipale
LH Le Havre, Bibliothèque Municipale
LM Le Mans, Bibliothèque Municipale Classée, Médiathèque Louis Aragon
LYc Lyons, Conservatoire National de Musique
LYm ——, Bibliothèque Municipale
Mc Marseilles, Conservatoire de Musique et de Déclamation
MD Montbéliard, Bibliothèque Municipale
ME Metz, Médiathèque
MH Mulhouse, Bibliothèque Municipale
ML Moulins, Bibliothèque Municipale
MO Montpellier, Bibliothèque de l'Université
MOf ——, Bibliothèque Inter-Universitaire, Section Médecine
MON Montauban, Bibliothèque Municipale Antonin Perbosc
Nm Nantes, Bibliothèque Municipale, Médiathèque
NAc Nancy, Bibliothèque du Conservatoire
O Orléans, Médiathèque
Pa Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal
Pan ——, Archives Nationales
Pc ——, Conservatoire [in *Pn*]
Pcf ——, Bibliothèque de la Comédie Française
Pcnrs ——, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Bibliothèque
Pd ——, Centre de Documentation de la Musique Contemporaire
Pe ——, Schola Cantorum
Peb ——, Ecole Normale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts, Bibliothèque
Pgm ——, Gustav Mahler, Bibliothèque Musicale
Phanson ——, Collection Hanson
Pi ——, Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France
Pim ——, Bibliothèque Pierre Aubry
Pm ——, Bibliothèque Mazarine
Pmeyer ——, André Meyer, private collection
Pn ——, Bibliothèque Nationale de France
Po ——, Bibliothèque-Musée de l'Opéra
Ppincherle ——, Marc Pincherle, private collection
Ppo ——, Bibliothèque Polonaise de Paris
Prothschild ——, Germaine, Baronne Edouard de Rothschild, private collection
Prt ——, Radio France, Documentation Musicale
Ps ——, Bibliothèque de la Sorbonne
Psal ——, Editions Salabert
Pse ——, Société des Auteurs, Compositeurs et Editeurs de Musique
Psg ——, Bibliothèque Ste-Geneviève
Pshp ——, Société d'Histoire du Protestantisme Français, Bibliothèque
Pthibault ——, Geneviève Thibault, private collection [in *Pn*]
R Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale
Rc ——, Bibliothèque du Conservatoire
RS Reims, Bibliothèque Municipale
RSc ——, Maîtrise de la Cathédrale
Sc Strasbourg, Bibliothèque du Conservatoire
Sgs ——, Union Sainte Cécile, Bibliothéque Musicale du Grand Séminaire
Sim ——, Université des Sciences Humaines, Institut de Musicologie
Sm ——, Bibliothèque Municipale
Sn ——, Bibliothèque Nationale et Universitaire
Ssp ——, Bibliothèque du Séminaire Protestant
SDI St Dié, Bibliothèque Municipale
SEm Sens, Bibliothèque Municipale
SERc Serrant, Château
SO Solesmes, Abbaye de St-Pierre
SOM St Omer, Bibliothèque Municipale
SQ St Quentin, Bibliothèque Municipale
T Troyes, Bibliothèque Municipale
TLm Toulouse, Bibliothèque Municipale
TOm Tours, Bibliothèque Municipale
V Versailles, Bibliothèque
VA Vannes, Bibliothèque Municipale
VAL Valenciennes, Bibliothèque Municipale
VN Verdun, Bibliothèque Municipale

FIN: FINLAND

A Turku, Åbo Akademi, Sibelius Museum, Bibliotek ja Arkiv
Hy Helsinki, Helsingin Yliopiston Kirjasto/Helsinki University Library/Suomen Kansalliskikjasto
Hyf ——, Helsingin Yliopiston Kirjasto, Department of Finnish Music

GB: GREAT BRITAIN

A Aberdeen, University, Queen Mother Library
AB Aberystwyth, Llyfryell Genedlaethol Cymru/National Library of Wales
ABu ——, University College of Wales
ALb Aldeburgh, Britten-Pears Library
AM Ampleforth, Abbey and College Library, St Lawrence Abbey
AR Arundel Castle, Archive
Bp Birmingham, Public Libraries
Bu ——, Birmingham University
BA Bath, Municipal Library
BEcr Bedford, Bedfordshire County Record Office
BEL Belton (Lincs.), Belton House
BENcoke Bentley (Hants.), Gerald Coke, private collection
BEV Beverley, East Yorkshire County Record Office
BO Bournemouth, Central Library
BRp Bristol, Central Library
BRu ——, University of Bristol Library
Ccc Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, Parker Library
Ccl ——, Central Library
Cclc ——, Clare College Archives
Ce ——, Emmanuel College
Cfm ——, Fitzwilliam Museum, Dept of Manuscripts and Printed Books
Cgc ——, Gonville and Caius College
Cjc ——, St John's College
Ckc ——, King's College, Rowe Music Library
Cmc ——, Magdalene College, Pepys Library
Cp ——, Peterhouse College Library
Cpc ——, Pembroke College Library
Cpl ——, Pendlebury Library of Music
Cssc ——, Sidney Sussex College
Ctc ——, Trinity College, Library
Cu ——, University Library
CA Canterbury, Cathedral Library
CDp Cardiff, Public Libraries, Central Library
CDu ——, University of Wales/Prifysgol Cymru
CF Chelmsford, Essex County Record Office
CH Chichester, Diocesan Record Office
CHc ——, Cathedral
CL Carlisle, Cathedral Library
DRc Durham, Cathedral Church, Dean and Chapter Library

DRu ——, University Library
DU Dundee, Central Library
En Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Music Dept
Ep ——, City Libraries, Music Library
Er ——, Reid Music Library of the University of Edinburgh
Es ——, Signet Library
Eu ——, University Library, Main Library
EL Ely, Cathedral Library [in *Cu*]
EXcl Exeter, Cathedral Library
Ge Glasgow, Euing Music Library
Gm ——, Mitchell Library, Arts Dept
Gsma ——, Scottish Music Archive
Gu ——, University Library
GL Gloucester, Cathedral Library
GLr ——, Record Office
H Hereford, Cathedral Library
HAdolmetsch Haslemere, Carl Dolmetsch, private collection
HFr Hertford, Hertfordshire Record Office
Ir Ipswich, Suffolk Record Office
KNt Knutsford, Tatton Park (National Trust)
Lam London, Royal Academy of Music, Library
Lbbc ——, British Broadcasting Corporation, Music Library
Lbc ——, British Council Music Library
Lbl ——, British Library
Lcm ——, Royal College of Music, Library
Lcml ——, Central Music Library
Lco ——, Royal College of Organists
Lcs ——, English Folk Dance and Song Society, Vaughan Williams Memorial Library
Ldc ——, Dulwich College Library
Lfm ——, Faber Music
Lgc ——, Guildhall Library
Lk ——, King's Music Library [in *Lbl*]
Lkc ——, King's College Library
Llp ——, Lambeth Palace Library
Lmic ——, British Music Information Centre
Lmt ——, Minet Library
Lpro ——, Public Record Office
Lrcp ——, Royal College of Physicians
Lsp ——, St Paul's Cathedral Library
Lspencer ——, Woodford Green: Robert Spencer, private collection
Lst ——, Savoy Theatre Collection
Lu ——, University of London Library, Music Collection
Lue ——, Universal Edition
Lv ——, Victoria and Albert Museum, Theatre Museum
Lwa ——, Westminster Abbey Library
Lwcm ——, Westminster Central Music Library
LA Lancaster, District Central Library
LEbc Leeds, University of Leeds, Brotherton Library
LEc ——, Leeds Central Library, Music and Audio Dept
LF Lichfield, Cathedral Library
LI Lincoln, Cathedral Library
LVp Liverpool, Libraries and Information Services, Humanities Reference Library
LVu ——, University, Music Department
Mch Manchester, Chetham's Library
Mp ——, Central Library, Henry Watson Music Library
Mr ——, John Rylands Library, Deansgate
MA Maidstone, Kent County Record Office
NH Northampton, Record Office
NO Nottingham, University of Nottingham, Department of Music
NTp Newcastle upon Tyne, Public Libraries
NW Norwich, Central Library
NWhamond ——, Anthony Hamond, private collection
NWr ——, Record Office
Oas Oxford, All Souls College Library
Ob ——, Bodleian Library
Oc ——, Coke Collection
Occc ——, Corpus Christi College Library
Och ——, Christ Church Library
Ojc ——, St John's College Library
Olc ——, Lincoln College Library
Omc ——, Magdalen College Library
Onc ——, New College Library
Ouf ——, Faculty of Music Library
Owc ——, Worcester College
P Perth, Sandeman Public Library
PB Peterborough, Cathedral Library
PM Parkminster, St Hugh's Charterhouse
R Reading, University, Music Library
SA St Andrews, University of St Andrews Library
SB Salisbury, Cathedral Library
SC Sutton Coldfield, Oscott College, Old Library
SH Sherborne, Sherborne School Library
SHR Shrewsbury, Salop Record Office
SHRs ——, Library of Shrewsbury School
SOp Southampton, Public Library
SRfa Studley Royal, Fountains Abbey [in *LEc*]
STb Stratford-on-Avon, Shakespeare's Birthplace Trust Library
STm ——, Shakespeare Memorial Library
T Tenbury Wells, St Michael's College Library [in *Ob*]
W Wells, Cathedral Library
WA Whalley, Stonyhurst College Library
WB Wimborne, Minster Chain Library
WC Winchester, Chapter Library
WCc ——, Winchester College, Warden and Fellows' Library
WCr ——, Hampshire Record Office
WMl Warminster, Longleat House Old Library
WO Worcester, Cathedral Library
WOr ——, Record Office
WRch Windsor, St George's Chapel Library
WRec ——, Eton College, College Library
Y York, Minster Library
Ybi ——, Borthwick Institute of Historical Research

GCA: GUATEMALA

Gc Guatemala City, Cathedral, Archivo Capitular

GR: GREECE

Aels Athens, Ethniki Lyriki Skini
Akounadis ——, Panayis Kounadis, private collection
Aleotsakos ——, George Leotsakos, private collection
Am ——, Mousseio ke Kendro Meletis Ellinikou Theatrou
An ——, Ethnikē Bibliotēkē tēs Hellados
AOd Mt Athos, Mone Dionysiou
AOdo ——, Mone Dohiariou
AOh ——, Mone Hilandariou
AOi ——, Mone ton Iveron
AOk ——, Mone Koutloumousi
AOml ——, Mone Megistis Lávras
AOpk ——, Mone Pantokrátoros
AOva ——, Vatopedi Monastery
P Patmos
THpi Thessaloniki, Patriarhikó Idryma Paterikon Meleton, Vivliotheke

H: HUNGARY

Ba Budapest, Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Könytára
Bami ——, Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Zenetudományi Intézet, Könyvtár
Bb ——, Bartók Béla Zeneművészeti Szakközépiskola, Könyvtár [in *Bl*]
Bl ——, Liszt Ferenc Zeneművészeti Főiskola, Könyvtár
Bn ——, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár
Bo ——, Állami Operaház
Br ——, Ráday Gyűjtemény
Bs ——, Központi Szemináriumi Könyvtár
Bu ——, Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem, Egyetemi Könyvtár
BA Bártfá, St Aegidius [in *Bn*]
Efko Esztergom, Főszékesegyházi Kottatár
Efkö ——, Főszékesegyházi Könyvtár
Gc Győr, Püspöki Papnevelő Intézet Könyvtára
Gk ——, Káptalan Magánlevéltár Kottatára
GYm Gyula, Múzeum

K Kalocsa, Érseki Könyvtár
KE Keszthely, Helikon Kastélymúzeum, Könyvtár
P Pécs, Székesegyházi Kottatár
PH Pannonhalma, Főapátság, Könyvtár
Se Sopron, Evangélikus Egyházközség Könyvtára
SFm Székesfehérvár, István Király Múzeum
VEs Veszprém, Székesegyházi Kottatár

HR: CROATIA

Dsmb Dubrovnik, Franjevački Samostan Male Braće, Knjižnica
KIf Kloštar Ivanić, Franjevački Samostan
OMf Omiš, Franjevački Samostan
R Rab, Župna Crkva
Sk Split, Glazbeni Arhiv Katedrale Sv. Dujma
SMm Samobor, Samoborski Muzej
Vu Varaždin, Uršulinski Samostan
Zaa Zagreb, Hrvatska Akademija Znanosti i Umjetnosti, Arhiv
Zh ——, Hrvatski Glazbeni Zavod, Knjižnica i Arhiv
Zha ——, Zbirka Don Nikole Udina-Algarotti [on loan to *Zh*]
Zhk ——, Arhiv Hrvatsko Pjevačko Društvo Kolo [in *Zh*]
Zs ——, Glazbeni Arhiv Nadbiskupskog Bogoslovnog Sjemeništa
Zu ——, Nacionalna i Sveučilišna Knjižnica, Zbirka Muzikalija i Audiomaterijala
ZAzk Zadar, Znanstvena Knjižnica

I: ITALY

Ac Assisi, Biblioteca Comunale [in *Af*]
Ad ——, Cattedrale S Rufino, Biblioteca dell'Archivio Capitolare
Af ——, Sacro Convento di S Francesco, Biblioteca-Centro di Documentazione Francescana
ALTsm Altamura, Associazione Amici della Musica Saverio Mercadante, Biblioteca
AN Ancona, Biblioteca Comunale Luciano Benincasa
AO Aosta, Seminario Maggiore
AOc ——, Cattedrale, Biblioteca Capitolare
AP Ascoli Piceno, Biblioteca Comunale Giulio Gabrielli
APa ——, Archivio di Stato
AT Atri, Basilica Cattedrale di S Maria Assunta, Biblioteca Capitolare e Museo
Baf Bologna, Accademia Filarmonica, Archivio
Bam ——, Collezioni d'Arte e di Storia della Casa di Risparmio (Biblioteca Ambrosini)
Bas ——, Archivio di Stato, Biblioteca
Bc ——, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale
Bca ——, Biblioteca Comunale dell'Archiginnasio
Bl ——, Conservatorio Statale di Musica G.B. Martini, Biblioteca
Bof ——, Congregazione dell'Oratorio (Padri Filippini), Biblioteca
Bpm ——, Università degli Studi, Facoltà di Magistero, Cattedra di Storia della Musica, Biblioteca
Bsf ——, Convento di S Francesco, Biblioteca
Bsm ——, Biblioteca del Convento di S Maria dei Servi e della Cappella Musicale Arcivescovile
Bsp ——, Basilica di S Petronio, Archivio Musicale
Bu ——, Biblioteca Universitaria, sezione Musicale
BAca Bari, Biblioteca Capitolare
BAcp ——, Conservatorio di Musica Niccolò Piccinni, Biblioteca
BAn ——, Biblioteca Nazionale Sagarriga Visconti-Volpi
BAR Barletta, Biblioteca Comunale Sabino Loffredo
BDG Bassano del Grappa, Biblioteca Archivio Museo (Biblioteca Civica)
BE Belluno, Biblioteche Lolliniana e Gregoriana
BGc Bergamo, Biblioteca Civica Angelo Mai
BGi ——, Civico Istituto Musicale Gaetano Donizetti, Biblioteca
BI Bitonto, Biblioteca Comunale E. Bogadeo (ex Vitale Giordano)
BRc Brescia, Conservatorio Statale di Musica A. Venturi, Biblioteca
BRd ——, Archivio e Biblioteca Capitolari
BRq ——, Biblioteca Civica Queriniana
BRs ——, Seminario Vescovile Diocasano, Archivio Musicale
BRsmg ——, Chiesa della Madonna delle Grazie (S Maria), Archivio
BV Benevento, Biblioteca Capitolare
BZa Bolzano, Archivio di Stato, Biblioteca
BZf ——, Convento dei Minori Francescani, Biblioteca
BZtoggenburg ——, Count Toggenburg, private collection
CAcon Cagliari, Conservatorio di Musica Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, Biblioteca
CARc Castell'Arquato, Archivio Capitolare (Parrocchiale)
CARcc ——, Chiesa Collegiata dell'Assunta, Archivio Musicale
CAS Cascia, Monastero di S Rita, Archivio
CATa Catania, Archivio di Stato
CATc ——, Biblioteche Riunite Civica e Antonio Ursino Recupero
CATm ——, Museo Civico Belliniano, Biblioteca
CATus ——, Università degli Studi di Catania, Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia, Dipartimento di Scienze Storiche, Storia della Musica, Biblioteca
CC Città di Castello, Duomo, Archivio Capitolare [in *CCsg*]
CCc ——, Biblioteca Comunale Giosuè Carducci
CCsg ——, Biblioteca Stori Guerri e Archivi Storico
CDO Codogno, Biblioteca Civica Luigi Ricca
CEc Cesena, Biblioteca Comunale Malatestiana
CF Cividale del Friuli, Duomo (Parrocchia di S Maria Assunta), Archivio Capitolare
CFm ——, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Biblioteca
CFVd Castelfranco Veneto, Duomo, Archivio
CHc Chioggia, Biblioteca Comunale Cristoforo Sabbadino
CHf ——, Archivio dei Padri Filippini [in *CHc*]
CHTd Chieti, Biblioteca della Curia Arcivescovile e Archivio Capitolare
CMac Casale Monferrato, Duomo di Sant'Evasio, Archivio Capitolare
CMbc ——, Biblioteca Civica Giovanni Canna
CMs ——, Seminario Vescovile, Biblioteca
COc Como, Biblioteca Comunale
COd ——, Duomo, Archivio Musicale
CORc Correggio, Biblioteca Comunale
CRas Cremona, Archivio di Stato
CRd ——, Biblioteca Capitolare [in *CRsd*]
CRg ——, Biblioteca Statale
CRsd ——, Archivio Storico Diocesano
CRE Crema, Biblioteca Comunale
CT Cortona, Biblioteca Comunale e dell'Accademia Etrusca
DO Domodossola, Biblioteca e Archivio dei Rosminiani di Monte Calvario [in *ST*]
E Enna, Biblioteca e Discoteca Comunale
Fa Florence, Ss Annunziata, Archivio
Fas ——, Archivio di Stato, Biblioteca
Fbecherini ——, Becherini private collection
Fc ——, Conservatorio Statale di Musica Luigi Cherubini
Fd ——, Opera del Duomo (S Maria del Fiore), Biblioteca e Archivio
Ffabbri ——, Mario Fabbri, private collection
Fl ——, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana
Fm ——, Biblioteca Marucelliana
Fn ——, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Dipartimento Musica
Folschki ——, Olschki private collection
Fr ——, Biblioteca Riccardiana
Fs ——, Seminario Arcivescovile Maggiore, Biblioteca
Fsa ——, Biblioteca Domenicana di S Maria Novella
Fsl ——, Parrocchia di S Lorenzo, Biblioteca
Fsm ——, Convento di S Marco, Biblioteca
FA Fabriano, Biblioteca Comunale
FAd ——, Duomo (S Venanzio), Biblioteca Capitolare
FAN Fano, Biblioteca Comunale Federiciana
FBR Fossombrone, Biblioteca Civica Passionei
FEc Ferrara, Biblioteca Comunale Ariostea
FEd ——, Duomo, Archivio Capitolare
FELc Feltre, Museo Civico, Biblioteca

FEM Finale Emilia, Biblioteca Comunale
FERaa Fermo, Archivio Storico Arcivescovile con Archivio della Pietà
FERas ——, Archivio di Stato di Ascoli Piceno, sezione di Fermo
FERc ——, Biblioteca Comunale
FERd ——, Metropolitana (Duomo), Archivio Capitolare [in *FERaa*]
FERvitali ——, Gualberto Vitali-Rosati, private collection
FOc Forlì, Biblioteca Comunale Aurelio Saffi
FOLc Foligno, Biblioteca Comunale
FOLd ——, Duomo, Archivio
FRa Fara in Sabina, Monumento Nazionale di Farfa, Biblioteca
FZac Faenza, Basilica Cattedrale, Archivio Capitolare
FZc ——, Biblioteca Comunale Manfrediana, Raccolte Musicali
Gc Genoa, Biblioteca Civica Berio
Gim ——, Civico Istituto Mazziniano, Biblioteca
Gl ——, Conservatorio di Musica Nicolò Paganini, Biblioteca
Gremondini ——, P.C. Remondini, private collection
Gsl ——, S Lorenzo (Duomo), Archivio Capitolare
Gu ——, Biblioteca Universitaria
GO Gorizia, Seminario Teologico Centrale, Biblioteca
GR Grottaferrata, Biblioteca del Monumento Nazionale
GUBd Gubbio, Biblioteca Vescovile Fonti e Archivio Diocesano (con Archivio del Capitolo della Cattedrale)
I Imola, Biblioteca Comunale
IBborromeo Isola Bella, Borromeo private collection
IE Iesi, Biblioteca Comunale
IV Ivrea, Cattedrale, Biblioteca Capitolare
La Lucca, Archivio di Stato
Las ——, Biblioteca-Archivio Storico Comunale
Lc ——, Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana e Biblioteca Arcivescovile
Lg ——, Biblioteca Statale
Li ——, Istituto Musicale L. Boccherini, Biblioteca
Ls ——, Seminario Arcivescovile, Biblioteca
LA L'Aquila, Biblioteca Provinciale Salvatore Tommasi
LANc Lanciano, Biblioteca Diocesano (con Archivio della Cattedrale)
LT Loreto, Santuario della S Casa, Archivio Storico
LU Lugo, Biblioteca Comunale Fabrizio Trisi
LUi ——, Istituto Musicale Pareggiato G.L. Malerbi
Ma Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana
Malfieri ——, Familglia Trecani degli Alfieri, private collection
Mas ——, Archivio di Stato
Mb ——, Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense
Mc ——, Conservatorio di Musica Giuseppe Verdi, Biblioteca
Mcap ——, Archivio Capitolare di S Ambrogio, Biblioteca
Mcom ——, Biblioteca Comunale Sormani
Md ——, Capitolo Metropolitano, Biblioteca e Archivio
Mgallini ——, Natale Gallini, private collection
Mr ——, Biblioteca della Casa Ricordi
Ms ——, Biblioteca Teatrale Livia Simoni
Msartori ——, Claudio Sartori, private collection [in *Mc*]
Msc ——, Chiesa di S Maria presso S Celso, Archivio
Mt ——, Biblioteca Trivulziana e Archivio Storico Civico
Mu ——, Università degli Studi di Milano, Facoltà di Giurisprudenza, Biblioteca
Muc ——, Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, Biblioteca
MAa Mantua, Archivio di Stato
MAad ——, Archivio Storico Diocesano
MAav ——, Accademia Nazionale Virgiliana di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, Archivio Musicale
MAc ——, Biblioteca Comunale
MAC Macerata, Biblioteca Comunale Mozzi-Borgetti
MC Montecassino, Monumento Nazionale di Montecassino, Biblioteca
MDAegidi Montefiore dell'Aso, Francesco Egidi, private collection
ME Messina, Biblioteca Regionale Universitaria
MEs ——, Biblioteca Painiana (del Seminario Arcivescovile S Pio X)
MOd Modena, Duomo, Biblioteca e Archivio Capitolare
MOe ——, Biblioteca Estense e Universitaria
MOs ——, Archivio di Stato [in *MOe*]
MTc Montecatini Terme, Biblioteca Comunale
MTventuri ——, Antonio Venturi, private collection [in *MTc*]
MZ Monza, Parrocchia di S Giovanni Battista, Biblioteca Capitolare
Na Naples, Archivio di Stato
Nc ——, Conservatorio di Musica S Pietro a Majella, Biblioteca
Nf ——, Biblioteca Oratoriana dei Gerolamini (Filippini)
Ng ——, Monastero di S Gregorio Armeno, Archivio
Nlp ——, Biblioteca Lucchesi Palli [in *Nn*]
Nn ——, Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuele III
NON Nonantola, Seminario Abbaziale, Biblioteca
NOVd Novara, S Maria (Duomo), Biblioteca Capitolare
NOVg ——, Seminario Teologico e Filosofico di S Gaudenzio, Biblioteca
NOVi ——, Istituto Civico Musicale Brera, Biblioteca
NT Noto, Biblioteca Comunale Principe di Villadorata
Od Orvieto, Opera del Duomo, Biblioteca
OFma Offida, Parrocchia di Maria Ss Assunta, Archivio
OS Ostiglia, Opera Pia G. Greggiati Biblioteca Musicale
Pas Padua, Archivio di Stato
Pc ——, Duomo, Biblioteca Capitolare, Curia Vescovile
Pca ——, Basilica del Santo, Biblioteca Antoniana
Pci ——, Biblioteca Civica
Pl ——, Conservatorio Cesare Pollini
Ps ——, Seminario Vescovile, Biblioteca
Pu ——, Biblioteca Universitaria
PAac Parma, Duomo, Archivio Capitolare con Archivio della Fabbriceria
PAas ——, Archivio di Stato
PAc ——, Biblioteca Palatina, sezione Musicale
PAcom ——, Biblioteca Comunale
PAp ——, Biblioteca Nazionale Palatina
PAt ——, Archivio Storico del Teatro Regio [in *PAcom*]
PAVc Pavia, Chiesa di S Maria del Carmine, Archivio
PAVs ——, Seminario Vescovile, Biblioteca
PAVu ——, Biblioteca Universitaria
PCc Piacenza, Biblioteca Comunale Passerini Landi
PCcon ——, Conservatorio di Musica G. Nicolini, Biblioteca
PCd ——, Duomo, Biblioteca e Archivio Capitolare
PCsa ——, Basilica di S Antonino, Biblioteca e Archivio Capitolari
PEas Perugia, Archivio di Stato
PEc ——, Biblioteca Comunale Augusta
PEd ——, Biblioteca Domincini
PEl ——, Conservatorio di Musica Francesco Morlacchi, Biblioteca
PEsf ——, Congregazione dell' Oratorio di S Filippo Neri, Biblioteca e Archivio
PEsl ——, Duomo (S Lorenzo), Archivio
PEsp ——, Basilica Benedettina di S Pietro, Archivo e Museo della Badia
PEA Pescia, Biblioteca Comunale Carlo Magnani
PESc Pesaro, Conservatorio di Musica G. Rossini, Biblioteca
PESd ——, Duomo, Archivio Capitolare [in *PESdi*]
PESdi ——, Biblioteca Diocesana
PESo ——, Ente Olivieri, Biblioteca e Musei Oliveriana
PESr ——, Fondazione G. Rossini, Biblioteca
PIa Pisa, Archivio di Stato
PIp ——, Opera della Primaziale Pisana, Archivio Musicale
PIraffaelli ——, Raffaelli private collection
PIst ——, Chiesa dei Cavalieri di S Stefano, Archivio
PIt ——, Teatro Verdi
PIu ——, Biblioteca Universitaria
PLa Palermo, Archivio di Stato
PLcom ——, Biblioteca Comunale
PLcon ——, Conservatorio di Musica Vincenzo Bellini, Biblioteca

PLi ——, Università degli Studi, Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia, Istituto di Storia della Musica, Biblioteca
PLn ——, Biblioteca Centrale della Regione Sicilia tex (Nazionale)
PLpagano ——, Roberto Pagano, private collection
PO Potenza, Biblioteca Provinciale
PR Prato, Archivio Storico Diocesano, Biblioteca (con Archivio del Duomo)
PS Pistoia, Basilica di S Zeno, Archivio Capitolare
PSc ——, Biblioteca Comunale Forteguerriana
PSrospigliosi ——, Rospigliosi private collection
Ra Rome, Biblioteca Angelica
Raf ——, Accademia Filarmonica Romana
Ras ——, Archivio di Stato, Biblioteca
Rbompiani ——, Bompiani private collection
Rc ——, Biblioteca Casanatense, sezione Musica
Rcg ——, Curia Generalizia dei Padre Gesuiti, Biblioteca
Rchg ——, Chiesa del Gesù, Archivio
Rcsg ——, Congregazione dell'Oratorio di S Girolamo della Carità, Archivio [in *Ras*]
Rdp ——, Archivio Doria Pamphili
Rf ——, Congregazione dell'Oratorio S Filippo Neri
Ria ——, Istituto di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte, Biblioteca
Ribimus ——, Istituto di Bibliografia Musicale, Biblioteca [in *Rn*]
Rig ——, Istituto Storico Germanico di Roma, sezione Storia della Musica, Biblioteca
Rims ——, Pontificio Istituto di Musica Sacra, Biblioteca
Rli ——, Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei e Corsiniana, Biblioteca
Rlib ——, Basilica Liberiana, Archivio
Rmalvezzi ——, Lionello Malvezzi, private collection
Rmassimo ——, Massimo princes, private collection
Rn ——, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Vittorio Emanuele II
Rp ——, Biblioteca Pasqualini [in *Rsc*]
Rps ——, Chiesa di S Pantaleo (Padri Scolipi), Archivio
Rrai ——, RAI-Radiotelevisione Italiana, Archivio Musica
Rrostirolla ——, Giancarlo Rostirolla, private collection [in *Fn* and *Ribimus*]
Rsc ——, Conservatorio di Musica S Cecilia
Rscg ——, Abbazia di S Croce in Gerusalemme, Biblioteca
Rsg ——, Basilica di S Giovanni in Laterano, Archivio Musicale
Rslf ——, Chiesa di S Luigi dei Francesi, Archivio
Rsm ——, Basilica di S Maria Maggiore, Archivio Capitolare [in *Rvat*]
Rsmm ——, S Maria di Monserrato, Archivio
Rsmt ——, Basilica di S Maria in Trastevere, Archivio Capitolare [in *Rvic*]
Rsp ——, Chiesa di S Spirito in Sassia, Archivio
Rss ——, Curia Generalizia dei Domenicani (S Sabina), Biblioteca
Ru ——, Biblioteca Universitaria Alessandrina
Rv ——, Biblioteca Vallicelliana
Rvat ——, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana
Rvic ——, Vicariato, Archivio
RA Ravenna, Duomo (Basilica Ursiana), Archivio Capitolare [in *RAs*]
RAc ——, Biblioteca Comunale Classense
RAs ——, Seminario Arcivescovile dei Ss Angeli Custodi, Biblioteca
REm Reggio nell'Emilia, Biblioteca Panizzi
REsp ——, Basilica di S Prospero, Archivio Capitolare
RI Rieti, Biblioteca Diocesana, sezione dell'Archivio Musicale del Duomo
RIM Rimini, Biblioteca Civica Gambalunga
RPTd Ripatransone, Duomo, Archivio
RVE Rovereto, Biblioteca Civica Girolamo Tartarotti
RVI Rovigo, Accademia dei Concordi, Biblioteca
Sac Siena, Accademia Musicale Chigiana, Biblioteca
Sas ——, Archivio di Stato
Sc ——, Biblioteca Comunale degli Intronati
Sco ——, Convento dell'Osservanza, Biblioteca
Sd ——, Opera del Duomo, Archivio Musicale
Smo Asciano (nr Siena), Abbazia Benedettina di Monte Oliveto Maggiore, Biblioteca
SA Savona, Biblioteca Civica Anton Giulio Barrili
SAa ——, Seminario Vescovile, Biblioteca
SE Senigallia, Biblioteca Comunale Antonelliana
SO Sant'Oreste, Collegiata di S Lorenzo sul Monte Soratte, Biblioteca
SPc Spoleto, Biblioteca Comunale Giosuè Carducci
SPd ——, Biblioteca Capitolare (Duomo di S Lorenzo)
SPE Spello, Collegiata di S Maria Maggiore, Archivio
SPEbc ——, Biblioteca Comunale Giacomo Prampolini
ST Stresa, Biblioteca Rosminiana
STE Vipiteno, Convento dei Cappuccini (Kapuzinerkloster), Biblioteca
Ta Turin, Archivio di Stato
Tci ——, Civica Biblioteca Musicale Andrea della Corte
Tco ——, Conservatorio di Musica Giuseppe Verdi, Biblioteca
Td ——, Cattedrale Metropolitana di S Giovanni Battista, Archivio Capitolare, Fondo Musicale della Cappella dei Cantori del Duomo e della Cappella Regia Sabauda
Tf ——, Accademia Filarmonica, Archivio
Tfanan ——, Giorgio Fanan, private collection
Tn ——, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, sezione Musicale
Tr ——, Biblioteca Reale
Trt ——, RAI – Radiotelevisione Italiana, Biblioteca
TAc Taranto, Biblioteca Civica Pietro Acclavio
TE Terni, Istituto Musicale Pareggiato Giulio Briccialdi, Biblioteca
TEd ——, Duomo, Archivio Capitolare
TLp Torre del Lago Puccini, Museo di Casa Puccini
TOL Tolentino, Biblioteca Comunale Filelfica
TRa Trent, Archivio di Stato
TRbc ——, Castello del Buon Consiglio, Biblioteca [in *TRmp*]
TRc ——, Biblioteca Comunale
TRcap ——, Biblioteca Capitolare con Annesso Archivio
TRfeininger ——, Biblioteca Musicale Laurence K.J. Feininger [in *TRmp*]
TRmd ——, Museo Diocesano, Biblioteca
TRmp ——, Castello del Buonconsiglio: Monumenti e Collezioni Provinciali, Biblioteca
TRmr ——, Museo Trentino del Risorgimento e della Lotta per la Libertà, Biblioteca
TRE Tremezzo, Count Gian Ludovico Sola-Cabiati, private collection
TRP Trapani, Biblioteca Fardelliana
TSci Trieste, Biblioteca Comunale Attilio Hortis
TScon ——, Conservatorio di Musica Giuseppe Tartini, Biblioteca
TSmt ——, Civico Museo Teatrale di Fondazione Carlo Schmidl, Biblioteca
TVco Treviso, Biblioteca Comunale
TVd ——, Biblioteca Capitolare della Cattedrale
Us Urbino, Cappella del Ss Sacramento (Duomo), Archivio
UD Udine, Duomo, Archivio Capitolare [in *UDs*]
UDa ——, Archivio di Stato
UDc ——, Biblioteca Comunale Vincenzo Joppi
UDs ——, Seminario Arcivescovile, Biblioteca
URBcap Urbania, Biblioteca Capitolare [in *URBdi*]
URBdi ——, Biblioteca Diocesana
Vas Venice, Archivio di Stato
Vc ——, Conservatorio di Musica Benedetto Marcello, Biblioteca
Vcg ——, Casa di Goldoni, Biblioteca
Vgc ——, Fondazione Giorgio Cini, Istituto per le Lettere, il Teatro ed il Melodramma, Biblioteca
Vlevi ——, Fondazione Ugo e Olga Levi, Biblioteca
Vmarcello ——, Andrighetti Marcello, private collection
Vmc ——, Museo Civico Correr, Biblioteca d'Arte e Storia Veneziana
Vnm ——, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana
Vqs ——, Fondazione Querini-Stampalia, Biblioteca
Vs ——, Seminario Patriarcale, Archivio
Vsf ——, Biblioteca S Francesco della Vigna

Vsm ——, Procuratoria di S Marco [in *Vlevi*]
Vsmc ——, S Maria della Consolazione detta Della Fava
Vt ——, Teatro La Fenice, Archivio Storico-Musicale
VCd Vercelli, Biblioteca Capitolare
VEaf Verona, Accademia Filarmonica, Biblioteca e Archivio
VEas ——, Archivio di Stato
VEc ——, Biblioteca Civica
VEcap ——, Biblioteca Capitolare
VEss ——, Chiesa di S Stefano, Archivio
VIb Vicenza, Biblioteca Civica Bertoliana
VId ——, Biblioteca Capitolare
VIs ——, Seminario Vescovile, Biblioteca
VIGsa Vigévano, Biblioteca del Capitolo della Cattedrale
VRNs Chiusi della Verna, Santuario della Verna, Biblioteca

IL: ISRAEL

J Jerusalem, Jewish National and University Library, Music Dept
Jgp ——, Greek Orthodox Patriarchate, Library (Hierosolymitike Bibliotheke)
Jp ——, Patriarchal Library
Ta Tel-Aviv, American for Music Library in Israel, Felicja Blumental Music Center and Library
Tmi ——, Israel Music Institute

IRL: IRELAND

C Cork, Boole Library, University College
Da Dublin, Royal Irish Academy Library
Dam ——, Royal Irish Academy of Music, Monteagle Library
Dc ——, Contemporary Music Centre
Dcb ——, Chester Beatty Library
Dcc ——, Christ Church Cathedral, Library
Dm ——, Archbishop Marsh's Library
Dmh ——, Mercer's Hospital [in *Dtc*]
Dn ——, National Library of Ireland
Dpc ——, St Patrick's Cathedral
Dtc ——, Trinity College Library, University of Dublin

J: JAPAN

Tma Tokyo, Musashino Ongaku Daigaku, Ioshokan
Tn ——, Nanki Ongaku Bunko

LT: LITHUANIA

V Vilnius, Lietuvos Muzikos Akademijos Biblioteka
Va ——, Lietuvos Moksly Akademijos Biblioteka

LV: LATVIA

J Jelgava, Muzei
R Riga, Latvijas Mūzikas Akademijas Biblioteka

M: MALTA

Vnl Valletta, National Library

MD: MOLDOVA

KI Chişinău, Biblioteka Gosudarstvennoj Konservatorii im. G. Muzyčesku

MEX: MEXICO

Mc Mexico City, Catedral Metropolitana, Archivo Musical
Pc Puebla, Catedral Metropolitana, Archivo del Cabildo

N: NORWAY

Bo Bergen, Offentlige Bibliotek, Griegsamlingen
Ou Oslo, Universitetsbiblioteket
Oum ——, Nasjonalbiblioteket, Avdeling Oslo, Norsk Musikksamling
T Trondheim, Norges Teknisk-Naturvitenskapelige Universitet, Gunnerusbiblioteket

NL: THE NETHERLANDS

At Amsterdam, Toonkunst-Bibliotheek
Au ——, Universiteitsbibliotheek
DEta Delden, Huisarchief Twickel
DHa The Hague, Koninklijk Huisarchief
DHgm ——, Haags Gemeentemuseum, Muziekafdeling
DHk ——, Koninklijke Bibliotheek
E Enkhuizen, Archief Collegium Musicum
L Leiden, Gemeentearchief
Lml ——, Museum Lakenhal
Lt ——, Bibliotheca Thysiana [in *Lu*]
Lu ——, Rijksuniversiteit, Bibliotheek
LE Leeuwarden, Provinciale Bibliotheek van Friesland
R Rotterdam, Gemeentebibliotheek
SH 's-Hertogenbosch, Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap
Uim Utrecht, Letterenbibliotheek, Universiteit
Uu ——, Universiteit Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek

NZ: NEW ZEALAND

Aua Auckland, University of Auckland, Archive of Maori and Pacific Music
Wt Wellington, Alexander Turnbull Library

P: PORTUGAL

AR Arouca, Mosteirode de S Maria, Museu de Arte Sacra, Fundo Musical
BRp Braga, Arquivo Distrital
BRs ——, Arquivo da Sé
Cmn Coimbra, Museu Nacional de Machado de Castro
Cs ——, Arquivo da Sé Nova
Cug ——, Universidade de Coimbra, Biblioteca Geral, Impressos e Manuscritos Musicais
Cul ——, Faculdade de Letras da Universidade
Em Elvas, Biblioteca Municipal
EVc Évora, Arquivo da Sé, Museu Regional
EVp ——, Biblioteca Pública e Arquivo Distrital
F Figueira da Foz, Biblioteca Pública Municipal Pedro Fernandes Tomás
G Guimarães, Arquivo Municipal Alfredo Pimenta
La Lisbon, Biblioteca da Ajuda
Lac ——, Academia das Ciências, Biblioteca
Lant ——, Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo
Lc ——, Biblioteca do Conservatório Nacional
Lcg ——, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, Biblioteca Geral de Arte, Serviço de Música
Lf ——, Fabrica da Sé Patriarcal
Ln ——, Biblioteca Nacional, Centro de Estudos Musicológicos
Lt ——, Teatro Nacional de S Carlos
LA Lamego, Arquivo da Sé
Mp Mafra, Palácio Nacional, Biblioteca
Pm Porto, Biblioteca Pública Municipal
Va Viseu, Arquivo Distrital
Vs ——, Arquivo da Sé
VV Vila Viçosa, Fundaçao da Casa de Brangança, Biblioteca do Paço Ducal, Arquivo Musical

PL: POLAND

B Bydgoszcz, Wojewódzka i Miejska Biblioteka Publiczna, Dział Zbiórów Specjalnych
BA Barczewo, Kościóła Parafialny, Archiwum
CZ Częstochowa, Klasztor Ojców Paulinów: Jasna Góra Archiwum
GD Gdańsk, Polska Akademia Nauk, Biblioteka Gdańska
GDp ——, Wojewódzka Biblioteka Publiczna
GNd Gniezno, Archiwum Archidiecezjalne
GR Grodzisk Wielkopolski, Kościół Parafialny św. Jadwigi [in *Pa*]
Kc Kraków, Muzeum Narodowe, Biblioteka Czartoryskich
Kcz ——, Muzeum Narodowe, Biblioteka Czapskich
Kd ——, Biblioteka Studium OO. Dominikanów
Kj ——, Uniwersytet Jagielloński, Biblioteka Jagiellońska
Kk ——, Archiwum i Biblioteka Krakowskiej Kapituły Katedralnej
Kn ——, Muzeum Narodowe
Kp ——, Biblioteka Polskiej Akademii Nauk
Kpa ——, Archiwum Państwowe
Kz ——, Biblioteka Czartoryskich
KA Katowice, Biblioteka Śląska

KO Kórnik, Polska Akademia Nauk, Biblioteka Kórnicka
KRZ Krzeszów, Cysterski Kościół Parafialny [in *KRZk*]
KRZk ——, Klasztor Ss Benedyktynek
Lw Lublin, Wojewódzka Biblioteka Publiczna im. H. Lopacińskiego
LA Łańcut, Biblioteka-Muzeum Zamku
LEtpn Legnica, Towarzystwa Przyaciół Nauk, Biblioteka
LZu Łódź, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka
MO Mogiła, Opactwo Cystersów, Archiwumi Biblioteka
OB Obra, Klasztor OO. Cystersów
Pa Poznań, Archiwum Archidiecezjalna
Pm ——, Biblioteka Zakładu Muzykologii Uniwersytetu Poznańskiego
Pr ——, Miejska Biblioteka Publiczna im. Edwarda Raczyńskiego
Pu ——, Uniwersytet im. Adama Mickiewicza, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, Sekcja Zbiorów Muzycznych
PE Pelplin, Wyższe Seminarium Duchowne, Biblioteka
R Raków, Kościół Parafialny, Archiwum
SA Sandomierz, Wyższe Seminarium Duchowne, Biblioteca
SZ Szalowa, Archiwum Parafialne
Tm Toruń, Ksiąznica Miejska im. M. Kopernika
Tu ——, Uniwersytet Mikołaja Kopernika, Biblioteka Głowna, Oddział Zbiorów Muzycznych
Wm Warsaw, Muzeum Narodowe, Biblioteka
Wn ——, Biblioteka Narodowa
Wtm ——, Warszawskie Towarzystwo Muzyczne im Stanisława Moniuszki, Biblioteka, Muzeum i Archiwum
Wu ——, Uniwersytet Warszawski, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, Gabinet Zbiorów Muzycznych
WL Wilanów, Biblioteka [in *Wn* and *Wm*]
WRk Wrocław, Biblioteka Kapitulna
WRu ——, Uniwersytet Wrocławski, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka
WRzno ——, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, Biblioteka

RO: ROMANIA

Ba Bucharest, Academiei Române, Biblioteca
BRm Braşov, Biblioteca Judeteana
Cu Cluj-Napoca, Universitatea Babes Bolyai, Biblioteca Centrală Universitară Lucian Blaga
J Iaşi, Biblioteca Centrală Universitară Mihai Eminescu, Departmentul Colecţii Speciale
Sa Sibiu, Direcţia Judeţeană a Arhivelor Naţionale
Sb ——, Muzeul Naţional Bruckenthal, Biblioteca

RUS: RUSSIAN FEDERATION

KA Kaliningrad, Oblastnaya Universal'naya Nauchnaya Biblioteka
KAg ——, Gosudarstvennaya Biblioteka
KAu ——, Nauchnaya Biblioteka Kalingradskogo Gosudarstvennogo Universiteta
Mcl Moscow, Rossiyskiy Gosudarstvenniy Arkhiv Literaturï i Iskusstva (RGALI)
Mcm ——, Gosudarstvenniy Tsentral'niy Muzey Musïkal'noy Kul'turï imeni M.I. Glinki
Mim ——, Gosudarstvenniy Istoricheskiy Muzey
Mk ——, Moskovskaya Gosudarstvennaya Konservatoriya im. P.I. Chaykovskogo, Nauchnaya Muzikal'naya Biblioteka imeni S.I. Taneyeva
Mm ——, Gosudarstvennaya Publichnaya Istoricheskaya Bibliotheka
Mrg ——, Rossiyskaya Gosudarstvennaya Biblioteka
Mt ——, Gosudarstvenniy Tsentral'niy Teatral'niy Musey im. A. Bakhrushina
SPan St Petersburg, Rossiyskaya Akademiya Nauk, Biblioteka
SPia ——, Gosudarstvenniy Tsentral'niy Istoricheskiy Arkhiv
SPil ——, Biblioteka Instituta Russkoy Literaturï Rossiyskoy Akademii Nauk (Pushkinskiy Dom)
SPit ——, Rossiyskiy Institut Istorii Iskusstv
SPk ——, Biblioteka Gosudarstvennoy Konservatorii im. N.A. Rimskogo-Korsakova
SPph ——, Gosurdarstvennaya Filarmoniya im D.D. Shostakovicha
SPsc ——, Rossiyskaya Natsional'naya Biblioteka
SPtob ——, Gosudarstvenniy Akademichesky Mariinsky Teatr, Tsentral'naya Muzïkal'naya Biblioteka

S: SWEDEN

A Arvika, Ingesunds Musikhögskola
B Bålsta, Skoklosters Slott
Gu Göteborg, Universitetsbiblioteket
Hfryklund Helsingborg, Daniel Fryklund, private collection [in *Skma*]
HÄ Härnösand, Länsmuseet-Murberget
HÖ Höör, Biblioteket
J Jönköping, Per Brahegymnasiet
K Kalmar, Stadtsbibliotek, Stifts- och Gymnasiebiblioteket
Klm ——, Länsmuseet
L Lund, Universitet, Universitetsbiblioteket, Handskriftsavdelningen
LB Leufsta Bruk, De Geer private collection [in *Uu*]
LI Linköping, Linköpings Stadsbibliotek, Stiftsbiblioteket
N Norrköping, Stadsbiblioteket
Sdt Stockholm, Drottningholms Teatermuseum
Sfo ——, Frimurare Orden, Biblioteket
Sic ——, Svensk Musik
Sk ——, Kungliga Biblioteket: Sveriges Nationalbibliotek
Skma ——, Statens Musikbibliothek
Sm ——, Musikmuseet, Arkiv
Smf ——, Stiftelsen Musikkulturens Främjande
Sn ——, Nordiska Museet, Arkivet
Ssr ——, Sveriges Radio Förvaltning, Musikbiblioteket
St ——, Kung. Teatern [in *Skma*]
Sva ——, Svenskt Visarkiv
STr Strängnäs, Roggebiblioteket
Uu Uppsala, Universitetsbiblioteket
V Västerås, Stadsbibliotek, Stiftsavdelningen
VIl Visby, Landsarkivet
VX Växjö, Landsbiblioteket

SI: SLOVENIA

Lf Ljubljana, Frančiškanski Samostan, Knjižnica
Ln ——, Narodna in Univerzitetna Knjižnica, Glavni Knjižni Fond
Lna ——, Nadškofijski Arhiv
Lng ——, Narodna in Univerzitetna Knjižnica, Glasbena Zbirka
Lnr ——, Narodna in Univerzitetna Knjižnica, Rokopisna Zbirka
Ls ——, Katedral, Glazbeni Arhiv
Nf Novo Mesto, Frančiškanski Samostan, Knjižnica
Nk ——, Kolegiatni Kapitelj, Knjižnica
Pk Ptuj, Knjižnica Ivana Potrča

SK: SLOVAKIA

BRa Bratislava, Štátny Oblastny Archív
BRhs ——, Knižnica Hudobného Seminára Filozofickej Fakulty Univerzity Komenského
BRm ——, Archív Mesta Bratislavy
BRmp ——, Miestne Pracovisko Matice Slovenskej [in *Mms*]
BRnm ——, Slovenské Národné Múzeum, Hudobné Múzeum
BRsa ——, Slovenský Národný Archív
BRsav ——, Ústav Hudobnej Vedy Slovenská Akadémia Vied
BRu ——, Univerzitná Knižnica, Narodné Knižničné Centrum, Hudobňy Kabinet
BSk Banská Štiavnica, Farský Rímsko-Katolícky Kostol, Archív Chóru
J Júr pri Bratislave, Okresny Archív, Bratislava-Vidiek [in *MO*]
KRE Kremnica, Štátny Okresny Archív Žiar nad Hronom
Le Levoča, Evanjelická a.v. Cirkevná Knižnica
Mms Martin, Matica Slovenská
Mnm ——, Slovenské Národné Múzeum, Archív

MO Modra, Štátny Okresny Archív Pezinok
NM Nové Mesto nad Váhom, Rímskokatolícky Farsky Kostol
TN Trenčín, Štátny Okresny Archív
TR Trnava, Štátny Okresny Archív

TR: TURKEY

Ino Istanbul, Nuruosmania Kütüphanesi
Itks ——, Topkapi Sarayi Müzesi
Iü ——, Üniversite Kütüphanesi

UA: UKRAINE

Kan Kiev, Natsional'na Akademiya Nauk Ukraïni, Natsional'na Biblioteka Ukraïni im V.I. Vernads'kyy
Km ——, Spilka Kompozytoriv Ukrainy, Centr. 'Muz. Inform'
LV L'viv, Biblioteka Vyshchoho Muzychnoho Instytutu im. M. Lyssenka

US: UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

AAu Ann Arbor, University of Michigan, Music Library
AB Albany (NY), New York State Library
AKu Akron (OH), University of Akron, Bierce Library
ATet Atlanta (GA), Emory University, Pitts Theology Library
ATu ——, Emory University Library
ATS Athens (GA), University of Georgia Libraries
AU Aurora (NY), Wells College Library
AUS Austin, University of Texas at Austin, The Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center
AUSm ——, University of Texas at Austin, Fine Arts Library
Ba Boston, Athenaeum Library
Bc ——, New England Conservatory of Music, Harriet M. Spaulding Library
Bfa ——, Museum of Fine Arts
Bgm ——, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Library
Bh ——, Harvard Musical Association, Library
Bhs ——, Massachusetts Historical Society Library
Bp ——, Public Library, Music Department
Bu ——, Boston University, Mugar Memorial Library, Department of Special Collections
BAep Baltimore, Enoch Pratt Free Library
BAhs ——, Maryland Historical Society Library
BApi ——, Arthur Friedheim Library, Johns Hopkins University
BAu ——, Johns Hopkins University Libraries
BAue ——, Milton S. Eisenhower Library, Johns Hopkins University
BAw ——, Walters Art Gallery Library
BAR Baraboo (WI), Circus World Museum Library
BEm Berkeley, University of California at Berkeley, Music Library
BER Berea (OH), Riemenschneider Bach Institute Library
BETm Bethlehem (PA), Moravian Archives
BL Bloomington (IN), Indiana University Library
BLl ——, Indiana University, Lilly Library
BLu ——, Indiana University, Cook Music Library
BO Boulder (CO), University of Colorado at Boulder, Music Library
BU Buffalo (NY), Buffalo and Erie County Public Library
Cn Chicago, Newberry Library
Cp ——, Chicago Public Library, Music Information Center
Cu ——, University, Joseph Regenstein Library, Music Collection
Cum ——, University of Chicago, Music Collection
CA Cambridge (MA), Harvard University, Harvard College Library
CAe ——, Harvard University, Eda Kuhn Loeb Music Library
CAh ——, Harvard University, Houghton Library
CAt ——, Harvard University Library, Theatre Collection
CAward ——, John Milton Ward, private collection [on loan to *CA*]
CF Cedar Falls (IA), University of Northern Iowa, Library
CHua Charlottesville (VA), University of Virginia, Alderman Library
CHum ——, University of Virginia, Music Library
CHAhs Charleston (SC), The South Carolina Historical Society
CHH Chapel Hill (NC), University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill
CIhc Cincinnati, Hebrew Union College Library: Jewish Institute of Religion, Klau Library
CIp ——, Public Library
CIu ——, University of Cincinnati College – Conservatory of Music, Music Library
CLp Cleveland, Public Library, Fine Arts Department
CLwr ——, Western Reserve University, Freiberger Library and Music House Library
CLAc Claremont (CA), Claremont College Libraries
COhs Columbus (OH), Ohio Historical Society Library
COu ——, Ohio State University, Music Library
CP College Park (MD), University of Maryland, McKeldin Library
CR Cedar Rapids (IA), Iowa Masonic Library
Dp Detroit, Public Library, Main Library, Music and Performing Arts Department
DAu Dallas, Southern Methodist University, Music Library
DAVu Davis (CA), University of California at Davis, Peter J. Shields Library
DMu Durham (NC), Duke University Libraries
DN Denton (TX), University of North Texas, Music Library
DO Dover (NH), Public Library
E Evanston (IL), Garrett Biblical Institute
Eu ——, Northwestern University
EDu Edwardsville (IL), Southern Illinois University
EU Eugene (OR), University of Oregon
FAy Farmington (CT), Yale University, Lewis Walpole Library
FW Fort Worth (TX), Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary
G Gainesville (FL), University of Florida Library, Music Library
GB Gettysburg (PA), Lutheran Theological Seminary
GR Granville (OH), Denison University Library
GRB Greensboro (NC), University of North Carolina at Greensboro, Walter C. Jackson Library
Hhc Hartford (CT), Hartt College of Music Library, The University of Hartford
Hm ——, Case Memorial Library, Hartford Seminary Foundation [in *ATet*]
Hs ——, Connecticut State Library
Hw ——, Trinity College, Watkinson Library
HA Hanover (NH), Dartmouth College, Baker Library
HG Harrisburg (PA), Pennsylvania State Library
HO Hopkinton (NH), New Hampshire Antiquarian Society
I Ithaca (NY), Cornell University
IDt Independence (MO), Harry S. Truman Library
IO Iowa City (IA), University of Iowa, Rita Benton Music Library
K Kent (OH), Kent State University, Music Library
KC Kansas City (MO), University of Missouri: Kansas City, Miller Nichols Library
KCm ——, Kansas City Museum, Library and Archives
KN Knoxville (TN), University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Music Library
Lu Lawrence (KS), University of Kansas Libraries
LAcs Los Angeles, California State University, John F. Kennedy Memorial Library
LApiatigorsky ——, Gregor Piatigorsky, private collection [in *STEdrachman*]
LAs ——, The Arnold Schoenberg Institute Archives
LAuc ——, University of California at Los Angeles, William Andrews Clark Memorial Library
LAum ——, University of California at Los Angeles, Music Library

LAur ——, University of California at Los Angeles, Special Collections Dept, University Research Library
LAusc ——, University of Southern California, School of Music Library
LBH Long Beach (CA), California State University
LEX Lexington (KY), University of Kentucky, Margaret I. King Library
LOu Louisville, University of Louisville, Dwight Anderson Music Library
LT Latrobe (PA), St Vincent College Library
M Milwaukee, Public Library, Art and Music Department
Mc ——, Wisconsin Conservatory of Music Library
MAhs Madison (WI), Wisconsin Historical Society
MAu ——, University of Wisconsin
MB Middlebury (VT), Middlebury College, Christian A. Johnson Memorial Music Library
MED Medford (MA), Tufts University Library
MG Montgomery (AL), Alabama State Department of Archives and History Library
MT Morristown (NJ), National Historical Park Museum
Nf Northampton (MA), Forbes Library
Nsc ——, Smith College, Werner Josten Library
NA Nashville (TN), Fisk University Library
NAu ——, Vanderbilt University Library
NBu New Brunswick (NJ), Rutgers – The State University of New Jersey, Music Library, Mabel Smith Douglass Library
NEij Newark (NJ), Rutgers – The State University of New Jersey, Rutgers Institute of Jazz Studies Library
NH New Haven (CT), Yale University, Irving S. Gilmore Music Library
NHoh ——, Yale University, Oral History Archive
NHub ——, Yale University, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library
NO Normal (IL), Illinois State University, Milner Library, Humanities/Fine Arts Division
NORsm New Orleans, Louisiana State Museum Library
NORtu ——, Tulane University, Howard Tilton Memorial Library
NYamc New York, American Music Center Library
NYbroude ——, Broude private collection
NYcc ——, City College Library, Music Library
NYcu ——, Columbia University, Gabe M. Wiener Music & Arts Library
NYcub ——, Columbia University, Rare Book and Manuscript Library of Butler Memorial Library
NYgo ——, University, Gould Memorial Library [in *NYu*]
NYgr ——, The Grolier Club Library
NYgs ——, G. Schirmer, Inc.
NYhs ——, New York Historical Society Library
NYhsa ——, Hispanic Society of America, Library
NYj ——, The Juilliard School, Lila Acheson Wallace Library
NYkallir ——, Rudolf F. Kallir, private collection
NYlehman ——, Robert O. Lehman, private collection [in *NYpm*]
NYlibin ——, Laurence Libin, private collection
NYma ——, Mannes College of Music, Clara Damrosch Mannes Memorial Library
NYp ——, Public Library at Lincoln Center, Music Division
NYpl ——, Public Library, Center for the Humanities
NYpm ——, Pierpont Morgan Library
NYpsc ——, New York Public Library, Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture in Harlem
NYq ——, Queens College of the City University, Paul Klapper Library, Music Library
NYu ——, University Bobst Library
NYw ——, Wildenstein Collection
NYyellin ——, Victor Yellin, private collection
OAm Oakland (CA), Mills College, Margaret Prall Music Library
OB Oberlin (OH), Oberlin College Conservatory of Music, Conservatory Library
OX Oxford (OH), Miami University, Amos Music Library
Pc Pittsburgh, Carnegie Library, Music and Art Dept
Ps ——, Theological Seminary, Clifford E. Barbour Library
Pu ——, University of Pittsburgh
Puf ——, University of Pittsburgh, Foster Hall Collection, Stephen Foster Memorial
PHci Philadelphia, Curtis Institute of Music, Library
PHf ——, Free Library of Philadelphia, Music Dept
PHff ——, Free Library of Philadelphia, Edwin A. Fleisher Collection of Orchestral Music
PHgc ——, Gratz College
PHhs ——, Historical Society of Pennsylvania Library
PHlc ——, Library Company of Philadelphia
PHmf ——, Musical Fund Society [on loan to *PHf*]
PHphs ——, The Presbyterian Historical Society Library [in *PHlc*]
PHps ——, American Philosophical Society Library
PHu ——, University of Pennsylvania, Van Pelt-Dietrich Library Center
PO Poughkeepsie (NY), Vassar College, George Sherman Dickinson Music Library
PRs Princeton (NJ), Theological Seminary, Speer Library
PRu ——, Princeton University, Firestone Memorial Library
PRw ——, Westminster Choir College
PROhs Providence (RI), Rhode Island Historical Society Library
PROu ——, Brown University
PRV Provo (UT), Brigham Young University
R Rochester (NY), Sibley Music Library, University of Rochester, Eastman School of Music
Su Seattle, University of Washington, Music Library
SA Salem (MA), Peabody and Essex Museums, James Duncan Phillips Library
SBm Santa Barbara (CA), Mission Santa Barbara
SFp San Francisco, Public Library, Fine Arts Department, Music Division
SFs ——, Sutro Library
SFsc ——, San Francisco State University, Frank V. de Bellis Collection
SJb San Jose (CA), Ira F. Brilliant Center for Beethoven Studies, San José State University
SL St Louis, St Louis University, Pius XII Memorial Library
SLug ——, Washington University, Gaylord Music Library
SLC Salt Lake City, University of Utah Library
SM San Marino (CA), Huntington Library
SPma Spokane (WA), Moldenhauer Archives
SR San Rafael (CA), American Music Research Center, Dominican College
STu Palo Alto (CA), University, Memorial Library of Music, Department of Special Collections of the Cecil H. Green Library
STEdrachmann Stevenson (MD), Mrs Jephta Drachman, private collection; Mrs P.C. Drachman, private collection
STO Stony Brook (NY), State University of New York at Stony Brook, Frank Melville jr Memorial Library
SY Syracuse (NY), University Music Library
SYkrasner ——, Louis Krasner, private collection [in *CAh* and *SY*]
TA Tallahassee (FL), Florida State University, Robert Manning Strozier Library
U Urbana (IL), University of Illinois, Music Library
Uplamenac ——, Dragan Plamenac, private collection [in *NH*]
V Villanova (PA), Villanova University, Falvey Memorial Library
Wc Washington, DC, Library of Congress, Music Division
Wca ——, Cathedral Library
Wcf ——, Library of Congress, American Folklife Center and the Archive of Folk Culture
Wcg ——, General Collections, Library of Congress
Wcm ——, Library of Congress, Motion Picture, Broadcasting and Recorded Sound Division
Wcu ——, Catholic University of America, Music Library

Wdo ——, Dumbarton Oaks
Wgu ——, Georgetown University Libraries
Whu ——, Howard University, College of Fine Arts Library
Ws ——, Folger Shakespeare Library
WB Wilkes-Barre (PA), Wilkes College Library
WC Waco (TX), Baylor University, Music Library
WGc Williamsburg (VA), College of William and Mary, Earl Gregg Swenn Library
WI Williamstown (MA), Williams College Library
WOa Worcester (MA), American Antiquarian Society Library
WS Winston-Salem (NC), Moravian Music Foundation, Peter Memorial Library
Y York (PA), Historical Society of York County, Library and Archives

YU: YUGOSLAVIA (REPUBLICS OF MONTENEGRO AND SERBIA)

Bn Belgrade, Narodna Biblioteka Srbije, Odelenje Posebnih Fondova

ZA: SOUTH AFRICA

Csa Cape Town, South African Library

A Note on the Use of the Dictionary

This note is intended as a short guide to the basic procedures and organization of the dictionary. A fuller account will be found in the Introduction, vol. l, pp.xix–xxix.

Abbreviations in general use in the dictionary are listed on pp.vii–xi; bibliographical ones (periodicals, reference works, editions etc.) are listed on pp.xiii–xviii and discographical abbrevations on pp.xix–xx.

Alphabetization of headings is based on the principle that words are read continuously, ignoring spaces, hyphens, accents, bracketed matter etc., up to the first comma; the same principle applies thereafter. 'Mc' and 'M'' are listed as 'Mac', 'St' as 'Saint'.

Bibliographies are arranged chronologically (within section, where divided), in order of year of first publication, and alphabetically by author within years.

Cross-references are shown in small capitals, with a large capital at the beginning of the first word of the entry referred to. Thus 'The instrument is related to the BASS TUBA' would mean that the entry referred to is not 'Bass tuba' but 'Tuba, bass'.

Signatures where the article was compiled by the editors or in the few cases where an author has wished to remain anonymous are indicated by a square box (□).

Work-lists are normally arranged chronologically (within section, where divided). Italic symbols used in them (like *D-Dl* or *GB-Lbl*) refer to the libraries holding sources, and are explained on pp.xxi–xxxvii; each national sigillum stands until contradicted.

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[continued]

Nisard, Théodore [Normand, Théodule Elzéar Xavier] (*b* Quaregnon, 27 Jan 1812; *d* Jacqueville, Seine-et-Marne, 29 Feb 1888). Belgian organist and editor. He was a chorister at Cambrai Cathedral, and received his musical education there and at Douai; after attending a seminary at Cambrai he was ordained in 1835. He held a position at a Gymnasium in Enghien until 1842, when he became second organist at St Germain-des-Prés in Paris; there he was employed by an ecclesiastical bookseller to edit books of plainchant. He published many pamphlets on questions of liturgical music, as well as monographs on Lully, Ockeghem, Odo, Palestrina, Pergolesi, Rameau and others, though his most important work was probably the revision and annotation of Jumilhac's *La science et la pratique du plain-chant* (Paris, 1847). After some years he resigned his organist's post to live entirely on his writings.

WRITINGS

Manuel des organistes de la campagne (Brussels, 1839)
Du plain-chant parisien (Paris, 1846)
with J. d'Ortigue: *Dictionnaire liturgique, historique et théorique de plain-chant et de musique d'église au moyen âge et dans les temps modernes* (Paris, 1853/*R*)
Etudes sur la restauration du chant grégorien au XIXe siècle (Rennes, 1856)
Méthode de plain-chant à l'usage des écoles primaires (Rennes, 1856)
with J. d'Ortigue: *Du rythme dans le plain-chant* (Rennes, 1857)
Méthode populaire du plain-chant romain (Paris, 1857)
L'accompagnement de plain-chant sur l'orgue ensigné en quelques lignes de musique (Paris, 1860)
Les vrais principes de l'accompagnement du plain-chant sur l'orgue, d'après les maîtres des XVe et XVIe siècles (Paris, 1860)
L'archéologie musicale et le vrai chant grégorien (Paris, 1897)

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J. Combarieu: *Etudes de philologie musicale* (Paris, 1896, 2/1897), chap.2

SARAH HIBBERD

Nishimura, Akira (*b* Osaka, 8 Sept 1953). Japanese composer. He studied composition and theory to postgraduate level at Tokyo National University of Fine Arts and Music. In 1977 he won the first of his numerous prizes, winning both the Queen Elizabeth International Music Competition with *Heterophony* for string quartet (1975) and the Luigi Dallapiccola Composition Award with *Mutazioni* (1977). In 1980 *Kecak* (1979) was selected as the best work at the International Rostrum of Composers, and he won awards at the ISCM World Music Days with *Ode for Ekstasis* (1981) in 1982, then in 1984, 1988 and 1990. The Otaka Prize was awarded to him in 1988 for *Heterophony* for two pianos and orchestra (1987), and in 1992 and 1993. He was composer-in-residence of the Orchestra Ensemble Kanazawa (1993–4) and of the Tokyo SO (1994–7).

Nishimura principally employs heterophony, a characteristic device of Asian traditional music, thereby subtly transforming the intervals, rhythm and melody of his dense multi-layered textures. Though similar to the 'micropolyphony' of Ligeti, an Asian perspective informs his technique. Some works are heterophonic melodically, such as *Heterophony* (1975), and some rhythmically, as in *Kecak*; the superimposition of trills, tremolos and harmonics contributes to the more complex texture of his later works. Further information is given in K.-M. Hinz: 'Alle Töne sind die Stimme Buddhas: Akira Nishimura – ein Porträt', *MusikTexte*, no.60 (1995), 43–8 and in K. Hori, ed.: *Nihon no sakkyoku nijusseiki* [Japanese compositions in the 20th century] (Tokyo, 1999), 194–6.

WORKS
(*selective list*)

Op: E-shi [The Painter] (chbr op), S, fl, cl, pf, vn, va, vc, perc, 4 dancers, 1999
Orch: Prelude, 1974; Sym. no.1, 1976; Mutazioni, 1977; Pf Conc. no.1 'Guren', 1979; Sym. no.2 '3 Odes', 1979; Pf Conc. no.2, 1982; Nostalgia, 1983; Heterophony, 2 pf, orch, 1987; Voices Phantasma – Flame, conc., 20-str *koto*, str, 1988; Navel of the Sun, *hichiriki*, orch, 1989; Vc Conc., 1990; Into the Light of the Eternal Chaos, 1990; Tapas, bn, perc, str, 1990; Fugaku, wind orch, perc, 1990/1994; Double Conc. 'A Ring of Lights', vn, pf, orch, 1991; Hoshi-mandala, 1992; Astral Conc. 'A Mirror of Lights', ondes martenot, orch, 1992; Bird Heterophony, 1993; Serpent in the Sky, *yokobue*, orch, 1994; Birds in Light, 1994; A Mirror of Mists, vn, str, 1994; Melos Aura, 1995; Vision in Twilight, 1995; Zeami (ballet), 1995; Canticle of Light, 1996; Monody, 1996; Va Conc. 'Flame and Shadow', 1996; River of Karuna I, vn, str, 1997; Conc., fl, wind, perc, 1997; A Stream – After Dark, pf, chbr orch, 1997; Padma Incarnation, 1997; Vn Conc. no.1 'After Glow', 1998; Sax Conc. 'Esse in anima', a sax, orch, 1999
5–12 insts: Kecak, 6 perc, 1979; Tāla, 6 perc, 1982; Guren I, *shakuhachi*, solo *koto*, 5 *koto*, 3 17-str *koto*, 2 perc, 1984; Mātra, mar, timp, 5 perc, 1985; Padma in Meditation, 6 perc, 1988; Legong, 6 perc, 1988; Timp Conc., timp, 5 perc, 1988; Mana I, 12 vc, 1989; Organums, fl, cl, vn, pf, vib, 1989; Kāla, mar, 6 perc, 1989; Honey of Light, ob, cl, hn, 2vn, va, vc, 2 perc, 1990; Fugenraku, Jap. insts, 1990; Voice of the Sun, ob, s sax, mar, 2 perc, 1991; Ektāl, 3 mar, 2 perc, 1992; Seishin-Kagura, Jap. perc (8 players), 1992; Mirror of the Moon, *yokobue*, 6 perc, 1995; River of Karuna II, cl, 9 players, 1997; Toki no kagerō, *shakuhachi*, *koto* ens, perc, 1997
2–4 insts: Heterophony, str qt, 1975/1987; Khayāl, fl, pf, 1985; Vibrancy of Mirrors, 2 pf, 1985; Dance for 8 Hands, 2 pf, 1987; Gaka I, *shakuhachi*, fl, *koto*, vc, 1987; Gaka III, vn, 2 pf, 1987;

Gaka IV, vn, vc, 1988; Pipa, 3 gui, 1989; Karin, *shakuhachi*, perc, 1989; Str Qt no.2 'Pulses of Light', 1992; Kamunagi, 17-str *koto*, perc, 1992; Shakko, *shakuhachi*, 20-str *koto*, 1992; Silver Cord, ondes martenot, vc, 1993; Canon Waves, 4 va, 1994; Fragment and Echo, vn, vc, pf, 1996; Poem of Water, 2 pf, 1996; Light of Padma, vn, org, 1996; Aquatic Aura, cl, pf, 1996; Meditation on the Melody of Gagaku *Kotoriso*, 2 cl, accdn, 1996; Duologue, timp, pf, 1996; Lamento, a sax, pf, 1997; Str Qt no.3 'Avian', 1997

Solo inst: Sonata, pf, 1972; Tritrope, pf, 1978; Taqsim, 20-str koto, 1982; Penguin Suite, pf, 1983/1989; Meditation of Vishnu, org, 1985; Carillons of Exstasis, pf, 1987; Nanae, 20-str *koto*, 1988; Jyushichigen no sho, 17-str *koto*, 1988; Saika, *koto*, 1988; Toki no mitsu, *sangen*, 1990; Because, pf, 1991; Mirror of Star, pf, 1992; 3 Visions, pf, 1994; Monologue, vn, 1995; Prelude 'Vision in Flames', org, 1996; Silence and Light, pf, 1997

Vocal: Ceremony, 2 S, orch, 1973; Bekira no fuchi yori, chorus, 1978; Maboroshi no bara, chorus, pf, 1984; Soyogu gen-ei, chorus, pf, 1985; Himitsu no hana, female chorus, pf, 1985; Gaka II, S, cl, vn, 2 pf, 1987; Awa no uta, 18vv, 16 Jap. insts, 1989; Mana II, Mez, 5 perc, 1989; 7 Poems of Princess Shikishi, chorus, 1990; Dai-hi-shin-dharani, female chorus, 1990; Kagiroi no koi-uta, chorus, 1990; Music of Dawn, *shōmyō*, *gagaku* ens, orch, 1991; Jakko aika, female chorus, 1992; Mantra of the Light, female chorus, orch, 1993; Aquatic Invocation, chorus, pf, 1994; Crepuscule, S, tpt, org, 1995; Gion-soshi, female chorus, 1995; 5 Lyrics of *The Blue Cat*, female chorus, cl, vn, vc, pf, 1996; Nirvana, Mez, pf, 1997

Other works: In Search of the Land of Immortality, musical verse for radio, 1979; Ode for Ekstasis, tape, 1981; Hot Rain in August (TV op), 1986

Principal publisher: Zen-on Music Co. Ltd

YOKO NARAZAKI

Nisle [Nissle, Nüssle, Nüsslin, Nusle, Niesle]. German family of horn players and composers.

(1) **Johannes Nisle** (*b* Geislingen, 28 Feb 1735; *d* Sorau [now Żary, Poland], 22 May 1788). He was 'Hautboist', presumably playing horn, in the Duke of Württemberg's infantry from 1758. A pupil of the Strasbourg-born horn virtuoso Jean-Joseph Rodolphe, he was a court musician at Stuttgart under Jommelli from 1765, becoming principal horn there in 1767, and from 1 October 1773 to 30 October 1777 was second horn to Johann Türrschmidt at the Oettingen-Wallerstein court. Later he held posts at the courts in Neuwied, Hilburghausen (around 1785) and Meiningen. He frequently made concert tours, often accompanied by his sons. Schubart said that 'as a second horn he is virtually without an equal. His double-tongue, his crescendo, the ease with which he takes the pedal C, his facility and particularly his portamento raise him to the level of an eagle among horn players'. He composed a septet and an octet (in *A-Wgm*), formerly attributed to another member of the family.

(2) **Johann Wilhelm Friedrich Nisle** (*b* Ludwigsburg, 7 Jan or Feb 1768; *d* Stuttgart, 5 March 1839). Son of (1) Johannes Nisle. He was taught several instruments by his father and as a boy played the horn in public. From 1805 to 1835 he was first cellist at the Stuttgart court. He is sometimes confused with his brother (4) Martin Nisle.

(3) **Christian David Nisle** (*b* Ludwigsburg, 16 Oct 1772; *d* after 1839). Son of (1) Johannes Nisle. A child prodigy, he played in public at the age of five, resting the horn on the table on which he stood (Gerber, *Neues historisch-biographisches Lexikon*), and by the age of eight he had toured with his father, and at 12 he was peforming concertos by Punto. Gerber ranked Christian's playing with that of the virtuosos Punto and Dauprat, noting that he performed with the precision and flexibility of a singer. He and his brother (4) Martin served the Prince of Wittgenstein-Berleburg at Freiburg from 1798 and von Vegh at Vereb, Hungary, until 1809. In 1839 he was teaching in Münster.

(4) **(Johann) Martin (Friedrich)** [Jean Frédéric, Giovanni] **Nisle** (*b* Neuwied, 18 Dec 1780; *d* after 1861). Son of (1) Johannes Nisle. He was second horn to his brother (3) Christian David Nisle in a duo. The brothers often travelled and played triple concertos with their father. Martin studied with H.C. Koch at Rudolstadt (composition and piano), and at the University of Rostock. He went to Vienna (1806) and served von Vegh at Vereb, Hungary, with (3) Christian David until 1809. Until about 1818 he was in Catania, Sicily, where he taught, composed and founded a music school. He returned to Germany in 1821, played the viola at the Stuttgart court (until 1824), and spent periods of time in Switzerland, Berlin (1828–9), Bunzlau (1835–6) and elsewhere. He is sometimes confused with his brother (2) Johann Wilhelm Friedrich Nisle.

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(*selective list*)

printed works published in Vienna, n.d., unless otherwise stated

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Solo pf: Siciliano, variations, op.11 (Leipzig, 1807); Marche, op.12 (Leipzig, 1807); Andante, variations, op.15 (Leipzig, 1807); Divertissements et fantaisies (Fétis)

Other: Lieder, 1v, pf (Leipzig, 1798); Ov., orch, op.22; Die Musik, cantata, 1v, chorus, orch, op.40 (Bonn, 1835); Sinfonia, 2 vn, 2 va, b, fl, 2 ob, 2 hn, 2 tpt, timp (*D-BE*)

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C.F.D. Schubart: *Ideen zu einer Ästhetik der Tonkunst* (Vienna, 1806/*R*), 154–5

C. Israel: *Frankfurter Concert-Chronik von 1731–1780* (Frankfurt, 1876/*R*), 50, 65

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HORACE FITZPATRICK/THOMAS HIEBERT

Nisnevich, Sima Gerasimovna (*b* Igumen [Cherven′], province of Minsk, 20 Jan/2 Feb 1914; *d* Minsk, 5 March 1985). Belarusian musicologist. After graduating in physics and mathematics at the University of Belorussia (1936), she studied composition, and historical and theoretical disciplines with Aladau at the Conservatory of Belorussia (1935–41). On returning to Minsk, after her evacuation to the Urals during World War II, she taught the history of music at the Conservatory of Belorussia from 1944 to 1983, becoming a senior lecturer in 1974. She also worked for the Belarusian Academy of Sciences' Institute of Ethnography and Folklore and was actively involved in the Belarusian Union of Composers. Her main

areas of study were the distinctive features of professional Belarusian music and the interpretation of folklore in Belarusian operas, ballets and symphonies. Other areas of interest included music education. She wrote a number of music textbooks and programmes for lecture courses, and much of her published work, for example the anthology of Belarusian musical literature (1959–61) and the history of Belarusian Soviet music, of which she was co-author (1971), was intended for use in colleges and universities. She also prepared scholarly editions of Belarusian traditional music, including *Zhartouniye pesni* ('Humorous Songs', 1974) and *Pesni pra kakhannye* ('Songs about Love', 1978). Her brother, the critic Izidor Gerasimovich Nisnevich (*b* Minsk 8/21 Dec 1914; *d* Minsk, 25 Oct 1977) wrote a number of portraits of professional musicians, including *Tat'yana Lopatina* (Moscow, 1962), *Grigory Romanovich Shirma* (Moscow, 1964, 2/1971) and *Kampazitar Nestar Sakalouski* ('The Composer Sakalouski', 1969). A complete list of his publications can be found in *Nisnevich, I.G.: Muzïkal'no-kriticheskiye stat'i* ('Nisnevich: Musical and Critical Articles'), ed. T. Dubkova (Leningrad, 1984).

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'Zauvagi ab meladïchnay i ladavay strukturï belaruskay narodnay pesni' [Observations on the melodic and modal structure of the Belarusian folksong], *Vestsï AN BSSR* (1948), no.3, 73–81
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'Masavïya pesni belaruskikh kampazitarau' [Mass songs by Belarusian composers], *Belarus'* (1951), no.7 [in Belarusian], 26 only
'Cheshski vucholï (L. Kuba) ab belaruskikh narodnïkh pesnyakh' [The Czech scholar (Kuba) on Belarusian folksongs], *Litaratura i mastatstva* (1956) [in Belarusian]
'Opera "U pushchakh Palessya" A. Bagatïrova' [The opera *In the virgin forests of the Polesïyei* by Bogatïryov], *Belaruskaye iskusstvo*, ed. P. Glebka and M. Luzhanin (Minsk, 1957), 155–76
'Belarusskaya narodnaya pesnya v obrabotkakh kompozitorov BSSR' [The Belarusian folksong in the arrangements of Belarusian composers], *Nauchnometodicheskiye zapiski Belgoskonservatorii*, i, ed. M. Berger, A. Bogatïryov and A. Vashkevich (Minsk, 1958), 141–98
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TAISIYA SHCHERBAKOVA

Nissen, Constanze. *See* MOZART family, (4).

Nissen, Georg Nikolaus (*b* Haderslev, 22 Jan 1761; *d* Salzburg, 24 March 1826). Danish diplomat and music historian. After academic studies (1778–81) he became authorized agent of the General Post Office in Copenhagen in 1781. He entered the diplomatic service in 1792, and was assigned to Vienna as Danish *chargé d'affaires* in 1793. Four years later he befriended Mozart's widow Constanze, whom he assisted in selling and publishing Mozart's scores; he married her in 1809, in Pressburg (now Bratislava) Cathedral, proving a devoted husband and father to Mozart's two sons. After serving for ten years in Copenhagen he retired in 1820 to Salzburg, where he began collecting materials (now in *A-Sm*) for his *Biographie W.A. Mozarts: nach Originalbriefen, Sammlungen alles über ihn Geschriebenen, mit vielen neuen Beylagen, Steindrucken, Musikblättern und einem Facsimile* (Leipzig, 1828 [*recte* 1829], suppl. 1828 [*recte* 1829]; 2/1849; Fr. trans., 1869). This was the first major biography of the composer. Nissen was aided in his task by the Salzburg choir director Anton Jähndl (1783–1861) and the Altötting organist and composer Maximilian Keller (1770–1855). After Nissen's death Constanze commissioned the unstable Dresden physician and music bibliophile Johann Heinrich Feuerstein (1797–1850) to complete the work. It made public many hitherto unknown documents and details of Mozart's life from oral testimony, including from his wife and sister-in-law, and has served as a basic source ever since. Unfortunately it is problematic: large sections are taken from earlier

accounts, often of dubious reliability, and it contains contradictions and errors. The letters it quotes were selected and censored. Whether Nissen or Feuerstein was responsible for its failings is unclear; the supplement is almost certainly the work of the latter.

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RUDOLPH ANGERMÜLLER/WILLIAM STAFFORD

Nissen, Hans Hermann (*b* Zippnow, nr Marienwerder [now Kwidzyn], 20 May 1893; *d* Munich, 28 March 1980). German bass-baritone. He studied in Berlin and made his début in 1924 at the Grosse Volksoper, Berlin. The next year he was engaged by the Staatsoper in Munich, where he remained until 1967. He sang Wotan and Hans Sachs at Covent Garden in 1928 and 1934, and appeared in the Wagnerian repertory at Chicago (1930–32) and the Metropolitan (1938–9). He sang Hans Sachs at Salzburg in 1936–7 and at Bayreuth in 1943, and made guest appearances in Paris, Milan, Vienna, Berlin and elsewhere. In addition to Wagner roles, his repertory included Renato, Amonasro, Barak, Borromeo (*Palestrina*) and Orestes. Although his voice was not large, it was firm and evenly produced, and was used with great artistry and refinement. Among his recordings is a warm account of Hans Sachs in Böhm's 1938 recording of Act 3 of *Die Meistersinger*.

HAROLD ROSENTHAL/ALAN BLYTH

Nissle. *See* NISLE family.

Nîthart. *See* NEIDHART 'VON REUENTAL'.

Nitrowski. Polish family of organ builders, probably of Slovak extraction. Jerzy Nitrowski (*b* *c*1605; *d* after 1673) worked on the organ at St Andrew's, Olkusz, from 1631 to 1633. In 1632 he finished the organ (still extant) in St James's, Lewocza, begun between 1625 and 1628 by Hans Hummel of Nuremberg or Coburg; between 1638 and 1641 he built an organ in St Mary's, Kraków (also attributed to Józef Nitrowski). In 1662 (as 'Jerzy of Danzig') he built the organ in Gniezno Cathedral and in 1672–3 he and his son Andrzej (*b* *c*1640; *d* 1697) built an organ in St Mary's, Danzig (now Gdańsk), for 7500 florins. Johann B. Held was one of his pupils.

Andrzej Nitrowski worked on a large organ in St Mary's, Sandomierz (now the cathedral), between 1694 and 1697; this instrument, completed in 1698 by Mateusz Brandt from Toruń, had three manuals, pedals and 51 stops, and was well known outside Poland. His brother Daniel Nitrowski (*b* *c*1635; *d* after 1683) built the organ in Pelplin Abbey between 1674 and 1680 (with assistance from Wulf of Malbork; *see* WULF, JAN), worked in Danzig around 1683, and in that year built a new organ in Frauenburg (now Frombork) Cathedral. The Nitrowski family built numerous instruments in the northern Polish style, using mutations and reeds alongside an appropriate number of diapason chorus and foundation stops. Most of their organs are notable for fine casing and carving.

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HANS KLOTZ/JERZY GOŁOS

Nittauff [Nittau, Nietow, Nitthauf], **Gottlieb** (bap. Stockholm, 11 May 1685; bur. Göteborg, May 1722). Swedish organist and composer. He was the son of court trumpeter Johan Nicolaus Nittauff, who emigrated to Sweden from Germany in the 1670s in the service of Gustav Wrangel. There is evidence that as a boy Nittauff performed under Gustav Düben at the Swedish royal court; thus the composers in the Düben Collection, particularly Buxtehude, may have been early influences. He was hired in 1705 at the Jakobskyrka in Stockholm; the church council minutes record that he had studied in Hamburg with 'a great master' who is not identified. Although it could have been Reincken, stylistic comparison and circumstantial evidence point rather to Vincent Lübeck. Nittauff became organist at Göteborg Cathedral in 1710 and died there in 1722. His known works, all for organ, consist of seven short preludes, probably intended as improvisational models, and two prelude and fugue pairs which display aspects of the North German *stylus phantasticus* (all ed. J. Sheridan, Bibliotheca organi sueciae, ii, Stockholm, 1996).

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JOHN SHERIDAN

Nivers, Guillaume Gabriel [Guilaume] (*b* ?Paris, *c*1632; *d* Paris, 30 Nov 1714). French organist, composer and theorist. He came from a prosperous family; his father, a

'bourgeois de Paris', was farmer to the bishop. He married in 1668 and had one son. Nothing is known about his musical training, though he is assumed to be the Guillaume Nivers who received the MA degree from Paris University in 1662. He became organist of St Sulpice in the early 1650s and retained the post until his death. To it he later added three other remunerative positions: on 19 June 1678 he was named one of the four organists of the royal chapel; in 1681 he replaced Du Mont as master of music to the queen; and in 1686 he was given charge of the music at the Maison Royale St Louis, the convent school at St Cyr for young ladies of noble birth. Despite some friction with the school's founder, Mme de Maintenon, documented in her correspondence, he continued in this last post in association with Moreau and Clérambault until his death, establishing and conducting chants and motets in the chapel and participating as harpsichordist in various dramatic productions, notably Racine's *Esther* and *Athalie*. His will, dated 1711, gives a detailed picture of the comfortable circumstances of his last years and of his piety and devotion to the church.

Nivers' three *Livres d'orgue* were the first published works to establish the distinctive styles and forms of the French organ school of the late 17th and early 18th centuries, and most subsequent publications seem to have been modelled on them. The distinction of this school lay in its unique fusion of three diverse practices: those relating to the Catholic liturgy, to current fashions in secular music and to the well-developed and highly uniform French classical organ. All of Nivers's pieces are relatively brief versets intended for alternation with the choir in the divine service. They are either arranged in suites according to the eight church modes (books 1 and 3), or based on the plainsongs of mass, *Te Deum* and various hymns and sequences in current use (book 2). Among the forms of the individual pieces the cantus firmus movements, preludes and fugues suggest the traditional counterpoint of the church, while the duos, *récits*, diminutions and dialogues reflect the secular realms of the dance, instrumental solo or vocal *air*. All the pieces are plentifully supplied with the *agréments* or embellishments developed by composers of lute and harpsichord music; yet all are also designed to exploit the distinctive colours of the French organ, whether the full-organ qualities of the *plein jeu* or *grand jeu*, the colourful solo qualities of the Trompette, Cornet, Cromorne, Vox humana and Tierce, or the sparkling alternation of different banks of sound in dialogue or echo effects. The prefatory material is among the most valuable of the period; it discusses modes, embellishments, fingering, touch, tempos and register.

Nivers is less remembered today as a composer of sacred vocal music and an editor of Gregorian chant. His work on plainchant falls within the context of Catholic reform, which favoured the re-use of ancient Gregorian chant in various forms. He was one of the most important musicians involved in this movement, as a reviver composer, theorist and pedagogue. His comprehensive knowledge of ancient Gregorian chant inspired him to write in a multiplicity of styles, including the purest Gregorian style, following 17th-century criteria (e.g. chants for Cluny) a form of plainchant ornamented and using leading notes in the style of Du Mont's plainchant masses (e.g. most of the pieces in the books written for nuns); and a monodonic chant with a distinctive free and variable rhythm, including ornaments and textual repetitions, named 'chant varié' or 'motet' (e.g. some pieces for St Cyr or for nuns, and the Lamentations of 1704). He also wrote motets for one and two treble voices with continuo, which in their use of *agréments* and irregular recitative-like rhythms, are representative of a French style still relatively unaffected by Italian influence.

Nivers' theoretical works, highly regarded in his day, are still of great interest. The *Traité de la composition* was widely known outside France and was highly spoken of by Brossard in the 18th century. A succinct practical treatise, its topics include intervals, modes, cadences, part-writing and fugue. Of his two books on Gregorian chant the longer *Dissertation* is of interest because it offers a 17th-century aesthetic of plainsong (which partly explains his own editions of it) and gives detailed documentation of the role of the organ in the liturgy. Finally his brief treatise on continuo playing, one of the first on this subject to be published in France, is a useful guide to the accompaniment of motets, and plainchant 'with wisdom and modesty'.

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ALMONTE HOWELL/CÉCILE DAVY-RIGAUX

Nixa. English record company. It was formed in 1950 by Hilton Nixon, a New Zealand businessman. Initial releases were 78 r.p.m. records of popular music from the Paris-based Pacific company, but a recording of two Scarlatti sonatas, played in the Tausig arrangement by Monique de la Bruchollerie, and some choral items sung by Les Chanteurs de St Eustache were also released. In 1951 Nixa started to release Pacific recordings on LPs and classical material from US companies such as Bach Guild, Concert Hall Society, the Haydn Society, Lyrichord, Period, Polymusic, Renaissance and Urania. In late 1952 the first original Nixa recordings were made and these, two Vivaldi concertos for viola d'amore with Harry Danks and the London Ensemble, and Haydn's symphonies nos.49 and 73 conducted by Harry Newstone, were released in 1953. A joint arrangement with the Westminster label produced outstanding recordings of Holst's *The Planets*, Walton's *Belshazzar's Feast* and Vaughan Williams's orchestral pieces, all conducted by Sir Adrian Boult, as well as recordings conducted by Hermann Scherchen and Artur Rodzinski. In 1956 Nixa was taken over by Pye Radio, becoming the Pye Record Company.

JOHN SNASHALL

Nixon, Marni [McEathron, Margaret Nixon] (*b* Altadena, CA, 22 Feb 1930). American soprano. After studying singing and opera with Carl Ebert, Jan Popper, Boris Goldovsky and Sarah Caldwell, she embarked on a varied career, involving film and musical comedy as well as opera and concerts. She has appeared extensively on American television, dubbed the singing voices of film actresses in *The King and I*, *West Side Story* and *My Fair Lady*, and acted in several commercial stage ventures. Her light, flexible, wide-ranging soprano and uncanny accuracy and musicianship have made her valuable in more classical ventures, and have contributed to her success in works by Webern, Stravinsky, Ives, Hindemith and Goehr, many of which she has recorded. Her opera repertory includes Zerbinetta (*Ariadne auf Naxos*), Mozart's Susanna, Blonde and Constanze, Violetta, La Périchole and Philine (*Mignon*), performed at Los Angeles, Seattle, San Francisco and Tanglewood. In addition to giving recitals, she has appeared with orchestras in New York (under Bernstein), Los Angeles, Cleveland, Toronto, London and Israel. She has taught at the California Institute of Arts (1969–71) and joined the faculty of the Music Academy of the West, Santa Barbara, in 1980.

MARTIN BERNHEIMER/R

Nizhinsky, Vaclav [Vatslav Fomich] (*b* Kiev, 5/17 Dec 1889; *d* London, 8 April 1950). Russian dancer and choreographer. *See* BALLET, §3(i).

Nizhniy Novgorod. Russian city. It is the largest city in Russia after Moscow and St Petersburg. In remote times music there was represented by folksongs, especially those of the barge haulers, bellringing and chant, and old chant traditions were preserved by the Old Believers, who were especially strong in the area. Between 1811 and 1853 productions at the Shakhovskiy theatre marked the beginning of public opera, ballet, drama and musical theatre in the city, and there were concerts in the houses of noblemen and intellectuals. The home of Aleksandr Dmitriyevich Ulïbïshev – writer, music critic and author of the first biography of Mozart published in Russia – was particularly celebrated: the Nizhniy Novgorod Music Society occupies his house on Provyantskaya Ulitsa. Balakirev, who spent his childhood and adolescence in the city, attended Ulïbïshev's soirées and maintained links with the place after his move to St Petersburg.

In 1873 a branch of the Russian Music Society was opened on the initiative of Nikolay Rubinstein; it arranged ten symphony concerts each year as well as evenings of chamber music. The development of the city's cultural life, including concerts and theatre productions, relied to a large extent on the annual fairs, which became more active in the late 19th century as a result of the growth in industry and trade. For the opening of the All-Russian Exhibition of Arts and Industry, in the summer of 1896, a new theatre was constructed. The opera troupe of Savva Mamontov came on tour to this theatre, and Chaliapin sang there. D.A. Slavyansky's choir, the Vladimir buglers and a symphony orchestra under the direction of Voytsekh Glavach also took part in the fair concerts. Glavach played the organ too: in the summer of 1896 a Walker organ was installed for one season in the concert hall as a fair exhibit. In the period 1900 to 1910 the orchestra of the Moscow Conservatory came on tour under the direction of Vasily Safonov and Koussevitzky's orchestra performed Skryabin's Piano Concerto (with the composer as soloist) during a summer tour along the Volga. Among choirs, that founded by the merchant and patron of the

arts, V. Rukavishnikov, and directed by N.I. Sokolov, was well known in the 1880s, and later the A.A. Krivaus and the I.N. Kazantsev choirs became noted. In music education the most important improvement came in the 1870s, when music classes were opened at the local branch of the Russian Music Society (later transformed into a music school). For almost half a century the classes were headed by the composer and conductor Vasiliy Yul'yevich Villoing, whose students included Lyapunov. There were also a few private music schools, the most influential of which in the early years of the 20th century was that of V.M. Tsaregradsky.

After 1917 cultural life changed in accord with Soviet policy. The fair was abolished, the churches destroyed, and as a consequence the traditions of choral singing disappeared. In 1932 the city was renamed Gor'kiy, after the writer born there. During the 1930s permanent state music institutions were organized: the opera house (1935) and a Philharmonia (1937), under whose auspices a symphony orchestra was created, with S.L. Lazerson as its permanent director. The opera house included in its repertory the works of Aleksandr Kas'yanov, a follower of Balakirev who was the founder of the local school of composition. A boys' choir began life in 1946 and was later headed by L.K. Sivukhin. At this time too a conservatory was set up (an organ was fitted in the concert hall in 1960), and a branch of the Union of Composers was established in 1951 (it later became the Upper Volga regional organization), its members including Kas'yanov and Nesterov.

The Khrushchyov thaw greatly enlivened the musical life of the city; a series of Sovremennaya Muzïka (Contemporary Music) festivals was organized with the help of Rostropovich and I. Gusman, who for many years directed the Philharmonia orchestra. The festival devoted to Shostakovich in 1964 was an especially important event, when works that had been proscribed during the Stalinist period were played. The city became known as a centre for contemporary music: the première of Schnittke's First Symphony took place there as did a Schnittke festival at the end of the 1980s. But development was limited by the fact that the city was closed to foreigners in the mid-1960s. Not until 1991 was it reopened, at which time the city and its streets regained their historical names and the fair was reinstituted. In the 1990s the most notable cultural events were the international festivals symbolically named Russkoye Iskusstvo i Mir (Russian Art and the World).

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TAMARA NIKOLAYEVNA LEVAYA

Nketia, J(oseph) H(anson) Kwabena (*b* Mampong, 22 June 1921). Ghanaian ethnomusicologist. He was educated at the Presbyterian Training College in Akropong (1937–41) and later studied linguistics and social anthropology at the School of Oriental and African Studies in London (1944–6). He gained music degrees from Trinity College of Music and Birkbeck College, London (BA 1949). He was a lecturer at the Presbyterian Training College in Akropong (1942–4, 1949–52), director of the Institute of African Studies at the University of Ghana, Legon (1965–80), professor of music at UCLA (1968–83) and Andrew Mellon Professor of Music at the University of Pittsburgh (1983–91). Since 1993 he has been director of the International Centre for African Music and Dance.

Nketia's earliest writings focussed on the traditions of his own society, the Akan. Although he also composed, it was his scholarly work that attracted attention in Europe and America. In his first major project, *Funeral Dirges of the Akan People* (1955), he developed an interdisciplinary methodology. During the 1960s and 70s, his writings provided an important insight into research on Africa and the diaspora. In the 1980s, he began to investigate the practical issues of music and musical life and paid increasing attention to theoretical and methodological issues.

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JACQUELINE COGDELL DJEDJE

Nō. Japanese theatrical form. *See* JAPAN, §VI, 1.

Noack, Fritz (*b* Greifswald, Germany, 25 Sept 1935). American organ builder of German origin. He was apprenticed to Rudolph von Beckerath (1954–8) and worked later as a journeyman with Klaus Becker and Ahrend & Brunzema. He emigrated to the USA in 1959, working first for the Estey Organ Co., then for Charles Fisk, and opening his own workshop in Lawrence, Massachusetts, in 1960. He then moved to Andover, Massachusetts, and in 1970 the Noack Organ Co. Inc.

established its base in Georgetown, Massachusetts. Noack's work has been almost exclusively with mechanical-action organs, and although his background is German, he has also assimilated aspects of the American tradition. Influenced initially by Bauhaus ideas, his case designs tend to be simple, balanced, and musically functional in accordance with the *Werkprinzip*. His more important organs include those in Unity Church, St Paul, Minnesota (1965), Brandeis University (1967), Trinity Lutheran Church, Worcester, Massachusetts (1967), the Emma Willard School, Troy, New York (1970), Ardmore Methodist Church, Winston-Salem, North Carolina (1978), the Presbyterian Church, Beckley, West Virginia (1979), the Wesley Memorial Methodist Church, Savannah, Georgia (1985), and Christ the King Lutheran Church, Houston, Texas (1995). The last-named was one of the first modern organs to be built in the 18th-century central German style. He has also built positive organs, regals and compact practice organs. In 1983 he completed a substantial restoration of an organ by Hook (1864) at Mechanics Hall, Worcester.

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BARBARA OWEN

Noailles Chansonnier (*F-Pn* fr.12615). *See* SOURCES, MS, §III, 4.

Nobat. Court ensemble of Malaysia and Indonesia. *See* MALAYSIA, §I, 1(ii) and NAQQĀRAKHĀNA.

Nobel, Felix de. *See* DE NOBEL, FELIX.

Nobility Opera. The name sometimes given to the London opera company active, in rivalry to Handel's company, from 1733 to 1737, initially at Lincoln's Inn Fields Theatre, later at the King's Theatre. *See* LONDON, §IV, 3.

Nobilmente (It.: 'nobly', 'majestically'; adverb from *nobile*: 'noble'). A direction used both as a tempo designation and as a mark of expression in the works of Elgar but few other composers. It appears on a sketch (at the Elgar Birthplace) for 'Nimrod' in the 'Enigma' Variations and on the published score (1899) of Elgar's piano transcription, but not in the orchestral full score published some months later. Its first appearance on one of his printed orchestral scores is in the overture *Cockaigne* (1901), and he used it often after that. Vaughan Williams used it in his film score for *Coastal Command* (1942), almost certainly with the Elgarian style in mind. Nobility in music is an ideal that has been favoured only by particular composers at particular times, so the history of this word is otherwise scattered. An early example is in François Couperin, who several times gave the direction *noblement sans lenteur* (nobly without being slow).

See also TEMPO AND EXPRESSION MARKS.

DAVID FALLOWS, MICHAEL KENNEDY

Noble, Dennis (William) (*b* Bristol, 25 Sept 1899; *d* Jávea, Alicante, 14 March 1966). English baritone. He studied in London with Dinh Gilly before making his début with the British National Opera Company in 1924 as Silvio. He was soon elevated to the international seasons at Covent Garden, where he appeared regularly until 1939. His roles included both Figaros, Rigoletto, Germont (to Ponselle's Violetta), Tonio, Valentin and a much praised Amonasro. He also sang leading parts in the premières of operas by British composers. In the 1947–8 season he reappeared at Covent Garden as Massenet's Lescaut and Escamillo. He was the first, and markedly effective, soloist in Walton's *Belshazzar's Feast*, and was an alternately fiery and dejected exponent of Elijah. His firm, easily produced tone, emphasis on a consistently true line and gift for placing words naturally on it were enhanced by his excellent stage presence. He was equally adept at projecting comedy, heroism, pathos and tragedy as his many recordings, made for Columbia and HMV, amply confirm. Most notable among them are the extracts from *Rigoletto* and *La traviata*, arias from *Faust* and *Pagliacci* and solos from *Elijah*, all of which show Noble's exemplary articulation and definition of tone and text.

ALAN BLYTH

Noble, (John) Jeremy (*b* London, 27 March 1930). English critic and musicologist. He was educated at Aldenham School and at Oxford, where he read Greats (1949–53). He studied music independently, specializing at first in English music of the Renaissance but later ranging more widely, with Venetian music of the 16th and 17th centuries and Josquin des Prez among his main interests. From the mid-1950s he contributed music criticism and reviews to various periodicals, and in 1960 he was appointed a music critic on the staff of *The Times*. He relinquished that post in 1963 to take a research fellowship at Birmingham University and in 1966 went to teach at the State University of New York at Buffalo (spending 1967–8 in Florence as Fellow of the Harvard Institute for Renaissance Studies). He returned to London in 1970, becoming music critic of the *Sunday Telegraph* in 1972, but resumed teaching in Buffalo in 1976 until he retired and returned to London in 1995. His research has been directed mainly towards the music of Josquin and his contemporaries (he became a member of the board of the new Josquin edition in 1994), as well as its historical background, and the history of the Office of the Antonine Order from the 12th century onwards. Although only a fraction of his research has been published, the breadth and depth of his knowledge and his generosity towards fellow scholars have made him an important participant in late 20th-century musicology.

WRITINGS

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STANLEY SADIE

Noble, Ray(mond Stanley) (*b* Brighton, 17 Dec 1903; *d* London, 2 April 1978). English bandleader, arranger and composer. He studied classical piano but developed an

interest in dance music, serving as house conductor for HMV records from 1929 and attracting attention with the recordings of his New Mayfair Dance Orchestra (1930–34), particularly those with the singer Al Bowlly. He moved to the USA to direct his own band at the Rainbow Room in New York (1935–7), then went to Los Angeles and worked as a bandleader and radio personality into the 1950s. In the jazz field Noble's significance was as a catalyst rather than as a performer. His own arrangements and performances were generally of 'sweet' dance music, and his major compositions were highly successful romantic ballads such as *Goodnight, sweetheart* (1931), *Love is the sweetest thing* (1932), *The very thought of you* (1934), *The Touch of your Lips* (1936), and *I hadn't anyone till you* (1938). However, his New York band, assembled by Glenn Miller (who also provided its more jazz-oriented arrangements, and thereby discovered his own distinctive way of writing), included such musicians as Pee Wee Erwin, Charlie Spivak, Sterling Bose, Johnny Mince, Bud Freeman, Will Bradley and Claude Thornhill. Noble's instrumental composition *Cherokee* became the theme tune of Charlie Barnet's band (1938); as a familiar test piece for jazz musicians in the early bop style, Charlie Parker, among others, used its structure as the basis for new compositions, including *Koko*.

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ANDREW LAMB/ALYN SHIPTON

Noble, (Thomas) Tertius (*b* Bath, 5 May 1867; *d* Rockport, MA, 4 May 1953). English church musician and composer. From 1881 he was organist of All Saints, Colchester, whose rector housed him and supervised his education. He entered the RCM in 1886 to study with Parratt, Bridge and Stanford, and he joined the staff there on completing his studies. In 1889 he left Colchester to become organist of St John's, Wilton Road, London, and he was then assistant organist to Stanford at Trinity College, Cambridge (1890–92). Later appointments as organist and choirmaster took him to Ely Cathedral (1892–8), York Minster (1898–1912) and St Thomas's, Fifth Avenue, New York (1912–47). This last was an important post, since the church had recently been rebuilt with the aim of establishing cathedral-like liturgical conditions. It was Noble's task to establish the musical traditions: a magnificent organ was installed under his supervision and a choir school was founded. Besides music for the Anglican liturgy his compositions include secular choral works, incidental scores, orchestral pieces and chamber music.

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J.A. FULLER MAITLAND, H.C. COLLES/DUNCAN J. BARKER

Noblement (Fr.). *See* NOBILMENTE.

Noblet, Charles (*b* Abbeville, 26 April 1715; *d* Paris, 26 Oct 1769). French organist, harpsichordist and composer. A second cousin of Pierre Février, he was organist of Ste Catherine, Abbeville from 1728 until 1737 before taking up the post of harpsichordist at the Ecole de Chant of the Paris Opéra on 1 September 1737. While filling these positions, he was made organist also to several Parisian convents and parishes: the church of the Mathurins (1 October 1738), Ste Madeleine-en-la-Cité (1 March 1739), Ste Opportune (19 September 1742) and the church of the Jacobins in the rue St-Honoré (1 July 1761), occupying these posts until his death. His elder sister Marie-Geneviève Nicole Noblet (1712–*c*1800) often acted as his substitute. On 1 April 1739 he replaced Chéron as harpsichordist to the Opéra, retaining that post until 1 April 1768. He was also extremely active as a teacher; his pupils included Mlle Du Guesclin, the Comte de St Florentin and Princesse Pignatelli. In 1753 he was vigorously attacked in J.-J. Rousseau's *Lettre sur la musique française*. Of his compositions, only his collection of harpsichord pieces (1757) is outstanding; they are in a rather conservative style except for some pieces such as *Les bouffons*, which irresistibly conjures up the *opera buffa*.

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Les amusements d'une heure mêlés de brunettes, vaudevilles et duo, 4 bks (Paris, 1752)

Nouvelles suittes de pièces de clavecin et trois sonates avec accompagnement de violon (Paris, 1757)

Le pichet, duo paysan, ronde de table et gavotte (Paris, 1763)

2 airs pubd in *Mercure de France*, April 1738, p.744, Dec 1757, p.68

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ÉRIK KOCEVAR

Nobre, Marlos (*b* Recife, 18 Feb 1939). Brazilian composer, pianist and conductor. A student of the piano and theory, he graduated from the Pernambuco Conservatory in 1955 and from the Ernani Braga Institute in 1959, and then studied composition under Koellreutter (1960) and Guarnieri (1961–2) in São Paulo. In 1959 he received his first composition prize in the competition *Música e músicos do Brasil* held by Radio MEC, and subsequently he was

awarded over 30 prizes in national and international competitions, ranging from the Broadcast Music Award (New York, 1961) to the UNESCO prize (1974) for *Biosfera*. A fellowship from the Rockefeller Foundation took him to the Instituto Torcuato di Tella in Buenos Aires, where he familiarized himself with the newest techniques and studied with Ginastera, Messiaen, Dallapiccola and Malipiero (1963–4), gaining the Master's degree in composition. He has made little use of electronic music, though he studied it with Asuar in Buenos Aires and Ussachevsky at the Columbia-Princeton Center (1968). Some of his best-known early compositions, such as *Variações rítmicas* and *Ukrinmakrinkrin*, date from this period in Buenos Aires.

Returning to Rio de Janeiro he worked as music coordinator of the Guanabara Tourism Secretaiat (1965), then after studying with Bernstein, Goehr and Schuller at the Berkshire Music Center, Tanglewood (1969), he held numerous positions in Brazilian musical life. Among these are general coordinator of the Brazilian Music Council of UNESCO (1970, 1990s), music director of Radio MEC, general secretary of the Brazilian Musician's Union (1972), director of the National Institute of Music of the Brazilian National Foundation for the Arts (1976–9) and president of the Brazilian Academy of Music (1985–91) and the International Music Council of UNESCO (1986–7). He has received commissions from the Brazil SO (1973–6), the Goethe Institute, Radio Suisse Romande and the Spanish Ministry of Culture (1992); he was composer-in-residence of the Brahms-Haus (1980–81) and received a Guggenheim Fellowship (1985–6). He has held visiting professorships at Indiana University (1981), Yale (1992), the Juilliard School (1996) and the University of Arizona (1997). His work has been recognized through the Order of Merit (Brasília, 1988), the Order of Rio Branco (1989) and the Ordre d'Arts et Lettres (France, 1994). Nobre has conducted such orchestras as the Suisse Romande, the Orchestre Philharmonique de Radio-France and the Royal Philharmonic, London.

His eclectic academic background is paralleled by influences from different periods and styles of music. The influence of Bartók and Lutosławski can be seen in his juxtaposition of diatonic folk material with dissonant harmonies, polyrhythmic structures, rhythmic drive, textual effects and non-traditional scales. A national identity is evident in all his works, though as he does not rely on patterns from folk and popular idioms his music cannot be seen as nationalistic. The development of his musical language went through several phases, from tonal to modal, polytonal and atonal. *Variações rítmicas* was the first work in which he combined serial methods with typically Brazilian rhythms; in *Ukrinmakrinkrin* he first used aleatory procedures. Subsequently he made extensive use of serialism (e.g. *Canticum instrumentale*) and aleatory techniques (e.g. *Concerto breve* and *Mosaico*). By the late 1980s he began to rely more frequently on tonal formal structures and on a combination of traditional and contemporary elements.

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Chbr and solo inst: Pf Trio, 1960; Variações rítmicas, pf, perc, 1963; Canticum instrumentale, fl, hp, pf, timp, 1967; Str Qt no.1, 1967; Rhythmetron, perc, 1968; Tropicale, pic, E♭-cl, pf, perc, 1968; Sonancias, pf, perc, 1972; Homage to Rubinstein, pf, 1973; 4 momentos, gui, 1974–6; Sonancias III, 2 pf, perc, 1980; Str Qt no.2, 1985; Reminiscencias, gui, 1991; Sonante I, mar, 1994; Solo II, b cl, 1994; Str Qt no.3, 1997

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GERARD BÉHAGUE

Nobutoki, Kiyoshi (*b* Osaka, 29 Dec 1887; *d* Tokyo, 1 Aug 1965). Japanese composer. After studying the cello (1906–10) then composition and conducting (until 1915) at the Tokyo Music School he went in 1920 to Germany to study with Georg Schumann for two years. Returning to Japan, he taught at the Tokyo Music School (1923–32) and was elected to the Japanese Arts Academy in 1942. Before World War II he was a leading composer of songs and choruses, but after the war he virtually gave up composition and withdrew to a quiet retirement, particularly because of his feeling of responsibility for his involvement in Japanese militarism: his *Umi yukaba* ('If I go to the ocean', 1937) became the most popular military song of the period and his cantata *Kaidō tōsei* ('Along the Coast, Conquer the East', 1940) was written to commemorate the 2600th anniversary of the foundation of Japan. His music combined a conventional German compositional technique with a typically Japanese subtlety of expression. His 1925 translation of Franz Wüllner's *Chorübungen der Münchener Musikschule* (Munich, 1876) has become the most popular textbook of vocal pedagogy in Japan. In 1964 he received the Order of Cultural Merit.

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Choral: Haru no yayoi [March, the Spring], *c*1911; Omoide [Remembrances], 1915; Miyama niwa [In Mountain Recesses], *c*1920–22; Kora o omou uta [Songs recalling Children], 1931; Yamato niwa [In Yamato], 1939; Kaidō tōsei [Along the Coast, Conquer the East] (cant.), 1940; Tōhoku min'yō-shū, 1941; Nihon no asaake [Dawn of Japan], 1952; Nyonin waka renkyoku [Waka Poems by Women Poets], 1965; many others

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MASAKATA KANAZAWA

Nocetti [Noceti, Nuceti], **Flaminio** (*b* Parma; *d* Parma, in or after 1618). Italian composer and organist. He must have been active as a musician by about 1600 since Scipione Cerreto mentioned him in his *Della prattica musica* (Naples, 1601/*R*). From the title-pages of his publications it can be deduced that at least from 1603 to 1618 he was organist of the Benedictine abbey of S Giovanni Evangelista, Parma, and he dedicated some of his music to members of the Farnese family, rulers of Parma. As a composer he is known only for sacred music, much of it for eight voices or other comparatively large numbers of voices. (N. Pelicelli: 'Musicisti in Parma nel secolo XVII', *NA*, x (1933), 116–26, 314–25)

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ARGIA BERTINI

Nocturnae orationes (Lat.). *See* NOCTURNS.

Nocturne (Fr.; Ger. *Nachtstück*). A piece suggesting night, usually quiet and meditative in character, but not invariably so. The Italian term NOTTURNO occurs frequently as a title in 18th-century music, but the French form of the word was not used until John Field applied it to some lyrical piano pieces written between about 1812 and 1836. The first three were published in Leipzig in 1815, two of them having been published in 1812 with minor differences as 'Romances'. Field's nocturnes are historically important as antecedents of Chopin's. The writing is clearly idiomatic, exploiting the sounds available on the newer pianos; the sustaining pedal, in particular, enabled Field to expand the range of the harmonic accompanying patterns beyond those of the Alberti bass, which of necessity lay under the hand. The melodies of his nocturnes transferred to the keyboard the cantilena of Italian opera, to which he had been exposed in Russia in the early 1800s (ex.1). According to Liszt, who wrote a preface to the first collected edition of Field's nocturnes (Leipzig, 1859), they 'opened the way for all the productions which have since appeared under the various titles of Songs without Words, Impromptus, Ballades, etc., and to him we may trace the origin of pieces designed to portray subjective and profound emotion'.

Although the emotional range of most of Field's nocturnes is not wide, and the phrase structure sometimes tediously predictable, the restrained elegance of his musical language and imaginative keyboard figuration made a great impression on subsequent Romantic composers, especially Chopin, who admired both Field's playing and his compositions. Nocturnes were composed by most pianist-composers of the time, including Liszt (whose famous *Liebesträume* song transcriptions were subtitled 'nocturnes'), Schumann (*Nachtstücke* op.23), J.B. Cramer, Czerny, Kalkbrenner, Thalberg, Henri

Ex.1 Field: Nocturne no. 5



Bertini and Theodor Döhler among them. Chopin's 21 nocturnes, however, hold a pre-eminent place in the history of the genre. The celebrated Nocturne in E♭ op.9 no.2 is perhaps the most similar to Field's nocturnes, showing the influence of two of his nocturnes in the same key in both melody and accompaniment patterns. It was, however, Field's Nocturne no.4 in A major, with its agitated, harmonically more complex, central section, that proved more inspirational for Chopin's expansion of the form in his op.9 no.3 and later pieces.

Chopin's nocturnes (especially op.48 no.1) display an intensity well beyond the range of Field and a high degree of melodic invention (ex.2). His remarkable harmonic sophistication, too, is often couched in keyboard textures of a contrapuntal complexity that never seems redundant or forced. Moreover, several diverge from Field's basic *ABA* formal outline. The otherwise suave op.32 no.1 in B major ends unexpectedly in B minor with an abrupt, recitative-like coda that appears in emotional terms to contradict all that has gone before, while op.15 no.3 in G minor is in a highly unusual *AB* form with no recapitulation of the initial material.

Although the apogee of the pianistic nocturne was reached with Chopin, it continued to be a popular genre. French composers were particularly attracted to the form: Fauré wrote 13 nocturnes, and Satie, d'Indy and Poulenc contributed to the repertory. Liszt's late works include the nocturne *En rêve* (1885) and celebrated nocturnes were also composed by Glinka, Balakirev, Tchaikovsky (op.10 no.1 in F major and op.19 no.4 in C♯ minor), Rimsky-Korsakov (Nocturne in D minor), Skryabin and Grieg (Notturno in C major op.54 no.4). Nocturnes were also written for orchestra; a well-known example is in

Ex.2 Chopin: Nocturne op.55 no.2



Mendelssohn's incidental music for *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, where the tone-colour of the horn is used, as in the 18th-century notturno, to evoke the image of night. Bizet wrote an unpublished nocturne for orchestra, and Debussy's *Trois nocturnes* (*Nuages, Fêtes* and *Sirènes*, the last with a female wordless chorus) are among the finest achievements of French impressionist music; *Fêtes*, a vigorously rhythmic and extrovert piece, considerably expands the usual associations of the term 'nocturne' to portray nocturnal festivities.

In some of the works already mentioned the effusive lyricism that had characterized many of the nocturnes of Field and Chopin was replaced by an attempt to capture the fevered visions and dreams of the night or to evoke its natural sound world in musical terms that may be very far from those of the drawing-room. Schumann's *Nachtstücke* illustrate this change of emphasis, which was pursued much further by 20th-century composers such as Hindemith in his *Suite '1922'* for piano (1922), Vaughan Williams in *A London Symphony* (1912–13; revised 1920), Britten in the nocturne of his *Serenade* for tenor, horn and strings (1943) and Lennox Berkeley in the slow movement of his Divertimento in B♭ (1943). In the suite for piano *Out of Doors* (1926) Bartók displayed an extraordinary sensitivity to the sounds of nature in the movement entitled 'The Night's Music' with its quiet, blurred cluster-chords and imitations of the twittering of birds and croaking of nocturnal creatures.

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MAURICE J.E. BROWN/KENNETH L. HAMILTON

Nocturns (Lat. *nocturni, nocturnae orationes*). The Night Hours of the DIVINE OFFICE. Before the 1971 simplification of the Roman Breviary, the night Office of MATINS (or Vigils) was composed of three nocturns for double or semi-double feasts, and one nocturn for simple feasts or ferias. In an Office of three nocturns, each nocturn has three psalms with antiphons and three lessons with responsories. An Office of one nocturn normally has nine psalms and three lessons. At Easter and Pentecost the traditional night Office consists of a single nocturn with three psalms and three lessons. The monastic Office differs from the Roman Office in the arrangement and composition of the nocturns. Double feasts have an Office of three nocturns, but the first two of these have six psalms and four lessons each; the third has three Old Testament canticles and four lessons. The monastic ferial (or weekday) Office is composed of two nocturns, each of six psalms; after the psalms of the first nocturn three lessons are recited in winter and one in summer. (*See also* LITURGY OF THE HOURS.)

MARY BERRY

Noda, Teruyuki (*b* Mie, 15 June 1940). Japanese composer. He studied composition to postgraduate level with Ikenouchi and Yashiro at the Tokyo National University of Fine Arts and Music. Distinguishing himself while a student, Noda won first prize in the Japan Music Competition in 1963 with the Sinfonia, was commissioned by the Japan Philharmonic SO for the Symphony no.1 and won a prize with his Choral Symphony. These works are characterized by the organized relationship of motifs and his mastery of Western orchestration. In the choral work *Shi-sha no sho* (1971) he employs techniques which include voiceless sounds and clusters built up from subdivided parts. Noda led Shin-shin kai, a group of composition disciples of Ikenouchi, between 1974 and 1984. He won the Italian Broadcasting Corporation award with *La piano tombe dans la mer* (1974). In the Otaka Prize-winning Piano Concerto (1977), the String Quartet (1986) and *Rhapsodie adriatique* (1988) Noda exquisitely balances a classical consistency with a brilliant and expressive performing style. His sense of dramatic pacing is displayed in the *nō* play *Takayama Ukon* (1997). Further information is given in K. Hori, ed.: *Nihon no sakkyoku nijusseiki* ('Japanese compositions in the 20th century', Tokyo, 1999), 196–8.

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Dramatic: A Mirror on a Journey (radio play), nar, 3 S, orch, 1968; La piano tombe dans la mer (radio play), nar, S, mixed chorus, children's chorus, orch, elecs, 1974; The Little Match Girl (radio play), nar, orch, 1975; Takayama Ukon (nō play), female chorus, Jap. insts, fl, hp, tubular bells, 1997

Orch: Sinfonia, 1 mov, 1963; Sym. no.1, 1966; Dislocation, 1969; Mutation, 4 Jap. insts, orch, 1971; Pf Conc., 1977; Sym. no.2, 1983; Gui Conc., 1984; Fresque symphonique 'Fantaisie festival', 1987; Rhapsodie adriatique, gui, str, 1988; Liturgical Ov., wind orch, 1991; Luminous – From the Twilight of the Galaxy, shakuhachi, koto, orch, 1995

Chbr and solo inst: Meditation, vn, pf, 1960; Klavierstücke, pf, 1963–6; Qt, hn, vc, timp, cel, 1965; Mattinata Qnt, 3 fl, mar, db, 1968; Qt I, shakuhachi, 2 koto, 17-str koto, 1969; Qt II 'Legend', shakuhachi, 2 koto, 17-str koto, 1973; Obsession, fl, cl, mar, perc, db, 1974; Qt III 'Music of Pine', shakuhachi, 2 koto, 17-str koto, 1975; Intermezzo, gui, 1977; Ballade, fl, vn, pf, 1978; Serenade I, fl, ob, cl, hp, vn, va, vc, 1979; Nocturne, 17-str koto, 1980; 3 movts, Jap. perc, 1982; The Dream of Endymion, hp, 1984; Str Qt, 1986; In the garden, vn, pf, 1986; Ten Rai, 12 Jap. insts, 1992; Consonance, wind qnt, pf, 1993; Kokuu no uta, shakuhachi, 2 koto, 1996

Vocal: Choral Sym., 1968; Nakereba iina, 1v, fl, pf, perc, db, 1970; Shi-sha no sho (Livre de mort), chorus, pf, 1971; Okashi no kisha, v, vn, bn, accdn, mar, vns, 1978; Seishun [Youth], chorus, pf, 1978; The Ariake Sea, female chorus, pf, 1981; Ima utawanakereba, chorus, wind orch, 1989; Mie Ode, chorus, orch, 1990; Kaigen-e, S, T, chorus, orch, 1998; works for mixed, female and children's choruses

YOKO NARAZAKI

Nodari, Giovanni Paolo (*b* ?Brescia; *d* after 1620). Italian composer. He was a Benedictine monk of the Congregazione Fiesolana and in 1620 was working at Bressanone, on one of the transalpine routes from northern Italy to southern Germany. His output consisted mainly of church music in the concertato style, most of it contained in a volume each of vesper psalms, motets, and *Magnificat* settings based on the eight Gregorian tones. The latter publication (1620), which offers plenty of textural and rhythmic variety, shows that he was well versed in the reasonably modern idiom of provincial northern Italy. He could write pleasant melodies, but his harmonic sense was wayward, and the music consequently lacks a feeling of direction.

WORKS

all except anthologies published in Venice

Meliflorus concentus in psalmos David . . . 4vv, bc (org/other inst) (1605)
Corona gemmarum coelestium, 1–5vv (1613)
Harmonicum concentum . . . in almae virginis Dei genitrixis Mariae, 5vv, bc (org) (1620) [8 Mag]
Madrigali, 5vv (1620), lost
4 motets in 1616², 1626², 1627²; 1 madrigal, 5vv, in 1606⁵; madrigals in *GB-Lbl* Eg.3665

JEROME ROCHE

Node. A point, line or surface which, in a vibrating body, is at rest. *See* ACOUSTICS and SOUND, §10.

Noe, Stephen. *See* NAU, STEPHEN.

Noeane formulae. The Western name for syllables sung in association with Byzantine *echēmata*. *See* ĒCHOS, §2.

Noehren, Robert (*b* Buffalo, NY, 16 Dec 1910). American organist, organ builder and composer. He studied under Gaston Dethier at the Institute of Musical Art, New York, and under Lynnwood Farnam at the Curtis Institute of Music, Philadelphia (1930–31), and served as organist and choirmaster at churches in Buffalo and Grand Rapids, Michigan. He received the BMus degree from the University of Michigan in 1948. After wartime service he taught from 1946 to 1949 at Davidson College, North Carolina, and in 1949 he moved to the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor, where he served as university organist and professor of music until his retirement in 1976. Well known as a recitalist, recording artist and organ builder, he played extensively at home and abroad, and has studied many historic European instruments. He designed and built many organs including those in St John's Roman Catholic Cathedral, Milwaukee, the First Unitarian Church, San Francisco, and the First Presbyterian Church, Buffalo. He holds an American patent for a combination action that controls all pistons by a punched data-processing card. Noehren wrote numerous articles for professional journals and among his compositions are two sonatas for organ.

VERNON GOTWALS/R

Noel [Noe]. *See* BAULDEWEYN, NOEL.

Noël (Fr., from Lat. *natalis*: 'of birth' or *novus*: 'news'). Like the English 'nowell' or 'nouell', the French 'noël' (or Burgundian 'noé') was used as an expression of Christian joy, especially during Christmastide. Since the 15th century the term has designated non-liturgical, strophic verse of popular character written in the vernacular or in patois and often sung to the tunes of chant, popular songs or dances.

The tradition of popular hymns or canticles for Christmas and other Christian feasts is ancient and most probably stems from sung celebrations at pre-Christian festivals. Christmas tropes appeared in the liturgy from the 9th century (e.g. *Puer nobis nascitur – resjoissons nous aujourd'hui*) and by the 13th century were affected by the popular chanson, especially in the increasingly lay liturgical drama. Although the plainchant repertory provided melodies, the shepherd scenes favoured in medieval mystery and miracle plays were often treated in a popular vein. In 13th-century France the Christmas song *Hui enfantez fu li fiz Dieu* was sung to the melody of the *Letabundus*, but the Anglo-Norman *Seignors, or entendez à nus* is of more secular inspiration. Macaronic Christmas songs, using Latin and patois (e.g. *In dulci jubilo*) or the vernacular (e.g. *Célébrons la naissance–Nostri Salvatoris*), were more frequent in the 14th century, when the first polyphonic settings are found (e.g. Adam de la Halle's three-voice rondeau *Dieus soit en cheste maison*). While the related carol flourished in England in the 15th century, often using the joyful exclamation 'noël' in its burden (refrain), Christmas pieces are rarely found in the Burgundian or Netherlandish polyphonic repertories. (There is a four-voice piece by Busnoys which repeats the word 'noël' as its sole text.) But towards the end of the century many collections with French texts appeared in both printed and manuscript sources (the latter include Louis XII's book of noëls by Jehan Tisserand – *F-Pn* fr.2368 – and *Pn* fr.2506 and *Pa* 3653).

During the 16th century there was an astonishing proliferation of printed collections: the contents of *Les grans nouelz nouveaux reduitz sur le chant de plusieurs chansons nouvelles* (Paris, Pierre Sergent, n.d.), *Les grans noelz nouveaulx composez sur plusieurs chansons tant vielles que nouvelles* (Paris, n.d.), *Les noelz nouveaulx reduys sur le chant de plusieurs chansons* (Paris, n.d.) and *Les noelz nouvellement faictz & composez en l'honneur de la nativité de Jesuchrist* (n.p., n.d.) reappear in numerous similar collections. These noëls enjoyed a long vogue and provided models for similar anthologies published at Lyons, Paris, Le Mans and Geneva, or newly composed collections by S. Bedouin, Christofle de Bordeaux (Paris, 1581), François Briand (Le Mans, 1512), Jehan Chaperon (Paris, 1538), Jean Daniel (*c*1525–30), Nicolas Denisot (1545 and 1553), L. Le Moigne (Paris, 1520), M. Malingre (*c*1540), Nicolas Martin (Lyons, 1555) and L. Roux (Angers, 1582). In addition to strophic pieces in popular style (with or without refrain) on the subject of the Nativity, some collections include New Year songs (*aguillanneux*). Translations of traditional Latin hymns (e.g. *A solis ortus cardine*, *Ave maris stella*, *Conditor alma siderum*, *Mittit ad virginem*, *Rex mundo gloriae*, *Ut queant laxis* and *Veni Redemptor gentium*) were sung to metrical versions of the original plainchant melodies.

Other liturgical or trope melodies were proposed as *timbres* (e.g. *Kyrie fons bonitatis* for *Kyrie le jour de noël*), but more frequently secular chanson melodies from both popular and polyphonic sources were suggested, occasionally with two or three alternative possibilities. Many noëls in fact paraphrase secular chanson texts, in the manner of the *chanson spirituelle*, following the same verse structure (sometimes interposing the word 'noël' as a refrain) and retaining or lightly modifying the first line for recognition. For example, Briand, Le Moigne and others begin different noëls with 'Réveillez vous cueurs endormis' (the first line of Janequin's *Le chant des oiseaux*). Chaperon's *Noels* (1538) are all modelled on secular poems (including single-stanza *épigrammes* by Clément Marot and King François I) found in recently published polyphonic settings (e.g. by Sandrin, Sermisy and Peletier). So too is a nativity play by Barthélemy Aneau, *Chant natal contenant sept noelz ... composez en imitation verbale et musicale de diverses chansons* (Lyons, 1538). Another sequence of noëls by Aneau following the Christmas story in dialogue is the *Genethliac Noel musical et historial ... pars vers et chants divers* (Lyons, 1558), which includes newly composed music for four voices by Didier Lupi Second, Goudimel and others.

Although the noëls of the organist Jean Daniel (Maître Mitou) were published with texts alone, a few 16th-century noël collections include music. The *Noelz nouveaulx* by Briand published in 1512 include four whose first stanzas are notated for two voices (one of which is 'le plainchant'); the remainder propose suitable *timbres*. The anonymous *Fleur des noelz nouvellement notés en choses faictes* (Lyons, *c*1535) contains 22 pieces, the first ten of which include notated tenors. The 13 *Cantiques du premier advènement de Jésuchrist* by Nicolas Denisot were printed with monophonic melodies at Paris in 1553. The *Noelz & chansons nouvellement composez tant en vulgaire françoys que savoysien dict patoys* (Lyons, 1555) by the Savoyard musician Nicolas Martin include 16 noëls (eight in French and eight in patois), all preceded by notated monophonic melodies. Other collections of noël texts in patois survive, as in *Noelz nouveaulx en poetevin* (Paris, n.d.).

In his *Recherches de la France* (Paris, 1571), Etienne Pasquier described noëls as 'chansons spirituelles faictes en l'honneur de nostre Seigneur'; he explained that in his youth it was customary for every family to sing them each evening but that the tradition survived only at Christmas eve, when children and adults sang them in the streets and in church during the offertory at Midnight Mass. They had figured in the Mass at Christmas since the late 12th century; during the 16th century polyphonic Christmas motets were composed for the professional choirs of the larger churches and courts (e.g. Jean Mouton's *Noé, noé, psallite noé*, Francesco de Layolle's *Noé, noé, noé*, Sermisy's *Noé, noé, magnificatus est rex pacificus* and *Noé, quem vidistis pastores* and Le Heurteur's *Noé, noé, noé, hodie natus est Christus*; the exclamation 'Noé, noé' recurs in *Hodie Christus natus est*, set by Marenzio, G.M. Nanino, Rore, Palestrina, Sweelinck and others). Vernacular noëls also figure occasionally in collections of polyphonic chansons (e.g. Costeley's five-voice *Or est venu Noé*, 1570) and *airs* (e.g. Pierre Bonnet's eight-voice *Nouel en dialogue* beginning 'Bergers je vous fay scavoir', 1585); Du Caurroy's *Meslanges*, published posthumously in 1610, includes fifteen noëls for four or five voices.

Inexpensive editions of popular anthologies of anonymous noël texts, with suggested *timbres*, continued to proliferate throughout the 17th and 18th centuries; the title *Bible des noelz* (first used by the Lyons printer Benoit Rigaud in 1554) recurs frequently, as does the old repertory. But more collections appear in the regional patois of the Auvergne, Brittany, Bresse, Burgundy, Gascony, Le Mans, Poitou and Provence; several minor poets specialized in the genre: Jacques Brossard, Jean le Houx, Natalis Cordat (in Auvergnat dialect), François Colletet, Nicolas Saboly (in Provençal), Françoise Pascal and Jean Chapelon during the 17th century; La Monnoye and Aimé Piron (in Burgundian), G.M. Pellégrin and Antoine Peyrol (in Provençal) during the 18th. No 17th-century printed collections survive with notated music, although a few manuscript sources include melodies; arrangements of these melodies survive in art music such as Marc-Antoine Charpentier's *Messe de minuit*, Sébastien de Brossard's *Missa quinti toni pro nocte Die festi natalis Domini* (1700) and Jean-François Le Sueur's *Messe-Oratorio de Noël* and in instrumental transcriptions. The *Chants des noëls anciens et nouveaux*, printed for solo voice and basso continuo by Ballard in 1703, notate old *timbres* as well as new ones from the contemporary vaudeville repertory. The 18th-century texts are also more updated with topical references than those of the 17th century and are often completely new.

Contrafacta of *airs de cour* and other secular pieces by G.G. Gastoldi, Guédron and La Tour are found in *Amphion sacré* (Lyons, RISM 1615[7], for four or five voices) and by Gabriel Bataille, Antoine Boësset and Antoine Moulinié in *Le despouille d'Aegipte* (Paris, 1629[7]). The Ballard press also issued anonymous four-voice settings of noëls in *Airs sur les hymnes sacrez, odes & noels, pour chanter au catéchisme* (Paris, 1623[4], repr. 1655[2]) and in *Cantiques spirituels et noëls de différents auteurs* (Paris, 1699[1], for solo voice and basso continuo); one noël for two voices by Denis Macé was included in his *Cantiques spirituels* (Paris, 1639) and several by Artus Aux-Cousteaux in his two sets of *Noëls et cantiques spirituels* (Paris, 1644). No original vocal settings from the 18th century are known, and in the 19th century they took the form of the *romance* (e.g. Augusta Holmés) or operatic air (Adolphe Adam's *Minuit, chrétiens*). The subsequent interest in folk music and poetry revealed the importance of the noël to the popular tradition; 20th-century examples, such as Georges Migot's *Noël pour chant ou quatuor a cappella* (1954), reflect this simplicity.

Just as the greater liturgical freedom of Midnight Mass permitted the singing of noëls from the late 12th century, so too in the second half of the 17th century did it provide the organist with the opportunity to introduce variations on the currently popular tunes. Numerous keyboard transcriptions have survived by Lebègue (1676), Nicolas Gigault (1682), C. Geoffroy (*c*1690), Raison (1714), J.-F. Dandrieu (*c*1720), Daquin (*c*1745), Michel Corrette (1753), Balbastre and J.-M. Beauvarlet-Charpentier (*c*1783). The vogue affected instrumental ensemble music at the same time; thus Charpentier arranged noëls for four instruments and basso continuo as well as for solo voices, choir and instruments. Lalande arranged 19 pieces as two suites under the title *Symphonies des noëls*. C.-H. Gervais followed with a suite for seven instruments and basso continuo, and Corrette with five *Concertos de noel* (*c*1730–50) for flute, violin and musette (the fourth adding a viol and basso continuo). The latter, like E.P. Chédeville's collection of noëls for two musettes or vielles (hurdy-gurdy), reflect the mid-18th-century attitude as expressed in Rousseau's definition of noëls (*Dictionnaire*, 1768): 'Tunes intended for certain canticles which the people sing at Christmas: these types should have a rustic and pastoral character consistent with the simplicity of the words and of the shepherds who were supposed to have sung them while paying homage to Christ in the crib'. The writing for oboes and horns in Gossec's two orchestral *Suites de noëls* (*c*1774) reveal the same rustic spirit, as does Balbastre's *Recueil de noëls formant 4 suites avec des variations pour le clavecin ou le fortepiano*, whose contents imitate the sounds of musettes and horns. With the French Revolution the genre fell from favour but was revived by the Schola Cantorum in Paris in the late 19th century with more symphonically conceived examples for organ by Franck and Guilmant (four books, 1886), followed in the 20th century by Tournemire (*12 noëls anciens pour orgue*, 1938).

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FRANK DOBBINS

Noëlli, Georg (*b* ?Amsterdam, 1727; *d* Ludwigslust, Mecklenburg, 24 Sept 1789). Portuguese composer and pantaleonist. He studied the pantaleon with its inventor, Hebenstreit, counterpoint with Geminiani and with Martini at Bologna, and composition with Hasse at Dresden. During April and May 1752 and September 1757 a 'Mr Noel(l)' was listed as a composer and performer on the 'cymbalo' at the New Haymarket Theatre in London where, according to Schilling, he became a friend of Handel. In 1765 he was court musician at Brunswick, and in 1766, according to Pohl, a 'Noel, Spieler des Pantaleon' appeared again in London. In 1775 he met C.P.E. Bach at Hamburg. From 1776 until his death he was *Cammermusikus* and pantaleonist to Duke Frederick of Mecklenburg-Schwerin at Ludwigslust, where he performed on a new pantaleon purchased for him and played the violin, viola and cello in the chamber orchestra. As a pantaleon virtuoso, he made tours to France and Italy in 1782 and to Sweden and Denmark in 1778–9, turning down a lucrative offer from the Swedish court to remain there. In 1786 he travelled to Münster in Westphalia; he made his last visit to Hamburg in 1789.

Gerber called him 'the greatest and almost only master' of the pantaleon; his improvisational ability was considered by his contemporaries comparable to that of W.F. Bach. Of his compositions a *Pastorella* and Sonata in C for harpsichord, violin and continuo survive in manuscript (*D-SWl*). Breitkopf published a sinfonia in *Musikalisches Magazin in Sonaten, Sinfonien, Trios und änderen Stücken für das Klavier bestehend*, vii (Leipzig, 1765); other sinfonias, quartets and trios, mentioned by Gerber, are lost.

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ROBERT STEVENSON

Noer, Embie C. (*b* Cirebon, Java, 1955). Indonesian composer. Self-taught as a composer, his career started when he began creating music for shows by Teater Kecil ('Small Theatre'), a group led by his brother, the director Arifin C. Noer. He has become one of the foremost composers of music for the theatre in Indonesia. In 1979 Noer wrote the music for the film *Yuyun Pasien Rumah Sakit Jiwa* ('Yuyun, a Patient in a Mental Hospital') and in 1982 won the Citra trophy at the Indonesian Film Festival for *Serangan Fajar* ('The Dawn Attack'); both films were directed by his brother. Noer's theatre compositions from the 1980s and 90s often feature traditional percussion instruments. His works aim to blend a Western musical aesthetic with traditional music, especially that of his native region of Cirebon. The most striking example of this is the group of pieces *Teknotarling* (1994), in which Noer collaborated with traditional musicians from Cirebon who play Tarling music, itself an amalgam of Western and traditional Cirebon music deriving its name from gui*tar* and su*ling* (bamboo flute); he added an electronic keyboard to the ensemble. Noer's works are strongly influenced by the Islamic culture of Cirebon.

FRANKI RADEN

Noetel, Konrad Friedrich (*b* Posen [now Poznań], 30 Oct 1903; *d* Berlin, 9 April 1947). German composer. He studied engineering and law, and began musical training in 1925, first in Hanover and from 1927 in Königsberg. Most important among his studies were those with Hindemith during the early 1930s at the Berlin Hochschule, where he taught from 1936 until his death. Noetel remained in Germany during the war years, but only after the overthrow of the Nazi regime was he made professor. His predilection for polyphony and his traditional approach to form recall, respectively, Reger and Brahms, but from a tonal standpoint his music shows a distinct affinity with and indebtedness to Hindemith. Noetel's style, however, has an individuality in which a degree of late Romantic expressiveness plays a part.

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(*selective list*)

Choral: Die Liebensalter, S, Bar, chorus, fl, sax, str, 1932; Christoph Columbus, orat, S, T, B, chorus, orch, 1933; Dass dein Herz fest sei, 1936; 3 Frauenchöre, 1936; Lob der Freunde, S, T, chbr orch, 1937; Bauernkantate, chorus, insts ad lib, 1938; 6 Chöre, 1938; Die Wanderung, spkr, S, Bar, chorus, orch, 1938; 5 Tageslieder, 1939; Unser Land, Bar, chorus, orch, 1939; Winterkantate, chorus, insts, 1939; Chöre im Geselligen Chörbuch II, 1941; 5 Scherzlieder, 1941; Landknechtkantate, 3–4vv, insts ad lib (n.d.)
Lieder: 6 Lieder (E. von Geibel), 1946; Sätze nach fremden Liedern, 1946–7; 6 eigene Lieder (n.d.)
Orch: Pro Musica, str, 1932; Suite, chbr orch, 1934; Concertino, fl, vn, str, 1943; Konzertmusik, str, 1944; Conc., fl, ob, str, 1947; Introduction und Rondo concertante (n.d.); Orch Suite, inc.; Sym.
Chbr and solo inst: 5 kleine Stücke, pf, 1935; Variationen, pf, 1936; Str Qt, 1938; Kleine Suite, str qt, 1939; Sonata, vc, pf, 1941; Kleine Musik, str qt, 1942; Pf Sonata, d, 1942; Sonata, fl, pf, 1942; Sonata, vn, pf, 1943; Suite, vc, pf, 1945; Pf Sonata, G, 1946; Sonatina, vn, pf, 1946; Str Trio, 1946; Pf Trio (n.d.); Suite, rec, pf (n.d.)

Principal publishers: Bärenreiter, Hanseatische Verlaganstalt, Hansen, Hinnenthal, Kistner & Siegel, Litolff, Merseburger, Müller, Schott, Sirius

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GEORGE W. LOOMIS

Noferi, Giovanni Battista (*d* London, 26 Feb 1782). Italian violinist and composer. He spent most of his working life in London, where his op.1, a set of violin sonatas with continuo, was published in 1757. Three years later he was living in Cambridge, publishing his op.2 with a dedication to his 'friend and master', the violinist Felice Giardini; he also played in Norwich. By 1762 he had returned to London, leading a charitable benefit there, but his career was largely that of an orchestral violinist, with only rare appearances as a soloist. He did, however, promote benefit concerts most years from 1774 to 1781, with prestigious performers from the Bach-Abel circle; and he achieved a modest reputation for his pleasantly tuneful compositions. In 1777 he was engaged by the King's Theatre as a composer of ballet music, which he sometimes accompanied on the guitar; and for the 1781–2 season he was advertised as 'leader for the dances'. But

on 20 February 1782 he suffered a stroke during a public rehearsal of a new ballet, and he died a few days later.

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all published in London unless otherwise stated

Sonatas, vn, bc: 8 in op.1 (1757); 6 in op.2 (Cambridge, 1760); 6 in op.8 (1765); 6 in op.11 (*c*1770)

Sonatas/trios, 2 vn, bc, 6 in each: op.7 (1765); op.9 (1766); op10 (1769); op.13 (1772); op.15 (incl. 3 for vn, va, bc) (1777); op.17 (*c*1780)

6 sonatas, gui, bc (hpd), op.3 (*c*1765); 6 sonatas, gui, op.12 (*c*1775)

Duets: 2vn, op.4 (1762); 2 fl, op.5 (*c*1763); 2 gui, op.6 (1763); op.14, 3 for 2 vn, 3 for vn, vc (1773)

Opera Dances (1778, 1779, 1780)

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2 vn concs. listed in Breitkopf catalogue of 1762, incl. 1, *S-Uu*, attrib. Tartini

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C. Price, J. Milhous and R.D. Hume: *Italian Opera in Late Eighteenth-Century London*, i: *The King's Theatre, Haymarket, 1778–1791* (Oxford, 1995)

SIMON McVEIGH

Nogueira, Ilza (*b* Salvador, Bahia, 25 Dec 1948). Brazilian composer and teacher. She graduated in literature (1971) and music (1972) from the Federal University of Bahia, where she studied the piano with Pierre Klose and composition with the Swiss-Brazilian composer Ernst Widmer. In 1972 she received a German government fellowship to study with Mauricio Kagel at the Hochschule für Musik, Cologne. She was appointed to teach music at the Federal University of Paraíba in 1978. From 1982 to 1985 she pursued doctoral work in composition at the State University of New York at Buffalo under the supervision of Lejaren Hiller and in 1990 was a postdoctoral fellow at Yale University. Since 1985 she has been an associate professor at the Federal University of Paraíba. As a researcher, she has focussed on the work of her teacher Widmer. Her earlier compositions (1969–78) are characterized by the use of extra-musical and electro-acoustic materials; later works (after 1982) reflect her contact with serialism and set theory. She is the author of a number of articles and papers on musical theory and analysis.

WORKS

(*selective list*)

El-ac: Metástase, choir, tape, 1971; Idiossincrasia, stage work [with dance and audience participation], S, chorus, 7 vn, ronda, perc, tape, synth, 1972; Triloquia, vn, hn, bn, pf, perc, tape with fl/pic, tpt, vc, 1977; Cromossons, 3 orchs pre-recorded, 1977; Transforms, sax qt, tape, 1985

Other works: Kaleidoscope, brass ens, 1984; Urtext, S, Bar, ww qt, str qt, perc, 1985; In memoriam Morton Feldman (T. de Mello), S, perc, 1988; Ode aos Jamais Iluminados (M. de Andrade), str qt, pf, 2 reciters, 1993; Cinco canções de camera (E. Widmer), S, mixed ens, 1997

Recording companies: Sonopress, Rimo da Amazônia

CRISTINA MAGALDI

Nohl, (Karl Friedrich) Ludwig (*b* Iserlohn, 5 Dec 1831; *d* Heidelberg, 15 Dec 1885). German writer on music and editor. After education at the Duisburg Gymnasium, he studied law, in accordance with his father's wishes, at the universities of Bonn, Heidelberg and Berlin, and, at the last of these, music under S.W. Dehn and Friedrich Kiel. In 1853 he entered the Prussian Civil Service as referendarius, but in 1856 he became ill and had to undertake a journey to France and Italy. He returned to Berlin in 1857 and continued his musical studies under Kiel. In 1858 he finally abandoned law and settled at Heidelberg, receiving the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in 1860. In the following year he went to Munich, where in 1865 Ludwig II appointed him an honorary professor in the university. In 1872 he returned to live in Heidelberg, where he taught music history and aesthetics until his death; he died on 15 December 1885, not 16 December as is given in some sources.

In his time, and up to the 1920s, Nohl's name was widely known, principally for his popular works on Beethoven and Mozart, but also for his editions of their letters and of those by other composers. Nohl's biographies included discussions of the music and, in the case of Liszt whom he knew personally, of reminiscence. His collections of letters and reviews reflect his wide interests in composers' attitudes and contemporary reception of new works, and his book on chamber music (dealing with Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven) reveals his interest in the process of listening. His extreme devotion to Wagner, to whom he dedicated his major Beethoven study as 'the master of masters', led him to misinterpret the development of music drama before Wagner (in his *Gluck und Wagner*).

WRITINGS

Die Zauberflöte: Betrachtungen über die Bedeutung der dramatischen Musik in der Geschichte des menschlichen Geistes (Heidelberg, 1862)

Mozart (Stuttgart, 1863, 2/1877 as *Mozart's Leben*, rev. 3/1906 by P. Sakolowski; Eng. trans., 1877 and 1880/*R*)

Beethoven's Leben (Vienna and Leipzig, 1864–77, rev. 2/1909–13 by P. Sakolowski)

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Gluck und Wagner: über die Entwicklung des Musikdramas (Munich, 1870)

Die Beethoven-Feier und die Kunst der Gegenwart (Vienna, 1871)

Beethoven nach den Schilderungen seiner Zeitgenossen (Stuttgart, 1877; Eng. trans., 1880, 2/1895)

Haydn (Leipzig, *c*1880, rev. 1931 by A. Schnerich; Eng. trans., 1883/*R*, as *Life of Haydn*)

Allgemeine Musikgeschichte (Leipzig, 1881, rev. 1917 by M. Chop)

Liszt (Leipzig, 1882; Eng. trans., 1884/*R*, as *Life of Liszt*)

Das moderne Musikdrama: für gebildete Laien (Vienna, 1884/*R*)

Das geschichtliche Entwickelung der Kammermusik und ihre Bedeutung für den Musiker (Brunswick, 1885/*R*)

WILLIAM BARCLAY SQUIRE/MICHAEL MUSGRAVE

Noire (Fr.). *See* CROTCHET (quarter-note); *quart* is also used. *See also* NOTE VALUES.

Nōkan. Transverse bamboo flute, with seven fingerholes, of the Japanese *nō* theatre. It is also used in dance music (*nagauta*), off-stage music of the *kabuki* theatre (*geza*) and some folk musics. The *nōkan* resembles the *ryūteki* in many ways (the internal metal weight, the bark wrapping, the lacquered bore etc.), and it is assumed that it developed from the *ryūteki*, although this development cannot be charted historically. But the *nōkan* is of a much more complex construction. It is about 40 cm long and is fashioned not from a single tube of bamboo but from three to six short lengths joined together. In addition, some older flutes were made from lengths of bamboo which had been split lengthwise into several segments and then reassembled – possibly to adjust the bore, but the reason is not known for certain. The type of bamboo used is *medake* (*Nipponocalamus simonii*). The *nōkan*'s most distinctive feature (of unknown origin) is the *nodo* ('throat'), a short tube inserted in the bore between the mouth-hole and the nearest fingerhole; it causes the

overblown octave to be sharp at the lower end and flat at the top. On a typical flute the internal diameter is approximately 11 mm at the *nodo* and 16 mm near the closest fingerhole, tapering again to 11 mm at the lower end.

Since the *nōkan* does not share a melody with another instrument or with the voice there is less need for a pitch standard than there is with the *ryūteki*, and individual flutes may vary somewhat both in basic pitch and in interval structure. This variation is not, however, related to the differences in schools of performers. A typical range is about *b–f♯‴*. Visually the most obvious distinctions between these two types of flute are that the red lacquer of the *nōkun*'s bore extends to the surface through the fingerholes, and that the ornament (*kashiragane*) embedded in the left end is generally of metal in the case of the *nōkan* but is embroidered on a red ground in the *ryūteki*.

Nōkan technique features many cross-fingerings (unlike the *ryūteki*), constant delicate ornamentation and pitch gliding; the execution of these features varies both between schools and among individuals within each school. The repertory consists of several dozen named pieces with specific uses, as well as some less fully structured pieces; much of it falls into stock phrases of one or more eight-beat bars. In *nagauta* and *geza* music one flautist is in charge of both the *nōkan* and another transverse flute, the *shinobue*. *Nō* pieces are used especially in plays and dances derived from *nō* plays but also, for example, to set an elevated mood; the pieces are of necessity greatly truncated. In certain local festival musics several less well-made (i.e. cheaper) *nōkan* may be used together to play simple melodies.

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'Fue', *Ongaku daijiten* [Encyclopedia of music] (Tokyo, 1981)

DAVID W. HUGHES

Nola [Nolla], **Giovanni Domenico da** [Giovanni Domenico del Giovane da] (*b* Nola, between 1510 and 1520; *d* Naples, May 1592). Italian composer and poet. As a founding member of the Accademia dei Sereni (1546–7), he fraternized with Neapolitan nobles including the celebrated lutenist, Luigi Dentice, and the Marchese della Terza, patron of Lassus. Nola was *maestro di cappella* at the SS Annunziata, Naples, from 1 February 1563 until his death. Recognized as an expert in the art of vocal ornamentation by Giovanni Camillo Maffei (*Lettere*, 1562), he taught singing to the girls at the Annunziata's *ospedale* and to the deacons of the seminary. His earliest publications, two books of *Canzoni villanesche* (1541), contain a total of 31 *villanesche* and 11 mascheratas. They were well received by other composers, including Donato, Lassus, Perissone, Scandello, Waelrant and Willaert, all of whom arranged some for four voices. In his parodistic treatments of deceitful love, Nola skilfully recreated dialectal speech patterns, drawing liberally upon local proverbs. The poetic forms are remarkably similar to those of an anonymous *villanesca* book (RISM 1537[5]), although the musical styles are different. Nola's *villanesche* are characterized by lively points of imitation and passages of contrasting speeds, juxtaposed with humorous intent. Parallel 5ths, more frequent in the mascheratas, are in the *villanesche* normally confined to phrase endings. The *napolitane* of the 1560s are constructed in compact melodic phrases, lacking the sequences and varied repetitions of the earlier style, and contain longer chains of 5ths. The poems are gentler in tone (indicative of the transition to the canzonetta), and show a preference for changing rhymed couplets, e.g. *ABB/CDD/EFF/GHH*. Benacci published an undated book of Nola's poems which are identical in form and subject matter to those he set in the 1560s.

Nola's madrigal book of 1545 contains 29 compositions of which 22 are settings of Petrarch: one madrigal, six canzoni and 15 sonnets. Expressive dissonances such as false relations and delayed resolutions are precisely indicated by the careful application of accidentals. The textures are mainly imitative but with a homophonic orientation that indicates attention to text accentuation and meaning; repetition of the final phrase is common. The *note nere* style predominates and *passaggi* are used for descriptive and ornamental purposes: a characteristic device is a sharply rising scale. In his second book of five-voice madrigals Nola returned to *alla breve* writing. This volume contains six settings of Petrarch sonnets divided in the usual two *partes*. Some of his madrigals are notable for their advanced harmonic language, for example *Giunta m'ha amor* (1562[7]). The madrigals Nola contibuted to Barrè's anthologies (suggesting connections with Rome if not residence there) have a freely declamatory quality. One text he set in this *arioso* style, *Tosto che'l sol si scopre in oriente* (1555[27]), is cited in a Neapolitan chronicle as a popular song.

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Cantiones vulgo motecta appellatae ... omnis generis instrumentis cantatu commodissimae ... liber primus, 5, 6vv (Venice, 1575), lost, cited in *FétisB*

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Madrigali, 4vv (Venice, 1545)

Il secondo libro de madrigali, 5vv (Rome, 1564), inc.

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15 madrigals, 4–5vv, 1549[30], 1555[27], 1558[13], 1560[18], 1561[10], 1562[7], 1585[18], 1625[7]

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J. Haar: 'The "Madrigale arioso": a Mid-Century Development in the Cinquecento Madrigal', *Studi Musicali*, xii (1983), 203–19

DONNA G. CARDAMONE

Noli, Fan [Theofan] **Stilian** (*b* Ibrik-Tepe, nr Adrianople, 6 Jan 1882; *d* Fort Lauderdale, FL, 13 March 1965). Albanian composer, writer and politician. His early energies were directed towards the Albanian independence movement. He championed its cause first in Egypt and then in the USA, where he became a priest (1908) and later a bishop (1919) in the Albanian Orthodox Church. In 1920 he headed the delegation which successfully gained admittance for Albania to the League of Nations. He served briefly as foreign minister in the Albanian government of Xhafer Ypi in 1922 and, after the overthrow of the Ahmed Zogu regime in 1924, was prime minister for six months. After Zogu's return to power, he went into exile, settling in 1932 in the USA, where he became head of the Albanian Orthodox Church. In the years 1935–7 he studied composition at the New England Conservatory.

Although Noli's literary output has been amply studied, his work as a composer is less well known: his secular compositions were not performed or recorded in Albania until the 1980s. Nonetheless, works such as *Skënderbeu* and *Gaspari i varfër* ('Poor Gaspar'), more neo-classical than late Romantic in style, reveal him as one of the most technically accomplished Albanian composers active in the first half of the 20th century. His colourful and intelligent essay on Beethoven drew praise from George Bernard Shaw, Sibelius and Thomas Mann among others.

WORKS
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Edns: Hymnore [Hymnal] (Boston, 1936); Eastern Orthodox Hymnal (Boston, 1951); Byzantine Hymnal (Boston, 1959)

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Z. Shuteriqi: 'Fan S. Noli: Musicologist and Composer', *New Albania*, ii (1982), 28
S. Pollo and V. Bala: 'Noli', *Fjalozi enciklopedik shqiptar* (Tirana, 1985), 760–61

GEORGE LEOTSAKOS

Nollet [Noleth, Nolet, Noletto, Nolletto] (*fl* 1538–46). North European composer, active in Italy. His works, all madrigals, were included in anthologies published from about 1538 to 1546. One four-voice madrigal, *S'io potessi mirar*, is printed at the beginning of the second part of Antonfrancesco Doni's *Dialogo della musica* (RISM 1544[22]); Doni remarked via the interlocutor Claudio Maria Veggio that he was 'delighted with this quite perfect little madrigal', swearing 'that it is the work of Nolet'.

WORKS

Il dolce sonno, 5vv, 1542[16]; Io non so dir parole, 5vv, 1542[16]; Le donne antiche, 5vv, 1542[16]; Non ress'al colp'il core, 5vv, 1538[20]; Partomi donna, 6vv, 1541[16]; Qual anima ignorante, 4vv, 1542[17] (probably by Berchem), ed. in CMM, lxxiii/1 (1978); Quant'in mill'ann'il ciel, 6vv, 1546[19]; S'io potessi mirar, 4vv, 1544[22], ed. in Monterosso Vacchelli

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A.M. Monterosso Vacchelli: *L'opera musicale di Antonfrancesco Doni* (Cremona, 1969)

DON HARRÁN

Nomura, Yosio (Francesco) (*b* Tokyo, 8 Oct 1908; *d* Tokyo, 4 Feb 1994). Japanese musicologist. After his graduation from Tokyo University in 1932 he spent two years as a postgraduate student and at the same time studied music privately under Kiyosuke Kanetsune and Shōhei Tanaka. He began lecturing at Sophia University, Tokyo, in 1934, later becoming professor (1946–59); he also taught musicology at Tokyo University (1949–69), Ueno Grakuen College, Tokyo, and Hiroshima University. He served as the chairman of the musicology department at the Tokyo Geijutsu Daigaku (Tokyo National University of Fine Arts and Music) (1959–72) and became director of the college's art museum in 1972. He later became the president of Tōhō College of Music (1984–93). A specialist in aesthetics, the comparative study of religions and religious music, he was particularly interested in Gregorian chant and its history. He was an active member of the Japanese Musicological Society, of which he was president from 1971 to 1976.

WRITINGS

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Seishinshi to shite no ongakushi [History of music as history of spirit] (Tokyo, 1946, 12/1975)
'Roman-ha to ongaku' [Romanticism and music], *Bigaku*, no.1 (1950), 33–52
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MASAKATA KANAZAWA

Nomos (Gk.; plural *nómoi*). One of the genres of ancient Greek music. Descriptions of specific *nomoi* in Greek literary sources suggest a complex style that came to be associated with virtuoso performers. Proclus's *Useful Knowledge* associates the term with one of his many epithets for APOLLO, Nomimos, and provides a brief history of the genre: Chrysothemis the Cretan, wearing a splendid robe and playing the kithara in imitation of Apollo, was the first to sing a solo *nomos*; TERPANDER, using heroic metre, was the first to perfect the *nomos*, while ARION of Methymna, who was both poet and kitharode, expanded it; PHRYNIS OF MITYLENE introduced innovations in the *nomos*: he combined the hexameter with a free metre and used more than seven strings; later, TIMOTHEUS gave it its current arrangement.

Stylistic generalizations about the *nomos* are difficult, but four types can be identified: two that are sung to the accompaniment of a kithara or an aulos and two that are

performed by a solo kitharist or aulete. The earliest type is the kitharoedic, a *nomos* sung to the accompaniment of a kithara. Although attributions vary from source to source, Pseudo-Plutarch's *On Music* (1132c–1135c; on the authority of Heraclides Ponticus, Glaucus of Rhegium and Alexander) refers to Terpander as the one who first named a number of the kitharoedic *nomoi* and organized music in Sparta. The first kitharoedic *nomoi* were in dactylic hexameters, but other complementary rhythms were also employed. There may have been some repetition of text. Proclus states that the *nomos*, in contrast to the dithyramb, used the Lydian *harmonia* and was 'relaxed in an orderly and magnificent manner and in its rhythms'. *Nomoi* sung to the accompaniment of an aulos, auloedic *nomoi*, began to be composed somewhat later by Clonas and Ardalus of Troezen. Pseudo-Plutarch credits Clonas with the invention of the auloedic PROSODION but is uncertain whether to choose Clonas or Ardalus as the first to compose auloedic *nomoi*.

Nomoi for solo instruments were a later development, undoubtedly reflecting the rising prominence of a professional class of artist. The Pythic Nomos (described in Strabo's *Geography*, ix.3.10; cf Pollux, *Onomasticon*, iv.78, 84), an auletic *nomos*, portrays the contest of Apollo and the Python in an extended five-part composition for solo aulos, the music itself highly descriptive or evocative. Auletic *nomoi* and the fourth type, the kitharistic *nomos*, were introduced at the Pythian games in 586 and 558 BCE (Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, x.7.4). Pseudo-Plutarch names POLYMNESTUS OF COLOPHON, OLYMPUS THE MYSIAN, Mimnermus and SACADAS OF ARGOS as particularly skilled composer-performers and refers to the famous Polykephalos Nomos (also attested by Pindar, *Pythian*, xii), which he is uncertain whether to attribute to Olympus or Crates; the Chariot Nomos, attributed to Olympus; the Cradias Nomos, attributed to Mimnermus; the Trimere Nomos, attributed perhaps to Sacadas, perhaps to Clonas; and the Orthios Nomos, associated with Polymnestus. According to the Aristotelian *Problems* (xix.15), the *nomos* was intended for virtuoso performers, and as their function was to imitate and exert themselves, it had become long and diverse, with the music constantly changing to suggest the dramatic action of narrative. Since instrumental *nomoi*, at least in some cases, were based on well-known subjects such as the contest between Apollo and the Python, familiarity assisted listeners in identifying the actions suggested by the music.

Nomoi were extended compositions, organized in several sections. Pollux's *Onomasticon* (iv.66) names seven parts to the Terpandrean *nomos*: *eparcha*, *metarcha*, *katatropa*, *metakatatropa*, *omphalos*, *sphragis* and *epilogos*. Each of these terms is based on common terminology used in other contexts: *eparcha* and *metarcha* suggest that the *nomos* begins with a statement of rules, perhaps the basic tuning and rhythm to be employed; the *katatropa* and *metakatatropa* suggest a first and second development on this material; the *omphalos* must be the central point of the composition; the *sphragis* is surely the conclusion in which the poet refers to himself and 'seals' the composition; and the *epilogos* is some sort of coda.

Unlike some other technical musical terms, *nomos* is also a term of general usage that means 'law', 'custom' or 'convention'. This complex of meanings enables Plato to develop several musico-political analogies in the *Republic* (iv, 424c: 'One must be cautious about changing to a new type of music as this risks a change in the whole; the modes [*tropoi*] of music are never moved without movement of the greatest constitutional laws') and the *Laws* (vii, 799e: 'our songs are our laws'). The relationship between civic law and the *nomos* may be more than a literary device employed by Plato. The Aristotelian *Problems* (xix.28) propose that the *nomoi* were so called because the preliterate peoples set their laws to music for mnemonic purposes, while Aristides Quintilianus (*On Music*, ii.6) states that the *nomoi* were certain pieces established by law for use in specific private festivities and public sacred feasts. Pseudo-Plutarch (1133b–c), by contrast, simply asserts that the term was applied to certain pieces because they were based on a particular tuning that had to be maintained throughout. In any case, the term conveys the sense of a piece of music fixed and unalterable.

Of all the composers of *nomoi*, TIMOTHEUS of miletus is the best known and most notorious. The surviving portion of his *Persians*, which won the competition at the Athenian games (probably some time between 420 and 416 BCE), affords a clear view of the literary style and character of the later *nomos*. As an account of the battle of Salamis, the *nomos* provides opportunity for vivid description, word-play and the capacity of the Greek language for onomatopoeia. Two short passages may be taken as typical:

> ... and the sea was shingled o'er with swarming bodies reft of the sunlight by failure of breath, and with the same were the shores heavy laden; while others sat stark and naked on the island-beaches, and with cries and floods of tears, wailing and beating their breasts, were whelmed in mournful lamentation, and called upon the land of their fathers, saying: 'Ho, ye tree-tressèd dells of Mysia, save me out of this place to whence the winds did bring us; else never shall the dust receive my body. (104–19; Edmonds, p.317)

The rhythm shifts constantly from line to line, and even within the lines, evoking the anguish, disorder and tempestuousness of the scene. The language itself changes in sound from the sibilants of the narrative passage, which describes the sea and the shore with 17 sigmas in ten lines, to the chattering cry of the defeated, which contains thirteen dental mutes – taus, deltas and thetas – in five lines. In the second passage, Timotheus demeans the Persian enemy by having him speak barbarously in a fractured syntax when he is captured by a Greek soldier:

> ... then writhing and clasping the foeman's knees he would thus inweave the Greek and Asian tongues, marring the clear-cut seal-stamp of his mouth with tracking down the Ionian speech: 'I me to thee how? and what to do? me come again nohow; and now brung me here this way my master; no more, father, me no more come this way to fight, but me not move; me not to you this way, me that way unto Sardy, unto Susa, home Ecbatana. My great God, Artemis, over to Ephesus will protect. (157–73; Edmonds, p.321)

The surviving lines of the papyrus include a section in which the poet claims to have revolutionized music; this is almost certainly an example of a *sphragis* and an *epilogus*:

> But O Great Healer [le Paean] to whom we cry, exalter of a new-made Muse of the golden kithara, come thou to aid these hymns of mine. For the great and noble and long-lived guide of Sparta, that people that teems with the blossoms of youth, dings me and drives me with the flare of censure, for that I dishonour the more ancient music with my new hymns. Yet do I keep no man, be he young or old or my own compeer, from these hymns of mine; 'tis the debauchers of the ancient music, them I keep off, the tune torturers who shriek as long, and shrill as loud, as any common crier. In the beginning did Orpheus, son of Calliopè, beget the tortoise-shell lyre of the varied Muses on

Mount Pieria; and after him, great Terpander, born of Aeolian Lesbos at Antissa, yoked the Muse in ten songs; and now Timotheus opens the Muse's chambered treasury of many hymns and gives kithara-playing new life with eleven-stroke metres and rhythms, nursling he of Miletus, the town of a twelve-walled people that is chief among the Achaeans.

But to this city I pray thee come, thou far-darting Pythian with the gifts of prosperity and a peace abounding in orderliness for an untroubled people. (215–53; Edmonds, pp.323–25, adapted)

According to Satyrus's *Life of Euripides*, the prelude to this *nomos* was written by EURIPIDES himself, and it has generally been supposed that Timotheus influenced Euripides' style. If this is so, and if the surviving musical fragments from Euripides' *Orestes* and *Iphigenia in Aulis* are accurate representations of the original music for these plays, they may also provide some evidence for Timotheus's musical style. This would have been a style in which the music itself filled out rhythmic patterns not immediately apparent in the text, modulated frequently and in some cases to rather distantly related *tonoi*, and made use of disjunct leaps and unusual chromatic inflection. Unfortunately, the music for the *Persae* does not survive.

The hymn, paean, *nomos* and dithyramb represent the four most important musico-poetic types in Greek culture. As central to the celebration of the gods in various religious and civic festivals, they provided both a means for the cultural heritage to be preserved, interpreted and communicated, and a mirror of the current social and religious structure of Greek life. This dual role led to an ostensible paradox: each generation regarded the musico-poetic types as sufficiently important to be employed, expanded and developed, while at the same time viewing innovations and departures from tradition with suspicion. In fact this is not paradoxical; rather, it is an expression of the vitality and resilience of these compositional types, continuing over many centuries.

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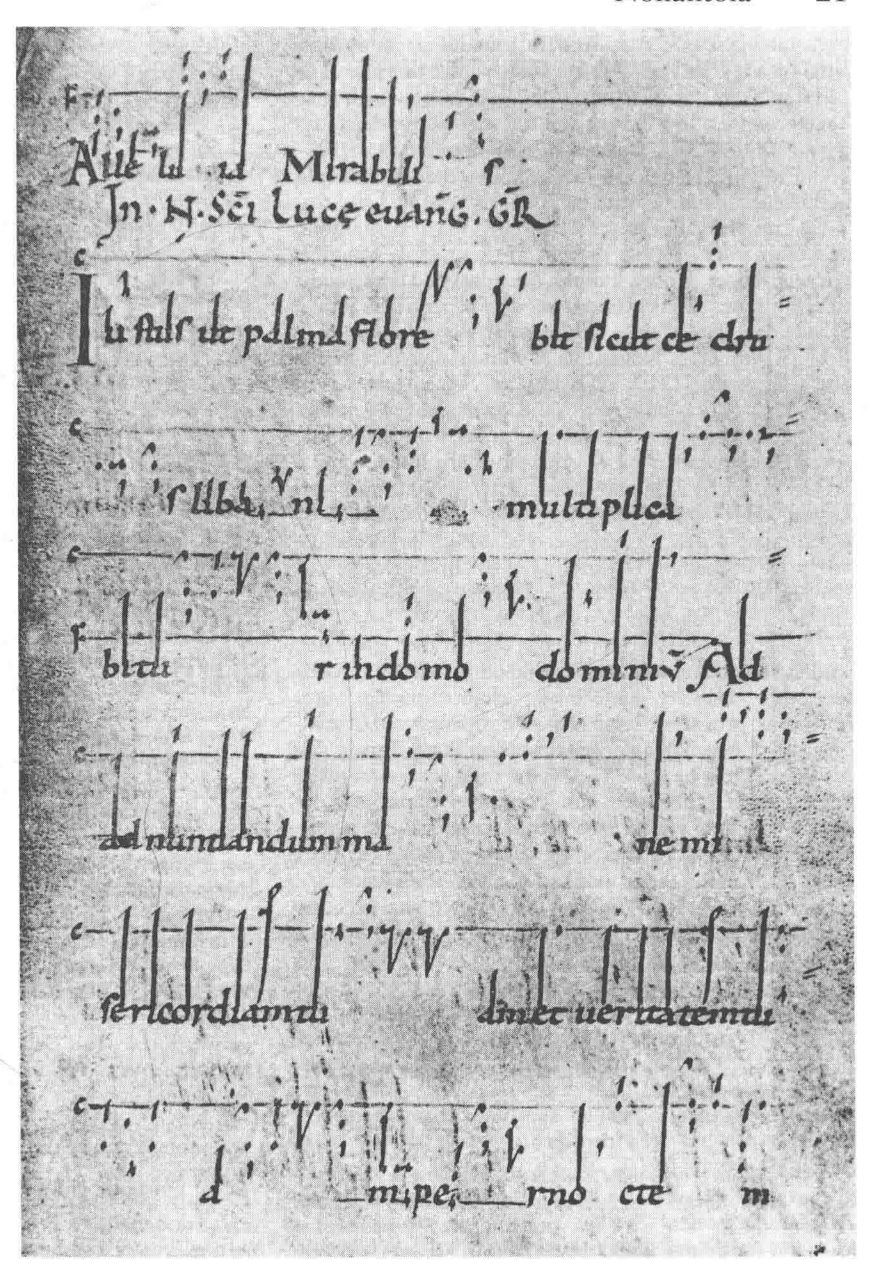
Nonantola. Site of the former Benedictine monastery of S Silvestro in the Lombard kingdom outside Modena. With Monte Cassino, it was one of the most important monastic centres of medieval Italy.

Nonantola was founded about 752 by St Anselm of Nonantola, formerly Duke of Friuli, and endowed by Aistulf, King of the Lombards (reigned 749–56). In 753 the oratory and altar were consecrated to SS Peter and Paul by Sergius, Archbishop of Ravenna, and shortly afterwards Anselm was appointed the first abbot by Pope Stephen II. In 756 the relics of Pope Sylvester I (reigned 314–35) were transferred from Rome to Nonantola, and the abbey received its present dedication.

Anselm spent the period from 760/61 to 773, during the reign of Desiderius, Aistulf's successor, in exile at Monte Cassino. In 774 he returned with a number of manuscripts which formed the nucleus of the important medieval library at Nonantola. Anselm died in 803 and was buried in the church; he was succeeded by a number of Lombard abbots with Germanic names. In 885 the body of Pope Adrian III (reigned 884–5) was buried at the abbey. After a major fire, a reconstruction of the church of S Silvestro was begun in 1015. Until 1083 the abbey was controlled by the emperors; resident abbots replaced absentee appointees in 1044. Documents in the Zürich Central Library (*CH-Zz*) and the St Gallen monastery library (*SGs*), edited by Schmid, contain the names of 1144 monks who had lived at Nonantola up to the 11th century; during this tranquil period, the monastery prospered as a monastic and cultural centre, and its possessions extended as far as Constantinople.

Decline set in during the 14th century. In 1411 the abbey came under the protection of the Este family, and in 1449 regular monastic life there ended with the death of the last regular abbot, Gian Galeazzo Pepoli. With the appointment of his successor, Abbot Gurone d'Este, by Pope Nicholas V in a bull dated 11 June 1449, Nonantola became an abbey 'in commendam', and it was thereafter directed by a long line of commendatory abbots. A reform was instituted by the Cistercians with the appointment of Abbot Giulo Sertorio in 1514, and a seminary was constructed by St Charles Borromeo, an abbot, in 1567. In 1768–9, Pope Clement XIII and Duke Francesco III of Modena suppressed the Cistercian rule. Tiraboschi's important history of the foundation appeared in 1784–5. In 1812 Pope Pius VII united the abbey of Nonantola with Modena; secularized in 1866, it was again restored as an abbey *nullius* with the archdiocese of Modena in 1926. Since 1928 it has had its own minor seminary and has served 31 local parishes.

The extensive collection of manuscripts which made up the medieval library of S Silvestro has been largely dispersed, although five inventories of manuscripts have



Nonantolan neumes: cantatorium, 11th–12th century, notated by Silvester (Nonantola, S Silvestro, f.85r; from PalMus, 1st ser., ii, 1891, pl.15).

survived from before the Cistercian reform. These inventories contain important information about the early musical sources. The oldest such 'catalogue' (*I-Bu* 2248, ff.1*v*–2) is in fact a list of 40 volumes acquired by the monastery during the abbacy of Rodolfo I (1002–35). A catalogue dated 1166 (*Rn* 1568, ff.62*v*–63) lists 61 items. In the catalogue of 1331, 185 manuscripts are described in detail; the catalogue of 1464 contains 255 entries, and the catalogue of 1464–90 lists 237 manuscripts. These last three catalogues are now in the abbey library. Among important liturgical books from the abbey are the so-called 'Sacramentary of Nonantola' (now *F-Pn* lat.2292), copied at St Denis near Paris about 875 for use at Nonantola, and 'The Psalter of Nonantola' (now *I-Rvat* lat.84), dating from the 11th century. Although the 1464 catalogue contains an important table of musical manuscripts, including ten described as 'sequentiale', nine as 'graduale' and four as 'antiphonarium', only four major plainchant sources, fully noted, survive from the abbey; all of them seem to date from the late 11th or early 12th century. They are as follows: *I-Bu* 2824 (106ff), a troper with proses; *NON* 1 (116ff; see illustration), a cantatorium; *Rc* 1741 (192ff), a troper and proser (published in facsimile by G. Vecchi, 1955); *Rn* 1343 (Sess.62) (81ff), a kyriale, troper-proser and processional. Another manuscript described in the 1331, 1464 and 1464–90 catalogues is *Ra* 123 (268ff), an early 11th-century gradual, processional and troper-proser which originated at Bologna rather than Nonantola. Moderini has identified 18 additional manuscripts containing Nonantolan musical notation. Of these 18, only a Gospel book (now in the abbey) with a notated Holy Saturday 'Exultet' is

indisputably from S Silvestro. The remaining manuscripts cited by Moderini either come from Venice or Verona, or are fragments of unknown origin, some of which may have been used in Modena and Milan. Among this latter group is a tonary in Nonantolan notation (*Rc* 54, ff.107–108*v*) which is based on a Reichenau model, according to Huglo (*Les tonaires*, Paris, 1970, p.41).

Certain particular saints were venerated at Nonantola, and the names of these patrons are frequently found in collects, tropes, proses, litanies, calendars and the sections of the liturgical books containing the Proper of the Saints: St Sylvester (feast day, 31 December), Pope Adrian III (8 July), St Anselm of Nonantola (3 March) and SS Senesius and Theopontius (21 May), whose relics were transferred from Treviso to Nonantola in the 10th century. Another characteristic of the Nonantolan liturgical use is the special commemoration of other northern Italian saints: St Alexander of Bergamo (26 August), SS Nazarius and Celsus, martyrs of Milan (28 July), St Possidonius of Mirandola, north of Modena (16 May), St Proculus, venerated at Bologna (1 June), St Prosperus of Reggio (24 November), St Syrus of Pavia (17 May and 9 December) and St Zeno, Bishop of Verona (12 April).

The three tropers are of special significance for chant studies. Their contents are rich, including not only tropes for both Ordinary and Proper chants of the Mass (including prosulae), sequences and processional chants, but also four *confractoria* (antiphons sung during the breaking of the bread in the Eucharist, a genre otherwise known from Ambrosian, not Gregorian chant) and 18 *antiphonae ante evangelium* (for the procession carrying the Gospel book to the pulpit, likewise a non-Roman practice). Among the tropes and sequences are a number of pieces from beyond the Alps (e.g. sequences with texts by Notker of St Gallen), and because Nonantola adopted diastematic notation at a relatively early date, the Nonantolan manuscripts in many cases provide the earliest transcribable versions of these pieces. (For discussion of the multifaceted repertory see Borders and Brunner; their editions also include complete inventories of the tropers: see pt 1, xiv–xxxi.)

No Renaissance polyphonic choirbooks from the Abbey of S Silvestro have been identified.

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JOHN A. EMERSON/DAVID HILEY

Nonat, Joseph Waast Aubert. *See* NONOT, JOSEPH WAAST AUBERT.

None (Lat. *nona*, *hora nona*, *ad nonam*). One of the LITTLE HOURS of the DIVINE OFFICE, recited at about three o'clock in the afternoon, or at the 'ninth hour'. *See also* LITURGY OF THE HOURS.

Nonesuch. American record label. It was founded by Elektra in 1964 as a low-priced classical and world music label. It began by licensing recordings of music of the Baroque and earlier periods from European labels such as Club Français du Disque and Tono Zürich (Concert Hall). Under the direction of Teresa Sterne, it then began an adventurous programme of new recordings of American avant-garde composers such as George Crumb and Morton Subotnick, as well as issuing recordings of little-known 18th-century works, including symphonies by Haydn and J.C. Bach. Joshua Rifkin was the musicological adviser. After Sterne left at the end of 1969, its programme was reduced. The Explorer series was devoted to non-Western music. Rifkin played the piano music of Scott Joplin and conducted his influential, innovatory version of J.S. Bach's Mass in B minor using one voice to a part. With the advent of the compact disc Nonesuch became a full-priced label. The parent firm was acquired by Warner Records, and that company's later acquisition of Teldec and Erato made Nonesuch a component part of the firm's strong presence in the classical market.

JEROME F. WEBER

Nonet (Fr. *nonette*; Ger. *Nonett*; It. *nonetto*). By analogy with the sextet, septet and octet, the term 'nonet', first used early in the 19th century, denotes a composition in the nature of chamber music for nine solo instruments. While in works by such composers as Haydn (HII: 9, 17 and 20) and Ignace Pleyel (B111) the addition of 'a nove stromenti' or 'à neuf instruments' specifies the size of the ensemble required in connection with such generic terms as divertimento, serenade or sinfonia concertante, in 1813 Louis Spohr was the first to mention the number of instruments employed in the actual title of a piece of music. His popular *Grand nonetto* op.31 to some extent defines the constituents of the ensemble still regarded as standard today: flute, oboe, clarinet, horn, bassoon, violin, viola, cello and double bass. Two works by Clementi for the same combination of instruments, both

entitled *Nonetto* (WO30 and WO31), cannot be dated, but since they were never published they had no influence.

Spohr's outstanding nonet, which brings out in an exemplary manner the qualities of each instrument 'in accordance with its character and nature' (as requested by Johann Tost, who commissioned it), inspired other composers to write nonets of their own. They included Louise Farrenc (op.38, 1849), Georges Onslow (op.77, 1851), Franz Lachner (1875), Joseph Rheinberger (op.139, 1884), C.V. Stanford (Serenade op.95, 1905), René Leibowitz (Chamber Concerto op.10, 1944) and Tilo Medek (Nonet in Nine Movements, 1974). Within the nonet repertory, already a small one, the nonets of Josef Bohuslav Foerster (op.147, 1931) and Alois Hába (entitled *Fantazie*: op.40, 1931, and op.41, 1932) form a separate line of tradition closely connected with the Czech Nonet; Martinů dedicated his 1959 Nonet to the ensemble on its 35th anniversary. Nonets for string instruments have been written by Nicolai von Wilm (op.150, 1911) and Copland (1960), and nonets with piano were composed by Jan Bedřich Kittl (perf. 1836, lost) and Henri Bertini (op.107, 1845).

Further works for nine instruments other than the classic Spohr ensemble have been written, particularly in the 20th century, but have not as a rule been described by their composers as nonets. In addition, their texture is often more reminiscent of a concerto or symphony, and breaks the chamber music mould, for instance in works by Milhaud (chamber symphony *Le printemps* op.43, 1917), Egon Kornauth (*Kammermusik* op.31, 1924), Krenek (*Sinfonische Musik* for nine solo instruments op.11, 1922), Bruno Stürmer (Suite op.9, 1923), Villa-Lobos (Nonet with percussion and chorus, 1923) and Webern (Symphony op.21, 1928, and Concerto op.24, 1931–4).

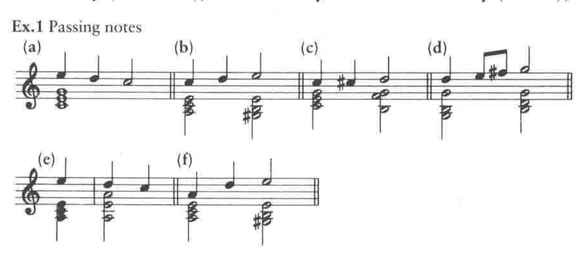
For bibliography *see* CHAMBER MUSIC.

MICHAEL KUBE

Non-harmonic note. In part-writing, a note that is not consonant with the other notes of the chord with which it is sounded and must therefore be 'resolved', usually by step, to a note that is consonant. Non-harmonic notes are in a sense melodic ornaments, and many of the names used to describe them have been borrowed from the terminology for ornamentation (e.g. appoggiatura, *broderie*, *Vorschlag*). The following discussion is intended to clarify the meaning of the most important of these names as they are now used.

A passing note or passing tone (Ger. *Durchgang*) leads from one note to another in a single direction and by conjunct motion, supported either by a single or changing harmony (ex.1*a–b*), diatonically or chromatically (ex.1*c*),

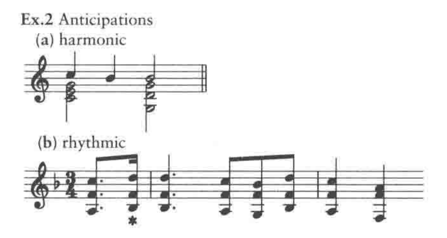
Ex.1 Passing notes



by itself or in pairs (ex.1*d*). Some writers restrict the term 'passing note' to unaccented notes only, preferring to call all accented non-harmonic notes appoggiaturas (see below); the expression 'accented passing note', however, is an acceptable description of ex.1*e*. Occasionally 'free passing note' is used for an unaccented non-harmonic note approached by leap and resolved in the same direction by step (ex.1*f*).

An anticipation is an unaccented note that belongs to and is repeated in the chord that immediately follows it (ex.2*a*). This term has been extended to include the notion

Ex.2 Anticipations



of 'rhythmic anticipation', whereby the entire harmony on a strong beat is stated on the preceding weak beat, for instance at the beginning of the Minuet from Schubert's Octet in F (outlined in ex.2*b*).

An auxiliary note (Fr. *broderie*; Ger. *Hilfsnote*) ornaments a 'main note' that lies a half or whole step above or below it by being approached from and returning to the main note, either singly (ex.3*a*), or in groups of two

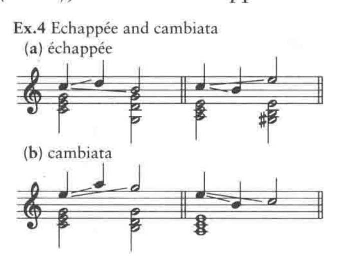
Ex.3 Auxiliaries



or three notes that may be said to form an 'auxiliary chord' (Ger. *Hilfsklang*; ex.3*b*). Auxiliary notes are sometimes referred to as 'neighbour notes' or 'neighbouring notes' but some writers following Schenker in his *Der freie Satz* (1935) restrict the lower neighbour to the note lying a half-step below the main note. In German the term *Nebennote* refers not only to the auxiliary note but to any other non-harmonic note that is approached from its main note by step.

Some unaccented non-harmonic notes intervene in a melodic resolution but, unlike the passing note or the anticipation, are not contained in the interval circumscribing the resolution. When such a note is approached in the direction opposite that of the resolution it is called an 'échappée' (ex.4*a*), and when it is approached in the same

Ex.4 Echappée and cambiata

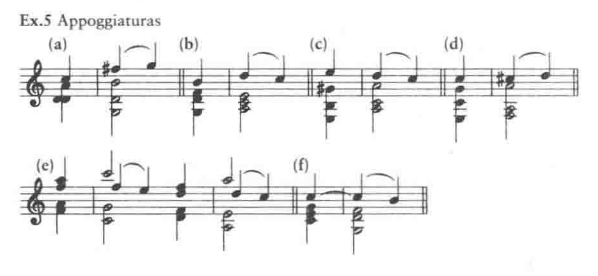


direction – that is, when the resolution is 'overshot', so to speak – it is called a 'cambiata' (ex.4*b*). The term NOTA CAMBIATA is often confused with 'cambiata' when it is used as a noun; it would be preferable to restrict the former to a particular group of configurations in which

an unaccented non-harmonic note is quitted by downward leap of a 3rd.

Any non-harmonic note that occurs on a relatively strong beat is an appoggiatura (Fr. *appoggiature*; Ger. *Vorschlag*), though it is generally understood that the note must be articulated on that beat, as in ex.5*a–e*; when it is tied over, as a consonant note, from the previous chord (ex.5*f*) it is called a SUSPENSION (Fr. *suspension*; Ger. *Vorhalt*; It. *sospensione*). An appoggiatura is often approached by leap, either in the same direction as the resolution (ex.5*a*) or the opposite one (ex.5*b*); or it may be an accented passing note, diatonic (ex.5*c*) or chromatic (ex.5*d*). When it occurs in the previous chord as a consonant note but is not tied over, it is called a prepared appoggiatura. Because they are accented, appoggiaturas form the most expressive category of non-harmonic notes.

Ex.5 Appoggiaturas



Ex.6 Verdi: *Aida*, Act 4, 'O terra addio'



Moreover, they usually tend towards a specific note of resolution and thus create an expectation which is fulfilled in their resolution; the simplest diatonic resolution, for instance that of the leading note to the tonic, becomes the most vivid of melodic progressions when approached by leap and presented in a strong-to-weak rhythmic position, as in ex.6.

WILLIAM DRABKIN

Non-harmonic relation. *See* FALSE RELATION.

Noni, Alda (*b* Trieste, 30 April 1916). Italian soprano. She studied in Trieste and Vienna, making her operatic début as Rosina at Ljubljana in 1937. After performances at Zagreb, Belgrade and Trieste, she joined the Vienna Staatsoper in 1942 and sang such roles as Despina, Norina, Gilda, Oscar and Zerbinetta, which she recorded in 1944 in a performance of *Ariadne auf Naxos* in honour of Strauss's 80th birthday. In 1946 she made her London début at the Cambridge Theatre as Norina. She appeared at La Scala from 1949 to 1953, making her début as Carolina (*Il matrimonio segreto*) and also singing Armidoro (Piccinni's *La buona figliuola*), Papagena, Zerlina and Nannetta during the 1950 visit of La Scala to Covent Garden. With Glyndebourne Opera at the 1949 Edinburgh Festival she sang Oscar, and at Glyndebourne itself (1950–54) Blonde, Despina and Clorinda (*La Cenerentola*), which she recorded. Her other recordings include Adina and an irresistibly vital Norina. She excelled in comic roles and her repertory, which included operas by Cherubini, Auber and Wolf-Ferrari, displayed to advantage her limpid and attractive coloratura soprano.

HAROLD ROSENTHAL/ALAN BLYTH

Nonna pastorale. *See* NINNA.

Nonnengeige (Ger.). *See* TRUMPET MARINE.

Nono, Luigi (*b* Venice, 29 Jan 1924; *d* Venice, 8 May 1990). Italian composer. A leading figure in the postwar European avant garde, he asserted his independence from that circle in the late 1950s, exploring a passionate social and political commitment through the most advanced technical means, electronics especially. While political messages are less explicit in his works from the late 1970s onwards, he sought in his last decade, through an extreme concentration of musical material and a meticulous attention to sound itself, modes of listening and performing which would embody on a more intimate level the same ethical concerns with perception, communication and human interaction.

1. Life and works. 2. Compositional theory and practice.

1. LIFE AND WORKS. Born into a family of artists – his grandfather Luigi was a painter and his uncle Ernesto a sculptor – Nono took an interest from an early age in cultural history and art. His interest in music was encouraged by his parents, who were amateur musicians and who owned a sizable collection of recordings. From 1943 to 1945 he studied composition with Malipiero at the Venice Conservatory, where there was an emphasis on vocal polyphony and the madrigal tradition, as well as an awareness of the music of the Second Viennese School, Stravinsky and Bartók. Nono's experiences of the war, of the Nazi occupation and the Resistance were fundamental to his general development, while musically his meeting with Maderna was critical; from 1946 onwards they forged a long-lasting association. A small community of musicians grew up around them in Venice who, through the examination of the contrapuntal, harmonic and formal foundations of European art music, aimed to develop a new musical language. Their main point of reference was Dallapiccola, who belonged to the preceding generation of Italian composers and with whom Nono developed a relationship of reciprocal esteem and friendship in 1947. The group shared in particular a desire to discover and learn from the Second Viennese School.

In 1948 Nono and Maderna took part in Scherchen's conducting course in Venice, following which they worked together for the publishers Ars Viva. For several years Scherchen became their mentor, and through private lessons (at Rapallo, 1952–3) Nono studied further the compositional techniques of Bach, Beethoven, Schoenberg and Webern. On Scherchen's recommendation he was accepted as a student on the 1950 Darmstadt summer course, at which the first performance of his *Variazioni canoniche sulla serie dell'op.41 di Schönberg* provoked contrasting reactions. In Darmstadt he attended classes given by Varèse, whose influence became progressively more apparent in his work. Until 1959 – the year of his controversial lecture *Geschichte und Gegenwart in der Musik von heute* – he continued to take part at the Darmstadt courses (from 1957 as a teacher), during which many of his compositions were performed for the first time and important discussions and meetings took place. He came into contact there with members of the Schoenberg school, in particular the violinist Rudolf

Kolisch, with whom he collaborated on the composition of his *Varianti*; in 1955 he married Schoenberg's daughter, Nuria. The Darmstadt summer courses confirmed Nono's leading position and, together with Boulez and Stockhausen, he became a key figure in the European avant garde.

Nono's musical technique and artistic stance developed not only through contact with the international musical community, but also from works and figures in other cultural fields. His friendship and later collaboration with the painter Emilio Vedova, his study of the theatrical ideas of Meyerhold, Piscator and Josef Svoboda, his exposure to the philosophical and political thought of Gramsci and Sartre, and the poetry of García Lorca, Neruda, Eluard, Pavese and Ungaretti were of crucial importance at that time. From these poets Nono took the texts for his vocal works of the 1950s : *Tre epitaffi per Federico García Lorca*, *La victoire de Guernica*, *La terra e la compagna* and *Cori di Didone*. In the last two of these, and in the unquestionable masterpiece of his first decade's work, *Il canto sospeso* (1955–6) to texts by condemned prisoners of the European Resistance, Nono made use of a new style of singing which involves the fragmentation of the text and its attachment to musical structures which vary from a single line to diverse types of textural layering. Nono's intense involvement in the social issues of his time gave rise to a style in which sound and text are inextricably linked; in which the work takes a firm hold in the 'real' world, as a kind of a historical record. Increasingly, Nono used texts with political references (he had in 1952 become a member of the Italian Communist party), culminating in the stage piece *Intolleranza 1960* which, at its first performance in Venice (1961), provoked protest and uproar. It represented a turning-point, not only because for the first time it made concrete Nono's ideas for a new form of music theatre which he had been developing in the 1950s, but also because it revealed the extent of the political conflict in which the composer felt himself involved: racial intolerance, fascist violence, exploitation of the working classes, and the struggle for freedom and independence in developing countries.

Nevertheless, Nono must still have felt his means of musical expression to be insufficiently developed to articulate these ideas; for immediately after *Intolleranza 1960*, he turned to work almost exclusively with electronics. In the RAI Studio di Fonologia in Milan he began work on a new stage composition, which was to evolve into a series of uncategorizable works. The first was *La fabbrica illuminata* (1964) for female voice and tape, the tape part comprising sounds recorded in a factory, workers' voices, a choir and the soloist herself (originally Carla Henius). *A floresta è jovem e cheja de vida* (1966) and *Y entonces comprendió* (1969–70), among other works, went to confirm certain fundamental aspects of Nono's musical thought: the use of vocal material, with singers and actors chosen for their particular timbre and quality of gesture; interaction between live voices and their *alter ego* on tape; amplification to highlight aspects of the sound which would otherwise be difficult to perceive; diffusion of the sound from different points in space; and, last but not least, the employment of texts which document contemporary history. These works represent an avant-garde stance which, abandoning traditional musical narrative and grammar, employs the most advanced technical means in order to expose the structures of political power.

The 1960s witnessed intense confrontation between the theory and the practice of Marxism, and Nono played a significant role in these events. In 1965 he realized a tape score for the play *Die Ermittlung* by Peter Weiss; the following year he worked on material for Living Theatre; 1967 saw his first long trip to Latin America where he met the leading figures of cultural and political opposition; and in 1968 he collected materials from the student protests in Paris, which are used in *Musica-manifesto no.1*. The texts Nono employed during this period together create what amounts to a map of socialist culture: from Fidel Castro, Che Guevara, Karl Marx, Rosa Luxemburg, Bertolt Brecht and Malcolm X, to revolutionary documents from various continents. Nono's theatre piece *Al gran sole carico d'amore* (1972–4) – in which events from different epochs are fused together under the common theme of women's struggle for liberation – is both the synthesis and conclusion of his openly declared political position.

With the string quartet *Fragmente–Stille, an Diotima* (1979–80), he seemed to be entering a more private phase in his career, focussed on more abstract musical concerns. But although Nono worked with new ideas in this and subsequent pieces he did not abandon the fundamental aesthetic and technical issues of the previous decades. For example, form constructed from a discontinuous series of fragments – with which Nono had experimented for the first time at the end of the 1950s in the orchestral *Diario polacco '58* – was now brought to the fore, with a considerable reduction in the length and dynamic level of what might be described as sonorous islands, amid a scenery of silence. There continued, too, the conception of the performer as a source of individual material, developed through collaborative exchange with the composer (in the 1970s this way of working had, with Pollini, given rise to *Como una ola de fuerza y luz* and *. . . sofferte onde serene . . .*). And Nono remained convinced of the need for technology in the process of musical creation. Indeed, the themes of violence, oppression and utopian tension had not disappeared either, only now they were no longer dealt with on a historical or documentary level, but rather on an individual level, taking on a quasi-ontological significance. Two factors, in particular, contributed to the characteristic features of this period: Nono's meeting with the philosopher Massimo Cacciari, and his work at the Experimentalstudio der Heinrich-Strobel-Stiftung in Freiburg. The eclectic thought of Cacciari – strongly influenced by Hölderlin, Nietzsche, Rilke and Walter Benjamin, and also by the study of myth and Jewish mysticism – became an inexhaustible source of inspiration. The texts for Nono's pieces were now formed from collections of fragments of literary and philosophical writing undertaken in collaboration with Cacciari; while in the Freiburg studio he worked closely with a team who were mastering the most advanced techniques for transforming sound in real time and diffusing it in space. His concept of 'composition' broadened, now taking into account the internal evolution of sound and its spatial trajectory. The most important project born out of the Freiburg experiments and his collaboration with Cacciari was *Prometeo* (1984), a large-scale work which represented a new stage in the development of that form of music theatre which, from

the time of *Intolleranza 1960* onwards, Nono had defined as *azione scenica*. However, during the composition of *Prometeo* every narrative, scenic and visual element was eliminated; there remained only a gigantic wooden structure, the shape of which resembles the keel of a boat, but whose function is that of a gigantic resonating case which the architect Renzo Piano planned for the interior of the church of S Lorenzo in Venice. Nono defined *Promoteo* as a 'tragedy of listening', alluding on the one hand to Greek tragedy with its *stasimons* and choruses and on the other to a drama which unfolds within sound itself. During the composition of the work he also turned at times to various shorter compositions for voices, a small instrumental ensemble and live electronics: *Quando stanno morendo* (*Diario polacco no.2*), *Guai ai gelidi mostri* and *Risonanze erranti*. The same years also saw the appearance of two major pieces for full orchestra – *A Carlo Scarpa architetto, ai suoi infiniti possibili* and *No hay caminos, hay que caminar . . . Andrej Tarkowskij* – in which conceptions of sound requiring the use of computers are re-thought on a purely acoustic level.

2. Compositional theory and practice. Nono's output reflects a continuous and coherent evolution in compositional technique, which goes beyond the controversial developments of 1959 (his polemical lecture against the Darmstadt circle) and of 1980 (the explicit emphasis on the internal dimensions of music). His notion of sound as a complex event with its own internal mobility, a notion that emerges explicitly in his last decade, is already evident in the early works which established his international reputation. These pieces, often discussed under the rubric of 'integral' serialism, bear the trace of the contrapuntal techniques of the Franco-Flemish school, which he had studied, and their influence on the dodecaphonic canons of Webern and Dallapiccola. However, even in his first work, the *Variazioni canoniche*, the principle of canon is varied to such an extent that it is no longer recognizable, even while it continues to serve as a basic structure. Variation, meanwhile, is redefined as a structural procedure involving the progressive transformation of the note row's motivic content, using permutations of both pitch and duration (these parameters now being placed on an equal footing).

For a while Nono worked more intensively on the idea of the row as initial material, leading to ever-changing melodic-harmonic groupings. In *Tre Epitaffi per García Lorca*, *Due espressioni* and *La victoire de Guernica*, he also experimented with the serial development of rhythms from popular tradition, especially Spanish. However, the risk of a disparity between the compositional principles in operation and the material used – which, though fragmented and re-arranged, was still 'recognizable' – soon became a cause of dissatisfaction. *Incontri* announces his move to a more abstract, integrated kind of construction: durations and dynamics are linked together serially, and timbres, registers and textural density become fundamental musical parameters. In the essentially 'physical' concept of continuously evolving 'sound complexes', driven by a carefully designed macrorhythmic profile, the piece displays significant evidence of Varèse's influence. With *Il canto sospeso* Nono reached the climax of his maturing process. The nine movements which comprise the work are all rigorously organized according to serial principles, though the number of elements, and how they are combined, varies from piece to piece. Starting with a limited nucleus – an all-interval row and a Fibonacci sequence – diverse results emerge, the nature of which depends directly on the meaning of individual texts and the dramaturgy of the work as a whole. Melodic splintering, in particular, marked by sharp contrasts of register and dynamics, introduces a new kind of signifying relationship between word and sound. In the instrumental and vocal compositions which immediately followed – *Varianti*, *Cori di Didone*, *La terra e la compagna*, *Diario polacco '58*, *Sarà dolce tacere*, and *Ha venido: canciones para Silvia* – serial techniques are no longer used to generate new material but instead to determine the internal articulation of the sound aggregates. For example at the beginning of *Varianti*, a single pitch is varied using a sequence of changing instruments and dynamics: a *Klangfarbenmelodie* in miniature in which a kind of polyphony is created within the sound which endows it with extraordinary energy. These methods form the beginnings of the late orchestral compositions of the 1980s, such as *A Carlo Scarpa architetto, ai suoi infiniti possibili*, in which Nono worked extensively with single pitches, varying them by means of microtonal inflections, different combinations of timbre and texture, and spatial mobility.

Nono's humanistic outlook was formed out of an insatiable curiosity for the viewpoints and methods of other artistic genres (theatre, literature, painting, architecture and cinema) and a strong interest in all human forms of communication (from the workplace to politics, from philosophical thought to the mythical and religious sphere): he believed that art is never exhausted in its technical capacity, that it reflects the totality of human experience. His entire body of work from *Il canto sospeso* onwards can be seen as an attempt to provide a satisfactory answer to Sartre's question, 'Why write?'; the Sartre-like reply, while varied in its musical expression over the course of time, was 'in order to fulfil our duty to produce the world'. This is the source of Nono's socio-political stance, completely at odds with that of, say, Eisler or his contemporary Henze. It was not for him a question of reproducing in music the emotions of suffering, scorn, anger, rebellion, desire and love of which the texts speak, or to which the titles of instrumental compositions refer; rather, it was the idea of formulating on a musical level, in the unshakable unity of sound, issues for which humanity demands urgent resolution: 'To listen is to know'.

Fired by the conviction that all artistic activity must be motivated by ethical and political considerations, Nono considered that, for a piece to make an impact on reality, the composer must be familiar with the most advanced musical techniques of his age. The compositions in which Nono dealt explicitly with political issues thus became those in which he experimented most with electronic technology. In *A floresta é jovem e cheja de vida*, for example, the voices of a soprano and several actors, the sound of sheets of copper being struck and the multiphonics of a clarinet are transformed in the studio by means of a set of modulators and filters; the same sound sources interact live with the tape, creating situations of tension and resolution which redefine on a new semantic level texts from Fidel Castro, Patrice Lumumba, an anonymous student from the University of California, a South Vietnamese soldier, an Angolan guerrilla and Italian

manual workers. In *Quando stanno morendo (Diario polacco no.2)* texts by Russian poets, including Blok and Chlebnikov, serve as catalysts to portray experiences in prison and exile in countries under the Soviet regime. This was also the first of Nono's major works to treat voices and instruments in performance by means of a coordinated system of live electronics – involving delay, reverberation, harmonic spectrum modification and control of the movement of sound in space.

In his last decade, Nono saw his use of technology as having a positive role with regard to cultural, and hence social, emancipation. Nevertheless many commentators have continued to view the period quite differently, as one of individualism and the metaphysical; Nono's image of Utopia redefined through his own concepts of 'other ways of listening' and 'possible infinities'. These last works not only call for a new attitude to sound perception, but also require that spaces in which we listen, notation, the attitude of the performer and the whole conception of compositional work be changed. The position of performers and listeners was altered by placing individual instrumentalists or orchestral groups in different parts of the hall, while the fluctuating interior of the sound could now be controlled entirely through computer programmes, realized through collaboration with technicians. Such programming was adapted to every new environment, and this called for a new flexibility in musical notation, as well as the most sensitive understanding of the performers who – with their continuous micro-variations in pitch, dynamic and timbre – both act in and react to the overall sound production. There is now no longer a principal performer, but each member of the team, including the technicians, forms part of a larger reciprocally-acting mosaic of members. Virtuoso players are required, but not in the traditional sense of an athletic display of numerous notes and complex rhythmic figures; instead there is a sort of 'static' virtuosity, calling for concentration, control of the most subtle oscillations in sound and the ability to interact with the other ensemble participants. A work is thus no longer the product of a solitary composer, but the result of a continuous exchange of ideas within the triangle of composer–performer–technician. At the end of his artistic pilgrimage, Nono was still as rigorous and tireless in his experimentation as at the start. He tackled head-on many of the most salient questions of musical language of his time, and in so doing, opened up new horizons in composing and listening. He occupies a position at the very forefront of 20th-century music.

WORKS

STAGE

Il mantello rosso (ballet, 3, T. Gsovsky, after F.G. Lorca), Berlin, 1954
Intolleranza 1960 (azione scenica, 2, after idea by A.M. Ripellino, various texts), Venice, 1961; rev. as Intolleranza 1970 (1, new scene with text by J. Karsunke), Florence, 1974
Die Ermittlung (incid music, P. Weiss), tape, Berlin, 1965, rev. as concert work Ricorda cosa ti hanno fatto in Auschwitz, 1966
Al gran sole carico d'amore (azione scenica, 2, Nono), 1972–4; Milan, 1975
Prometeo (tragedia dell'ascolto, M. Cacciari), 1981–4, Venice, 1984, rev. 1985
Also stage productions of various concert works

CONCERT WORKS WITHOUT ELECTRONICS

Variazioni canoniche sulla serie dell'op.41 di A. Schönberg, chbr orch, 1950
Composizione no.1, orch, 1951
Polifonica – monodia – ritmica, fl, cl, b cl, sax, hn, pf, perc, 1951
Tre epitaffi per Federico García Lorca, 1951–3: 1. España en el corazón (García Lorca, P. Neruda), S, Bar, small chorus, insts; 2. Y su sangre ya viene cantando, fl, chbr orch; 3. Memento: romance de la guardia civil española (Lorca), spkr, speaking chorus, chorus, orch
Due espressioni, orch, 1953
Il mantello rosso, suite no.2, orch, 1953 [after ballet]
Il mantello rosso, suite no.1, S, B, chorus, orch, 1954 [after ballet]
Liebeslied (Nono), chorus, insts, 1954
La victoire de Guernica (P. Eluard), chorus, orch, 1954
Musica da scena per William Shakespeare: Was ihr wollt, fl, cl, tpt, gui, perc, 1954, unpubd
Canti per 13, 13 insts, 1954–5
Incontri, 24 insts, 1955
Il canto sospeso (letters of Resistance fighters), S, Mez, T, chorus, orch, 1955–6
Varianti, vn, ww, str, 1957
La terra e la compagna (C. Pavese), S, T, chorus, insts, 1957–8
Cori di Didone (G. Ungaretti), chorus, perc, 1958
Piccola gala notturna veneziana in onore dei 60 anni di Heinrich Strobel, 14 insts, 1958, unpubd
Composizione no.2 (Diario polacco '58), orch, 1958–9
Ha venido: canciones para Silvia (A. Machado), S, 6 female vv, 1960
Intolleranza 1960, suite, S, chorus, live or recorded orch, 1969
Sarà dolce tacere (Pavese), 8 solo vv, 1960
Canti di vita e d'amore: sul ponte di Hiroshima, 1962: 1. Sul ponte di Hiroshima (G. Anders), S, T, orch; 2. Djamila Boupachà (J.L. Pacheco), S; 3. Tu (Pavese), S, T, orch
Canciones a Guiomar (Machado), S, 6 female vv, insts, 1962–3
Da un diario italiano, 2 choruses, 1964
Voci destroying muros (various), 4 female vv, speaking vv, chorus, orch, 1970 [partly reworked in Ein Gespenst geht um in der Welt]
Ein Gespenst geht um in der Welt (K. Marx, C. Sanchez, H. Santamaría), S, chorus, orch, 1971
Siamo la gioventù del Vietnam (anon., G. Federici), unison vv, 1973
Fragmente–Stille, an Diotima, str qt, 1979–80
¿Donde estàs, hermano?, 2 S, Mex, A, 1982
A Carlo Scarpa architetto, ai suoi infiniti possibili, orch in micro-intervals, 1984
No hay caminos, hay que caminar . . . Andrej Tarkowskij, 7 inst groups, 1987
'Hay que caminar' soñando, 2 vn, 1989

CONCERT WORKS WITH TAPE

Omaggio a Emilio Vedova, tape, 1960
La fabbrica illuminata (G. Scabia, Pavese), Mez, tape, 1964
Ricorda cosa ti hanno fatto in Auschwitz, tape, 1966
A floresta è jovem e cheja de vida (G. Pirelli, etc.), S, 3 spkrs, cl, bronze sheets, tape, 1966
Per Bastiana Tai-Yang Cheng (L'oriente è rosso), orch, tape, 1967
Contrappunto dialettico alla mente, tape, 1967–8
Musica-manifesto no.1, 1968–9: 1. Un volto e del mare (Pavese), vv, tape; 2. Non consumiamo Marx, tape
Musiche per Manzù, tape, 1969
Y entonces comprendió (C. Falqui), 6 female vv, chorus, tape, elecs, 1969–70
Como una ola de fuerza y luz (J. Huasi), S, pf, orch, tape, 1971–2
Für Paul Dessau, tape, 1974
Notturni-albe, pf, tape, 1974–
. . . sofferte onde serene . . ., pf, tape, 1976
Frammenti da Al gran sole carico d'amore (Nono), 3 S, Mez, 2B, SATB, orch, tape, 1976
La lontananza nostalgica utopica futura, madrigale per più caminantes con Gidon Kremer, vn, tape

CONCERT WORKS WITH LIVE ELECTRONICS

Con Luigi Dallapiccola, 6 perc, live elecs, 1979
Das atmende Klarsein (R.M. Rilke), SATB, b fl, live elecs, 1981
Io, frammento dal Prometeo (M. Cacciari), 3 S, SATB, b fl, b cl, live elecs, 1981
Quando stanno morendo (Diario polacco no.2) (M. Cacciari, after C. Miłosz, E. Ady, V. Chlebnikov and B. Pasternak), 2 S, Mez, A, b fl, vc, live elecs, 1982
Omaggio a György Kurtág, A, fl, cl, tuba, live elecs, 1983, rev. 1986
Guai ai gelidi mostri (M. Cacciari), 2 A, va, vc, db, fl, cl, tuba, live elecs, 1983
A Pierre (Dell'azzurro silenzio, inquietum), cb fl, cb cl, live elecs, 1985
Risonanze erranti (Liederzyklus a Massimo Cacciari), Mez, fl, tuba, 5 perc, live elecs, 1986, rev. 1987

Caminates . . . Ayacucho (G. Bruno), Mez, fl, SATB, SATB, org, 3 inst groups, live elecs, 1986–7
Post-prae-ludium no.1 'per Donau [eschingen]', tuba, live elecs, 1987

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'Prefazione alla "Harmonielehre" di Arnold Schoenberg', *Musica/Realtà*, i (1980), 37–42
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M. Mila: 'La linea Nono (a proposito de "Il canto sospeso")', *RaM*, xxx (1960), 297–311
L. Pestalozza: 'Luigi Nono e *Intolleranza 1960*', *Biennale di Venezia*, no.43 (1961), 18–34
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GIANMARIO BORIO

Nonot [Nonat, Nonotte, Notot], **Joseph Waast Aubert** (*b* Arras, 12 Feb 1751; *d* Paris, 24 Aug 1840). French organist and composer. He exhibited great musical talent at an early age. His father, an engraver for Etats d'Artois, was against a musical career for his son, but while visiting Paris Joseph had the opportunity to play for the celebrated organist Leclerc, who was so impressed that he persuaded the father to allow Nonot to remain and study in Paris. Nonot later returned to Arras, where he was organist at St Géry from 1768 to 1783. During the Revolution he may have emigrated to England but later he was in France. Nonot is said to have excelled at accompanying from a full score and at improvising at the keyboard. It is likely that some of his later years were spent in Arras; one of his masses was performed in 1837 by the Philharmonic Society there.

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all published in Paris

Leçons méthodiques de clavecin et de forte-piano, i (1796)
Air de Marlborough varié, pf (*c*1797)
Musique religieuse à grand orchestre avec soli et choeur (1824–30): Kyrie, 1811; Credo; Hymne à la Vierge, 1783; O salutaris, 1778; Domine salvum fac, 1811; Gloria, inc., 1774

2 sonates, hpd, vn (n.d.)

Masses, 4 syms., 3 pf concs., pf sonatas, smaller works, all lost

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ETHYL L. WILL

Non-quartal harmony. A term used to describe the harmonic syntax of some 15th-century music in which the vertical interval of a 4th does not appear except as a discord. Non-quartal style is common in three-part music of the generation from about 1450 to 1500, and may be seen as providing a strong contrast with the fauxbourdon style which is made up largely of parallel 6-3 chords (*see* FABURDEN and FAUXBOURDON).

While the elimination of vertical 4ths may be seen as a novel and revolutionary phenomenon in the second half of the 15th century, it is really a result of the contrapuntal ideals of the 14th- and 15th-century composer combined with the spread of the total ambitus. Fundamental to the music of this period is the counterpoint between the tenor and the discantus: these parts must always form a satisfactory whole, obeying the laws of discant as explained by the theorists. In any 15th-century music the contratenor can be taken away and the remainder is contrapuntally self-sufficient. So the tenor and the discantus could rest on the octave or 5th and move in parallel 6ths or 3rds. A vertical 4th, however, was a discord and could appear only between the contratenor and one of the other parts; if the contratenor lay above the tenor note it would inevitably often form a 4th with the discantus. But after 1450 composers began increasingly to keep the contratenor in a range below that of the tenor while retaining the basic discant relationship between tenor and discantus (ex.1). In such circumstances the contratenor

Ex.1 Du Fay: *Du tout m'estoie*, c1450



could not form a 4th with either part without producing a second-inversion triadic form – something that was unacceptable in 15th-century music. Essential vertical 4ths are therefore entirely absent. Such music consequently contains no first-inversion triads except in open position (e.g. at the cadence marked in bar 2 of ex.1).

In the 16th century three-part music became rarer and the importance of the contrapuntal self-sufficiency of the discantus–tenor duet was soon forgotten. But when Reese remarked that without the altus Isaac's *Innsbruck, ich muss dich lassen* 'would be entirely non-quartal' he meant simply that the discantus and the tenor retained their 15th-century relation.

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DAVID FALLOWS

Noone, Jimmie [Jimmy] (*b* Cut Off, nr New Orleans, 23 April 1895; *d* Los Angeles, 19 April 1944). American jazz clarinettist and bandleader. After playing the guitar as a youth, he took up the clarinet at the age of 15. In 1913–14 he substituted for and then replaced Sidney Bechet in Freddie Keppard's band; later, with Buddy Petit, he led the Young Olympia Band (1916). Noone left New Orleans for Chicago in 1917 and toured the Midwest with Keppard's Creole Band until it broke up in spring 1918. After returning briefly to New Orleans, he left the city permanently in autumn 1918, travelling with King Oliver to Chicago, where they joined the band led by Bill Johnson at the Royal Gardens. Noone left the Royal Gardens in 1920 to join Doc Cook's Dreamland Orchestra, with which he played until 1926. During this period he recorded 20 sides for Gennett, Okeh and Columbia.

Noone's most important and influential period began in autumn 1926 when he took up residence at the Apex Club in Chicago. Here he led his own five-piece group, Jimmie Noone's Apex Club Orchestra, which eventually included Earl Hines on piano. With this group he made a classic series of recordings in 1928. During the 1930s, except for engagements in New York in 1931 and 1935, Noone remained in Chicago leading small groups at various clubs. In the early 1940s he was taken up by the New Orleans revival movement and joined Kid Ory, Zutty Singleton, Jack Teagarden and others in club jobs and recording sessions in San Francisco and Los Angeles. Shortly before his death, he joined an all-star revival band organized for Orson Welles's CBS variety show.

Noone, along with Bechet and Johnny Dodds, was one of the most significant New Orleans reed players, and a vital link between the older New Orleans style of clarinet playing and the Chicago swing manner. His musical style was influenced by his fellow African American teachers and colleagues in New Orleans, especially Bechet. Later, in Chicago, his formal study with Franz Schoepp, a classically trained clarinettist, helped give him a secure command of all three clarinet registers. His expressive performance of blue notes and solo breaks is nowhere better illustrated than in his four recordings on the Columbia label with Oliver's band from October 1923. His later Apex Club recordings of *I Know that you Know*, *Four or Five Times* and *Apex Blues* (all 1928, Voc.) set a new standard for post-New Orleans ensemble playing. These recordings use the New Orleans ensemble style with a revised orchestration: alto saxophone as lead instrument, clarinet providing embellishments and a three-piece rhythm section, with Hines often supplying a third independent line with his 'trumpet-style' right hand. In this role he sometimes improvised complicated contrapuntal melodies; especially impressive are the sumptuous-sounding, fast and clean arabesques that Noone wove in the clarinet's mid- to lower register.

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RICHARD WANG

Noordsche balk (Dut.: 'Nordic beam'). The Dutch name for the various zithers of the Low Countries, either made of, or having the appearance of, the lengths of Scandinavian deal known as 'Nordic beams'. (For further information see H. Boone: 'De Hommel in de Lage Landen', *Brussels Museum of Musical Instruments Bulletin*, v, 1975; special issue, incl. Eng. and Fr. summaries. *See also* ZITHER.) □

Noordt [Noort, Noord, Oort, Oord]**, van.** Dutch family of musicians. It included Sybrand (bur. Amsterdam, 28 Dec 1654), schoolmaster and carillonneur in Amsterdam and the three discussed below.

(1) **Jacobus** [Jacob] **van Noordt** (*b c*1616; *d* 29 Dec 1680). Composer, flautist, organist, harpsichordist and carillonneur, son of Sybrand van Noordt. He was organist of Amsterdam's Nieuwezijdskapel (1639–52) and of the Oude Kerk (1652–79) after the death of Dirck Sweelinck. His daughter Johanna (*c*1648–66) was married in 1665 to the organist, carillonneur and composer Dirck Scholl. He is represented by nine recorder solos in the collection *'t Uitnement Kabinet*, ii (Amsterdam, 1649, 2/*c*1655).

(2) **Anthoni van Noordt** (*b c*1619; bur. Amsterdam, 23 March 1675). Composer and organist, brother of (1) Jacobus van Noordt. He was organist of the Nieuwezijdskapel at Amsterdam (1652–64) and of the Nieuwe Kerk there (1664–73). His only known works were printed in *Tabulatuur-boeck van psalmen en fantasyen* (Amsterdam, 1659; the only known copy is in *PL-Kj*; MS copy by A.G. Ritter, 1882, *NL-DHgm*; ed. in UVNM, xix, 1896, 3/1976; psalms only ed. P. Pidoux, Kassel, 1954). It contains ten psalm settings (nine with variations) and six fugal fantasias in the style of J.P. Sweelinck. These works show a mature technique and contrapuntal mastery and demonstrate that almost 40 years after his death the tradition founded by Sweelinck was still alive in the Netherlands and that it was not only his German pupils who carried it forward. The *Tabulatuur-boeck* is also important for its unusual notation: the notes to be played by the hands are distributed over two six-line staves (so-called Anglo-Dutch notation); with two exceptions the pedal notes are printed under the lower staff in German organ tablature.

(3) **Sybrandus** [Sybrand] **van Noordt** (bap. Amsterdam, 10 Aug 1659; bur. Amsterdam, 25 Feb 1705). Organist, harpsichordist and composer, son of (1) Jacobus van Noordt. He was organist of the Oude Kerk, Amsterdam (1679–92), and of the Grote Kerk, Haarlem (1692–4), where he was also carillonneur. He then returned to Amsterdam, where he assisted Claes Noorden and Jan Albert de Grave in the Amsterdam bell and gun foundry in or after 1694. His portrait was engraved in 1702 by Peter Schenck (not, as sometimes said, a brother of the composer Johannes Schenck). His only surviving compositions are a set of virtuoso *Sonate per il cimbalo appropriate al flauto & violino* (Amsterdam, *c*1701, 2/*c*1705/*R* as *Mêlange italien*). The first is for treble recorder and continuo (ed. W.H. Thijsse, Hilversum, n.d.; ed. R. Verhagen and J. Silvis, Amsterdam, 1978); the second, for violin and continuo, also appears as no.3, arranged for two violins; and the last is for harpsichord alone (ed. in W.H. Thijsse, *Oud-Nederlandsche speelmuziek*, xiv, The Hague, n.d.; ed. H. Brandts Buys, The Hague, n.d.). This sonata in an almost Vivaldian idiom, is the most interesting of the set, and the first solo harpsichord sonata composed in the Netherlands.

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RANDALL H. TOLLEFSEN/JOHAN GISKES

Noorsaid, Irwan [Iwang] (*b* Jakarta, 26 July 1967). Indonesian composer and performer. After studying music at an early age with his father, the jazz trumpeter Said Kelana, he began piano lessons at the age of eight and jazz studies at fifteen. In the 1970s and 80s Noorsaid played in the well-known band run by his family, The Kids, and often gave piano recitals. In 1994 he formed an experimental jazz group named Sketsa ('Sketches'), in which elements of traditional Sundanese percussion music are placed in a jazz context.

Noorsaid's success in creating this new idiom signified the beginning of a new phase in the development of jazz in Indonesia, and contributed to his prominence in the Indonesian experimental jazz scene. With this group he has also collaborated with visual artists to create multimedia jazz performances. As well as his work with Sketsa, he has joined with Indonesian pop musicians to form Gelombang Putih ('White Wave'), an experimental group featuring music with an environmental theme.

FRANKI RADEN

Nopitsch, Christoph Friedrich Wilhelm (*b* Kirchensittenbach, nr Nuremberg, 4 Feb 1758; *d* Nördlingen, 22 May 1824). German composer and organist. As a youth he studied the organ, harpsichord and composition with several well-known musicians, including Johann Siebenkäs and G.W. Gruber (both in Nuremberg), Joseph Riepel (Regensburg), Eberhard Beck (Passau), and Georg Benda and Anton Schweitzer (both in Gotha). Although he was the youngest of the 18 applicants for the post of organist and music director in Nördlingen in 1781, he was awarded the position and remained there for the rest of his life. From 1800 he was also Kantor of the Nördlingen Gymnasium.

Nopitsch was praised by his contemporaries as an excellent organist and a gifted composer (Schubart; *GerberL*). He composed in many different genres, but few of his works were published. His lied collection (published in 1783) features works by Bürger and other well-known poets, but also includes two poems by Nopitsch himself; his lieder are short, strophic and often quite lyrical. A singing method, published in 1784, reflects his work as a teacher.

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Inst: 3 syms., *D-Rtt*; ov. to Die Zauberleyer, *NLk*; Sonata, pf, vn, Variations, kbd, Quintetto concertante, cl, 2 vn, va, b (only b extant), all *NL*; Die 7 Namensbuchstaben … Carl Filip Emanuel Bach, kbd, *B-Bc*; pf concs., ?lost

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RAYMOND A. BARR

Nor, Stephen. *See* NAU, STEPHEN.

Norbert, Frank. *See* SCHULTZE, NORBERT.

Norblin (de la Gourdaine), Louis (Pierre Martin) (*b* Warsaw, 2 Dec 1781; *d* Connantre, 14 July 1854). French cellist. He was the son of the French painter and engraver Norblin de la Gourdaine, who emigrated to Warsaw and married a Pole. Norblin went to Paris to enter the Conservatoire in 1798 and was awarded a *premier prix* when he graduated in 1803. He joined the orchestra of the Théâtre Italien in 1809; from 1811 to 1841 he was principal cellist of the Opéra. He succeeded Levasseur at the Conservatoire on 1 January 1824 and retired in 1846, being in turn succeeded by Franchomme.

Norblin had an equally high reputation as a quartet player and as a soloist. He was a member of the Baillot Quartet, and with Habeneck founded the Société des Concerts du Conservatoire in 1828. He taught many distinguished players including Chevillard and Franchomme, as well as one whose lesser ability as a player took him no further than the orchestra of the Opéra-Comique – Jacques Offenbach.

Norblin's son, Emile (*b* Paris, 2 April 1821; *d* Paris, 1880), studied with his father; he was a successful player, but chose teaching as his principal career.

LYNDA MACGREGOR

Norcombe (Nercom, Nercome, Nercum, Norcome, Nurcombe, Nurcome), **Daniel** (*b* ?1576; *d* Brussels, 1655). English composer and instrumentalist. No evidence has been found of Norcombe's birth in 1576 (see *DNB*), nor of John and Daniel Norcombe identified by Fellowes as lay clerks at St George's Chapel, Windsor. A 'Nurcombe' (no Christian name) was appointed minor canon at St George's before 1595; he was dead by 3 March 1624. Daniel Norcombe was appointed lutenist to Christian IV of Denmark in 1599 with an annual salary of 350 daler, but in 1601 he fled from Copenhagen with an English colleague, John Maynard. Travelling through Germany and Hungary pursued by emissaries of the Danish king, they reached Venice. From 1602 until his death in 1655, Norcombe served the Archduke Albert in Brussels as a viol player. He composed numerous sets of divisions on various grounds, which circulated in England. Most are formed of two strains (the first ending away from the tonic) with a single division after each strain. *Cormacks Almane* and *Sir Thomas Brooks Pavin* (the latter anonymous but probably by Norcombe) are dances rather than grounds, but show the same pattern of divisions following each strain. The fine madrigal *With angels face* in *The Triumphes of Oriana* (RISM 1601[16]) may be by the elder (Daniel) Norcombe.

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With angels face, 5vv, 1601[16], ed. in EM, xxxii (1923, 2/1962), 9
35 sets of divisions, viol (index and sources in Dodd)
Pavan and galliard, lyra viol, *GB-Ob* Mus. Sch.D.247

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ANDREW ASHBEE

Nordal, Jón (*b* Reykjavík, 6 March 1926). Icelandic composer, pianist and teacher. He studied theory with Victor Urbancic (1940–45) and later enrolled at the Reykjavík College of Music, where he studied the piano with Árni Kristjánsson and composition with Urbancic and Jón Thórarinsson. After graduating in 1949, he continued his studies at the Zürich Conservatory with Walter Frey (piano) and Willy Burkhard (composition). He also studied in Paris and Rome, and participated in the summer courses at Darmstadt (1956–7).

In 1957 he became a teacher of piano and theory at the Reykjavík School of Music. He was appointed principal of the school in 1959, and held the post until 1992. In 1959 he also co-founded the group Musica Nova, and served as its first chairman. He was elected a member of the Royal Swedish Academy in 1968. He was made a Knight of the Order of the Falcon in 1978 and a Grand Knight in 1993.

Despite his relatively small output, Nordal is widely considered to be one of the most important Icelandic composers of his generation. His earliest works, including the suite *Systur í Garðshorni* ('The Sisters of Garðshorn', written at the age of 19), are in a tuneful, nationalistic style. The works composed under the tutelage of Thórarinsson in the late 1940s show the influence of Hindemith (Concerto for Orchestra). During his years of study on the continent, serialism became a prevalent feature of his style, and in the orchestral *Brotaspil* ('Play of Fragments', 1962), he used serial methods to determine both pitch and (to a certain degree) rhythm. The work's unsuccessful reception led to a radical rethinking of his musical language, and a rejection of strict serial techniques. Four years later, he re-emerged with the Adagio for flute, piano, harp and strings; its combination of free atonality and pensive lyricism marks it as the first work of his mature style.

Although he can scarcely be described as a nationalist composer, Nordal's occasional use of parallel 5ths reminiscent of Icelandic *tvísöngur* marks several of his works with a national stamp. A rare use of actual folk material occurs in *Choralis* (commissioned by Rostropovich and the National SO, Washington), which quotes the enigmatic *Lilja*, a well-known Icelandic folksong. His pensive musical language rarely gives much occasion for virtuosity or brilliant effects. In his Cello Concerto (1983), the lyrical qualities of the solo instrument and strings are contrasted with occasional agitated outbursts of brass and percussion.

Since the early 1980s, his output has been dominated by choral and chamber works, all of which show an increasing depth of expressive content. His choral works, often characterized by slow-moving homophony and

harmonies based on root position triads with added pitches (most often major or minor 2nds), have been particularly successful. *Óttusöngvar á vori* ('Matins in Spring') adds settings of medieval and modern Icelandic poetry as a framework for its mass movements (Kyrie, Sanctus, Agnus Dei), while the Requiem is a deeply felt, elegiac setting (which sets only the Introitus). His particularly successful string quartet (1996–7) consists of a central scherzo section (marked by percussive homophony and irregular metric groupings) framed by extended slow movements in the introspective vein so characteristic of the composer.

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Orch: Conc. for Orch, 1949; Bjarkamál – Sinfonietta seriosa, 1956; Pf Conc., 1956; Brotaspil [Play of Fragments], 1962; Adagio, fl, hp, pf, str, 1966; Stiklur [Stepping-Stones], 1970; Canto elegiaco (Conc. for Vc), 1971; Leiðsla [Rapture], 1973; Epitafion, 1974; Conc. lirico, hp, str, 1975; Langnætti [Mid-winter], 1975; Tvísöngur (Conc. for Vn and Va), 1979; Tileinkun [Dedication], 1981; Choralis, 1982; Vc Conc., 1983

Choral (for mixed chorus unacc. unless otherwise stated): Smávinir fagrir [Fair Little Friends] (J. Hallgrímsson), 1940, rev. 1978; Sjö lög við miðaldatexta [7 Songs to Medieval Texts], TB, 1955; Umhverfi [Surroundings] (H. Pétursson), 1978; Kveðið í bjargi [Invocation from the Rock] (folk verse), 1978; Heilraeðavísa [Good Advice] (folk verse), 1981; Drekkur grundin dökkva [The Dark Earth Drinks] (Anacreon, trans. S. Nordal), 1986; Aldasöngur [Song of the Ages] (medieval poetry and J. Helgason), 1986; Óttusöngvar á vori [Matins in Spring] (Sólarljóð, medieval poetry and M. Johannessen), S, Ct, SATB, vc, perc, org, 1993; Vér treystum thví [We Trust it] (T. Guðmundsson), 1994; Vorkvaeði um Ísland [Iceland: a Spring Poem] (J. Óskar), 1994; Requiem, 1995; 3 Miniatures (S. Hjartarson), 1994–5; Trú mín er aðeins týra [My Faith is but a Flicker] (Helgason), 1999

Inst: Systur í Garðshorni [The Sisters of Garðshorn], vn, pf, 1945; Trio, ob, cl, hn, 1948; Sonata, vn, pf, 1953; Fantasia, org, 1954; Kóralforspil um sálm sem aldrei var sunginn [Chorale Prelude on a Hymn that Never was Sung), org, 1980; Duo, vn, vc, 1983; Ristur [Carvings], cl, pf, 1985; Toccata, org, 1985; Næturljó Nocturne á hörpu [Spring ð], hp, 1987; Myndir á thili [Pictures on a Panel Wall], vc, pf, 1992; Piccola musica notturna, va, pf, 1995; Frá draumi til draums [From Dream to Dream], str qt, 1996–7; Andað á sofinn streng [Breathing on a Dormant String], vn, vc, pf, 1998

Incid music: Silfurtúnglið [The Silver Moon] (H. Laxness), 1v, pf, 1954

Principal publisher: Iceland Music Information Centre, Wilhelm Hansen

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G. Bergendal: *New Music in Iceland* (Reykjavík, 1991), 65–71
M. Podhajski: *Dictionary of Icelandic Composers* (Warsaw, 1997)

ÁRNI HEIMIR INGÓLFSSON

Nordblom, Johan Erik (*b* Uppsala, 13 April 1788; *d* Uppsala, 26 Dec 1848). Swedish singer, teacher and composer. In Uppsala he was a pupil of J.C.F. Haeffner, whom he succeeded both as *director musices* of the university orchestra and as organist of the cathedral. However, he preferred to work in Stockholm, where he often sang at concerts as a bass soloist and where he also taught singing. His singing tutor (1836–40) was used in all the Swedish secondary schools. His instrumental works have remained unpublished, but his solo songs and songs for men's chorus (e.g. *Härliga land*) were greatly admired. He became a member of the Swedish Royal Academy of Music in 1827. His daughter Johanna Maria (1827–1909) was also a distinguished singer; she married the composer P.A. Ölander.

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J.M. Rosén: 'Erik Nordblom', *Några minnesblad*, ii (Stockholm, 1877), 78–9
G. Kallstenius: *Blad ur Uppsalasångens historia* (Stockholm, 1913)
A. Helmer: *Svensk solosång 1850–1890* (Stockholm, 1972)
F. Bohlin: 'Från Haeffner till Alfvén', *Akademiska kapellet i Uppsala under 350 år* (Uppsala, 1977), 45–7

FOLKE BOHLIN

Nordenstrom, Gladys (Mercedes) (*b* Pokegama Township, MN, 23 May 1924). American composer. She studied singing, the trumpet and the piano before enrolling at Hamline University in St Paul, where she studied composition with Krenek (BA 1946, MA 1947). In the summer of 1946 she also studied philosophy and literature at the University of Minnesota. She married Krenek in 1950 and moved with him to Los Angeles; they settled in Palm Springs in 1966. She composed independently of him, though they discussed the texts of their vocal works in detail. Her compositions are all atonal and highly expressionistic. Her *El Greco phantasie* (1965) is a strict 12-note work in which the row is constantly rotated, while the spirit of Webern informs the tightly knit and intense *Elegy for Robert F. Kennedy* (1968) and *Work for Orchestra no.3* (1975). Electronic sounds are combined with organ in *Signals from Nowhere* (1973). She has received several commissions and her works have been performed in America and Europe.

WORKS
(*selective list*)

Inst: Rondo, fl, pf, 1948; El Greco phantasie, str, 1965, rev. 1969; Elegy for Robert F. Kennedy, orch, 1968; Signals from Nowhere, org, tape, 1973; Work for Orch no.3, 1975; Wind Qnt, 1977; Trio, cl, vn, pf, 1978

Vocal: Zeit XXIV (R. Pandula), S, pf, 1975–6; Parabola of Light (Nordenstrom), womens' vv, pf, 1980

Principal publisher: Bärenreiter

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W. Szmolyan: 'Die Komponistin Gladys Nordenstrom-Krenek', *ÖMz*, xxxv (1980), 445 only
B. Grigsby: 'Women Composers of Electronic Music in the United States', *The Musical Woman: an International Perspective*, i, ed. J.L. Zaimont and others (Westport, CT, 1984), 193 only

GARRETT BOWLES

Nordentoft, Anders (*b* 1957). Danish composer. He studied composition at the Royal Danish Academy of Music in Copenhagen with Nørholm and Abrahamsen, and also studied with Nørgård in Århus. In addition he has received a diploma in the violin from the Royal Danish Academy of Music. His breakthrough came with the work for chamber orchestra *Entgegen* (1985). With the setting of texts by Sylvia Plath, in *The Shadow of this Lip …* for soprano, violin and piano (1988–90), he began to write more melodiously. This has gradually led to a more lyrical tone, which seeks delicate sensations and shimmering progressions. He has said that he aims to write music which is 'both fantastic and ordinary. … My music is not concerned with idyll vis-à-vis disasters, or with absolute blackness vis-à-vis jubilation. Rather it explores the moderate but also expressive and infinitely faceted universe of friendship'. This aesthetic is found in the cello concerto *Sweet Kindness* (1996), *Distant Night Ship* (1996) for orchestra and the ensemble work *Hymne* (1996). His musical idiom no longer works on the basis of polarized quantities, as his works of the latter half of the 1980s had done. In *The City of Threads* (1994), *Zenevera sesio* (1992) and *Hymne*, Nordentoft, who is primarily a composer of instrumental music, works with two time elements: one he calls 'nutid' (the present), expressed in the melodic movement which propels the

music; the other is a kind of 'evig-tid' (eternity), which in *Zenevera sesio* is expressed through the flowing movements of the strings, in *Hymne* through a constant circling around individual notes, and in *The City of Threads* it is the repeated note and the sustained sound of the closing that expresses this element of 'evig-tid' which here represents the unchangeable in man.

His works have received increasing interest from outside Denmark. Several of his works have been conducted by Oliver Knussen, and Nordentoft has received commissions from such ensembles as Capricorn, the London Sinfonietta and the Joachim Piano Trio.

WORKS

Orch: 4 Songs (K. Sørensen), Mez, orch/pf, 1980; Born, 1986; Distant Night Ship, 1996

Chbr orch: Entgegen, 1985; Zenevera sesio, 1992; The City of Threads, 1994; Hymne, 1996; Sweet Kindness, vc conc., 1996, rev. 1998; Tre måder – tre veje [3 Ways], 1997

Chbr: Duo, fl, vn, 1975; 2 Movts, vn, pf, 1978; 3 Studies, brass qnt, 1984; A Short Romance in Slow Motion and a Little Dance, str qt, 1988; The Nervous Saurien, cl, vc, pf, 1989; Moment, pf, cl, vn, vc, 1989; Snakes in Heaven, 4 trbn, tuba, 1990; At the Fantasy Sea, perc trio, 1990; Doruntine, vn, vc, pf, 1994; Brass, brass qt, 1994; Str Sextet, 1998

Solo inst: Katedral, vc, 1986; Winter Tree, vc, 1990; Atrani, vn, 1991; The Lathe of Night, perc, 1994; Behind, 3 movts, pf (1995–6); Spindle Dance, vn, 1996; Thorn Dance, vn, 1996

Vocal: Electric Lied (M. Strunge), Mez, elec gui, perc, 1984; 2 Songs (S. Plath): Gulliver, Child, S, vn, 1988; Kindness (Plath), S, vn, pf, 1990 [the 3 Plath songs may be performed as a whole under the title The Shadow of this Lip ...]

Principal publisher: Hansen

ANDERS BEYER

Nordgren, Pehr Henrik (*b* Saltvik, 19 Jan 1944). Finnish composer. He graduated in musicology from the University of Helsinki in 1967, continuing as a research assistant (1965–70). He studied composition privately with Kokkonen (1965–9) and at Tokyo University of the Arts with Yoshio Hasegawa (1970–73). Since then he has been active at Kaustinen, composing his chief works for the Ostrobothnian Chamber Orchestra.

Despite sporadic use of 12-note technique, Nordgren is strongly pluralistic in style. In his earliest works (Agnus Dei, 1970, *The Turning Point*, 1972) he claims he used 'a melodic-polyphonic cluster technique' akin to Ligeti's, but in later works, too, he has reverted to a texture made up of many strands (Cello Concerto no.1, *TRANSE-CHORAL*, Symphony no.2). This texture is a contrast to the allusions he creates of, for example, 'pure' triads and folk music elements. His 'kaleidoscopic' art of combining styles is strongest in the First Symphony. A Japanese element can be sensed in *Kymmenen balladia japanilaisiin kauhutarinoihin* ('10 Ballads to Japanese Ghost Stories') and the works for traditional Japanese instruments (*Autumnal Concerto*, 2 quartets). In them Nordgren does not, however, use Asian melodic motifs, since he does not tend to borrow timbres (i.e. instruments) and constructions at the same time. Nor is folk melody quoted in *Taivaanvalot* ('The Lights of Heaven'), scored for ethnic instruments ranging from a *kantele* to goat's horns. By contrast, the piano concerto, in connection with which Nordgren began to speak of the 'Deus ex machina effect' of pure triads, imitates both the *kantele* and the Oriental pentatonic. In addition to the cantata *Beavi, áhçázan* ('The Sun, My Father') on Sami themes, the opera *Den svarta munken* ('The Black Monk') and the TV opera *Alex* are among Nordgren's main works. The texture grows thinner and polyphonic in *Pelimannimuotokuvia* ('Portraits of Country Fiddlers') and the Symphony for Strings, the fiddlers' themes becoming less prominent and the style eventually becoming more uniform. In the 1980s folk music appears in Nordgren's compositions again and again, this time in weighty chorales woven to form a dense texture (Violin Concerto no.3, Concerto for Strings, Cello Concerto no.2). New music techniques hold little appeal for Nordgren, the overall impression of whose music is intensive and intimate and, especially in the later works of repetitive texture (String Quartets nos.4 and 5), elegiac and melancholy.

WORKS
(*selective list*)

Stage: Den svarte munken [The Black Monk] (op, Nordgren, after A. Chekhov), 1981; Alex (TV op, P. Saaritsa), 1983

Orch: Euphonie I, 1966; Koko maailma valittanee [The Whole World Will Lament], str, 1966–74; Euphonie II, 1967; Vn Conc., 1969; Conc., cl, folk insts, small orch, 1970; Va Conc., 1970; The Turning Point, 1972; Autumnal Conc., trad. Jap. insts, orch, 1974; Sym., 1974; Euphonie III, 1975; Pf Conc., 1975; Pelimannimuotokuvia [Portraits of Country Fiddlers], str, 1976; Vn Conc., 1977; Sym. for Strings, 1978; Va Conc., 1979; Vc Conc., str, 1980; Euphonie IV, big band, 1981; Vn Conc., str, 1981; Conc. for Strings, 1982; Elegia Vilho Lammelle [Elegy to Vilho Lampi], 1984; Vc Conc., 1984; Conc., kantele, small orch, 1985; TRANSE-CHORAL, 15 str, 1985; Va Conc., chbr orch, 1986; HATE-LOVE, vc, str, 1987; Sym., 1989; Cronaca, 1991; Streams, chbr orch, 1991; Phantasm, a sax, orch, 1992; Vc Conc., str, 1992; Conc., va, db, chbr orch, 1994; Vn Conc., chbr orch, 1994

Chbr: Str Qt, 1967; Neljä kuolemankuvaa [4 Pictures of Death], chbr ens, 1968; Str Qt, 1968; Sonatina per sestetto, fl, cl, vn, vc, pf, perc, 1969; Kolme maanitusta [3 Enticements], 1970; Qt, trad. Jap. insts, 1974; Wind Qnt, 1975; Str Qt, 1976; Pf Qnt, 1978; Qt 'Seita', trad. Jap. insts, 1978; Pf Trio, 1980; Equivocations, kantele, str trio, 1981; Str Qt, 1983; Str Qt, 1986; Fate-Nostalgia, cl, vn, pf, 12 vc, 1989; Str Qt, 1989; Programme Music, wind, str qnt, perc, 1990; Str Qt, 1992; Sonata, vn, pf, 1993

Solo inst: Kymmenen balladia japanilaisiin kauhutarinoihin [10 Ballads to Japanese Ghost Stories], pf, 1972–7; Butterflied, gui, 1977; In Patches, accdn, 1978; Sonata, vc, 1992

Vocal: Agnus Dei, S, Bar, mixed chorus, orch, 1970; Maan alistaminen [The Subjection of Earth] (Kalevala), mixed chorus, 1974; Lavllaraidu Nils-Aslak Valkeapää divttai'e, Bar, vc, pf, 1978; Kuninkaan kämmenellä [In the Palm of the King's Hand] (P. Haavikko), 1979; Taivaanvalot [The Lights of Heaven], 1985; Perpetuum mobile (G. Ekelöf), 1989; Beavi, áhçázan [The Sun, My Father] (N.-A. Valkeapää), 1990

Principal publisher: Fazer

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E. Salmenhaara: 'Über die Anwendung der Volksmusik in der neuern finnischen Kunstmusik', *Hamburger Jb für Musikwissenschaft*, iv (1980), 215–24

K. Aho: *Suomalainen musiikki ja Kalevala* [Finnish music and the Kalevala] (Helsinki, 1985)

R. Nieminen, ed.: *Pehr Henrik Nordgren lähikuvassa radio-ohjelmissa 1986–87* [Pehr Henrik Nordgren in close-up in radio programmes 1986–87] (Yleisradio, 1986)

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M. Heinio: *Aikamme musiikki* [Contemporary music], Suomen musiikin historia [The History of Finnish Music], iv (Helsinki, 1995)

K. Korhonen: *Finnish Concertos* (Jyväskylä, 1995)

MIKKO HEINIÖ

Nordheim, Arne (*b* Larvik, 20 June 1931). Norwegian composer. He started out as an organ and theory student at the Oslo Conservatory (1948–52), but later turned to composition, studying with Karl Andersen, Bjarne Brustad, Conrad Baden and Holmboe. He also studied *musique concrète* in Paris (1955) and electronic music in Bilthoven

(1959). Nordheim was one of Norway's first composers to turn towards postwar modernism, and he is among the most internationally recognized. His honours include the Nordic Council Music Prize for *Eco* in 1972, Italia Prize for *The Descent* in 1980, the Honorary Prize of the Norwegian Cultural Council in 1990, and the Henrich Steffens Prize (Hamburg) in 1993. He has also played an important organizational role in Norwegian musical life as a member of a number of organizing committees and councils; in 1997 he was elected an honorary member of the ISCM.

Although Nordheim draws strongly upon contemporary compositional techniques, he is also influenced by earlier music. His link with tradition is evident not least in the dominent existential themes of solitude, death, love, and landscape – themes already present in the early song cycle *Aftonland* (1959), a setting of poems by Pär Lagerkvist, which brought him national recognition. But this work also points ahead toward the new sonorities and free atonal style which were to dominate his works in the 1960s and early 1970s. The orchestral *Canzona* (1961) announced Nordheim internationally, and is representative of his more radical, mature style. It draws inspiration from Giovanni Gabrieli's *canzone*, employing space as an independent parameter in the wandering movements of motifs across the orchestra. Another notable work from this period, perhaps Nordheim's most avant-garde composition, is *Eco* (1968), a monumental oratorio of human suffering, which uses poems by Salvatore Quasimodo. As so often this work is highly expressive, playing on dramatic contrasts between extended soprano solo lines and sonorous blocks in the choirs and instrumental ensemble.

In the 1960s Nordheim devoted much of his attention to electronic music, one of the first in Scandinavia to do so. He would often combine acoustic sources with electronics, as in the masterly *Epitaffio* (1963) for orchestra and tape, which fully demonstrates his refined sense of tone colour. The orchestral sound, dominated by metallic percussion instruments and clusters of 'light and dark at the same time', is inspired by electronic sonorities, and vice versa. The transition between the two media is almost imperceptible, the orchestra at one stage cross-faded with an electronically processed choral version of Quasimodo's poem *Ed è sùbito sera*. Nordheim's orchestral cluster technique is related to the Polish School of Lutosławski and Penderecki, and his Polish orientation also led to his frequent visits, between 1967 and 1972, to the Studio Eksperymentalne of Polish Radio in Warsaw, where many of his most important electronic works – among them *Solitaire*, *Pace* and *Lux et tenebrae (Poly-Poly)* – were realized. The common denominator of these compositions is the human voice, which is often radically transformed electronically.

Musical time is another major issue addressed in Nordheim's electro-acoustic experiments. In *Lux et tenebrae*, for example, six sound-structures of different length are superimposed, the layers continually being displaced in relation to each other. In *Floating* (1970) Nordheim transferred this idea to the orchestral medium, the slowly evolving constellations of motifs producing a simultaneous sensation of stasis and development. Later works, such as the important ballet *The Tempest* (1979), vary this technique by layering different tempos. *The Tempest* is typical of the works of the late 1970s and early 1980s, in which vocal compositions predominate, some closely related. In particular *Doria*, *The Tempest*, *Tempora noctis*, *The Descent*, *Aurora* and *Wirklicher Wald* have a distinct neo-romantic tendency. However, the earlier neo-expressionistic sonorous masses are still present, if in a background role. Since the early 1980s Nordheim has also composed a number of works for small and large orchestra – such as *Tenebrae*, *Boomerang*, *Monolith* and the Violin Concerto – in which he again draws on expressionism, as well as employing contrapuntal and canonic techniques to build up sonorous blocks. While these procedures in the early 1970s led to massive textures, in which the individual parts tended to melt together, their later usage tends to be more restrained, the music more transparent and melodically distinct. Furthermore, in those works which feature a solo instrument, the melodic component is enhanced by dialogue between soloist and ensemble.

Nordheim has gradually established a position as Norway's 'national composer', since 1982 living in Grotten, the honorary residence of the Norwegian state. This role has led to celebratory works, such as music for the opening of the 1994 Winter Olympic Games in Lillehammer. For the same event he composed *Draumkvedet*, based on a medieval Norwegian epic poem, while to mark the millennium of the city of Trondheim in 1997, his towering oratorio *Nidaros* was given its première in Trondheim Cathedral.

WORKS
(selective list)

STAGE

Katharsis (ballet), 1962; Favola (TV music drama), 1963; Ariadne (ballet), 1977; The Tempest (ballet), 1979; King Lear (incid music, W. Shakespeare), 1985; Antigone (incid music, Sophocles), 1991; Draumkvedet [The Dream Ballad] (music drama), 1994

ORCHESTRAL

Canzona, 1961; Epitaffio, orch, tape, 1963; Floating, 1970; Greening, 1973; Nachruf, str, 1975; Spur, accdn, orch, 1975; Tenebrae, vc, orch, 1982; Boomerang, ob, chbr orch, 1985; Rendezvous, str, 1986 [based on Str Qt, 1956]; Magma, 1988; Monolith, 1991; Adieu, str, perc, 1994; Confutatis, S, chorus, orch, 1995 [movt 6 of Requiem der Versöhnung, collab. Berio, Cerha, Dittrich and others]; Vn Conc., 1996

VOCAL

Aftonland (P. Lagerkvist), S, chbr ens, 1957; Eco (S. Quasimodo), S, children's chorus, chorus, orch, 1968; Doria (E. Pound), T, orch, 1975; To One Singing (Pound), T, hp, 1975; Wirklicher Wald (R.M. Rilke, Bible: *Job*), S, vc, chorus, orch, 1983; 3 lamentationes (secundum Hieremiam prophetam), chorus, 1985; Music to Two Fragments to Music by Shelley, SSAA, 1985; 3 voci (Petrarch, G. Bruno, Ungaretti), S, chbr ens, 1988; Cada cancion, children's chorus, chorus, orch, 1994; Non gridate, S, chorus, orch, 1995

With tape: Be Not Afeard (Shakespeare), S, Bar, chbr ens, tape, 1977; Tempora noctis (Ovid), S, Mez, orch, tape, 1979; Suite (Shakespeare), S, Bar, orch, tape, 1979 [based on ballet The Tempest]; Aurora (Ps cxxxix, Dante), 4 solo vv, crotali, tape, 1988, arr. 4 solo vv, chorus, 2 perc, tape; Acantus firmus, jazz vocalist, Hardanger fiddle, tape, 1987; Magic Island, S, Bar, chbr orch, tape, 1992; Nidaros (dramatic orat.), solo vv, children's chorus, chorus, orch, tape, 1997

CHAMBER AND SOLO INSTRUMENTAL

Epigram, str qt, 1955; Str Qt, 1956; Partita I, va, hpd, perc, 1963; Signaler, accdn, elec gui, perc, 1967; Partita II, elec gui, 1969; Listen, pf, 1971; The Hunting of the Snark, trbn, 1975; Clamavi, vc, 1981; Partita, 6 db, 1982; Flashing, accdn, 1985; Tractatus, fl, chbr ens, 1987; Duplex, vn, va, 1991; Suite, vc, 1996

With tape: Response, 2 perc, tape, 1966; Response, perc, tape, 1968; Dinosauros, accdn, tape, 1971; Response, 4 perc, tape, 1977;

Response, org, 4 perc, tape, 1984; The Return of the Snark, trbn, tape, 1987
With elec delay: Colorazione, Hammond org, perc, elec delay, 1968; Partita für Paul, vn, elec delay, 1985

OTHER WORKS

Warszawa, tape, 1968; Solitaire, tape, 1968; Lux et tenebrae, tape, 1970; Pace, tape, 1970; Forbindelser [Connections], multimedia, 1975; Nedstigningen [The Descent], radiophonic poem, 1980; Recall and Signals, sym. wind, perc, emulator, 1986

Principal publisher: Wilhelm Hansen

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P. Wollnick: *Arne Nordheims Canzona per orchestra og Epitaffio per orchestra e nastro magnetico* (diss., U. of Oslo, 1971)
L. Reitan: *Arne Nordheims Eco og Floating* (diss., U. of Oslo, 1975)
Ballade, v/2–3 (1981) [Nordheim issue]
R. Davidson, ed.: *Arne Nordheim* (Copenhagen, 1981)
F. Jersonsky-Margalit: *Perspectives on Arne Nordheim's The Tempest* (diss., U. of Oslo, 1982)
S. Mehren and others, eds.: *Arne Nordheim: og alt skal synge!* (Oslo, 1991)
K. Skyllstad: 'The Bird and the Time Machine', *Norsk samtidsmusikk g jennom 25 ar: Temaer, Tendenser og Talenter*, ed. K. Skyllstad and K. Habbestad (Oslo, 1992), 192–7
H. Aksnes: 'Arne Nordheim – in Remembrance of Things Past', *Ballade*, xvii/4 (1993), 32–7
H. Aksnes: 'Arne Nordheim: a Nordic Internationalist', *Nordic Sounds*, no.3 (1993), 16–20
H. Aksnes: *Musikk, tekst og analyse: en studie med utgangspunkt i Arne Nordheims Nedstigningen* (Oslo, 1996)
D. Østerberg: 'Nasjonsløs i industrisamfunnet: om Arne Nordheims musikk', *Fortolkende sosiologi II* (Oslo, 1997), 157–62

HALLGJERD AKSNES

Nordheimer. Canadian firm of music publishers, dealers and piano manufacturers. It was established by Abraham and Samuel Nordheimer, who, having emigrated from Germany to New York in 1839, opened a music shop in Kingston in 1842 and moved to Toronto in June 1844. By 1845 they had issued Joseph Labitzky's *The Dublin Waltzes*, the earliest engraved sheet music in Canada. Despite provision for copyright protection under Canadian law, many of the firm's early publications were engraved in New York and registered there by agents; Nordheimer did not choose to begin registering works in Canada until 1859. That year the firm became the only Canadian member of the Board of Music Trade of the USA, and nearly 300 of its publications were included in the Board's catalogue (1870).

A. & S. Nordheimer, as the company was first known, issued the usual reprints of popular European songs and piano pieces, as well as new works by such Canadian residents as J.P. Clarke, Crozier, Hecht, Lazare, Schallehn and Strathy. Publications registered between 1846 and 1851 include plate numbers, but there is evidence that they were added to the plates after the first issue. Numbering resumed in the 1880s and continued after the firm changed its name, to Nordheimer Piano & Music Co., in 1898. But the highest numbers of both sequences do not even approach the number of publications issued between 1845 and 1927, of which about a thousand have been located. Nordheimer was by far the largest music publishing firm in 19th-century Canada.

Nordheimer began its piano operations in about 1845 as agents for US piano manufacturers including Stodart & Dunham in New York and Chickering in Boston. It established its own factory in 1890 and produced upright and grand pianos of high quality – 21,500 by 1927 when the business was taken over by Heintzmann & Co., which kept the Nordheimer name for some styles until 1960.

After Abraham's death in 1862, Samuel was president of the firm until 1912, succeeded by his nephew Albert who retired in 1927. Branches were established at various times in Hamilton, London, Ottawa, St Catharine's, Montreal, Quebec and Winnipeg. The Nordheimers were active also as impresarios, opening concert halls in Montreal and Toronto.

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H. Kallmann: 'A & S Nordheimer Co.', *Encyclopedia of Music in Canada* (Toronto, 1981, 2/1992)

MARIA CALDERISI

Nordica [Norton], **Lillian** [Lilian] (*b* Farmington, ME, 12 May 1857; *d* Batavia, Java [now Jakarta, Indonesia], 10 May 1914). American soprano. She studied with John O'Neill at the New England Conservatory, graduating in 1876. Engaged by Patrick Gilmore, she made her concert début with his band (September 1876), then toured America – and, in 1878, Europe – with the ensemble; her London début was at the Crystal Palace (21 May 1878). She left Gilmore to study with Sangiovanni in Milan; he coined her stage name and arranged for her operatic débuts – as Donna Elvira in *Don Giovanni* (Teatro Manzoni, Milan, March 1879) and as Violetta (Teatro Guillaume, Brescia, April 1879). She sang in St Petersburg (1880–82) and continued summertime studies in Paris with Sbriglia; she also studied Marguerite (*Faust*) and Ophelia (*Hamlet*) with Gounod and Thomas, making her



Lillian Nordica as Cherubino in Mozart's 'Le nozze di Figaro', Act 1

Paris Opéra début in the former role (22 July 1882). In 1882 she married Frederick Gower, who disappeared three years later in the midst of their divorce proceedings. Nordica's American operatic début, as Lillian Norton-Gower, was at the New York Academy of Music as Marguerite (26 November 1883). It marked the beginning of a long association with Mapleson, with whose company she also made her Covent Garden début (12 March 1887).

Nordica subsequently sang at Drury Lane (1887), Covent Garden (1888–93) and the Metropolitan Opera, where she made her début as Leonora in *Il trovatore* (27 March 1890). In the 1890s she turned her attention to Wagner. After extensive coaching by Cosima Wagner, she sang Elsa in the first production of *Lohengrin* at Bayreuth in 1894. At the height of her Metropolitan Opera career (1893–1907) she was known primarily as a Wagnerian. In 1896 she married a Hungarian tenor, Zoltan Dome, whom she divorced in 1904. Between 1897 and 1908 she sang at the Metropolitan and with the Damrosch-Ellis Company (1897–8), at Covent Garden (1898, 1899, 1902), and with Hammerstein's Manhattan Opera Company (1907–8). From 1908 Nordica devoted herself to concert performances; her final appearance with the Metropolitan was in December 1909. That year she married George Washington Young; they lived in Ardsley-on-the-Hudson, New York. Nordica's final operatic appearance was in Boston (March 1913); shortly afterwards she embarked on a world concert tour. In December the steamer on which she was travelling struck a reef off New Guinea; Nordica contracted pneumonia, from which she later died.

Alhough not a strong actress, Nordica had a rich voice and a remarkable coloratura range. She knew 40 operatic roles in English, Italian, German, French and Russian. A resolute and shrewd – but also generally good-natured – individual, she owed her stature as a great Wagnerian soprano to hard work, constant study and determination. Late in her career she became a strong proponent of opera in English; she was also an ardent suffragist and had an unfulfilled dream of establishing a Bayreuth-like American Institute for Music.

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KATHERINE K. PRESTON

Nordiska Musikförlaget. Swedish music publishing and retailing firm. It was founded in Stockholm in 1915 as a subsidiary of the Danish publishing house Hansen; the co-owner and director of the firm was Sven Scholander. From its inception the enterprise had both publishing and retailing interests and it is now a major company in both respects. As a publishing house Nordiska Musikförlaget has constantly worked in association with large European publishers such as Peters and Sikorski, as well as its sister companies Hansen (Copenhagen), Norsk Musikforlag (Oslo), Chester (London) and Wilhelmiana (Frankfurt); it is a representative for the orchestral music of Universal Edition, Ricordi, Schirmer and other firms.

In its publishing and promotion of Swedish and Scandinavian composers Nordiska Musikförlaget has had a considerable influence on Swedish musical life. The catalogue includes works by Stenhammar, Rangström, Nystroem and Hilding Rosenberg; during the 1960s and 70s the firm began to publish the works of Pettersson, Bäck, Hemberg, Werle, Lars Edlund, Bo Nilsson, Morthenson, Sven-David Sandström and many others. It also issues a substantial amount of educational music and popular music. In 1988 the firm was taken over by Music Sales, then sold to Fazer of Helsinki which was itself acquired by Warner Music International in 1993.

INGER GUSTAVSSON

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Nordmann, Marielle (Isabelle) (*b* Montpellier, 24 Jan 1941). French harpist. In 1958 she graduated from the Paris Conservatoire harp class of Lily Laskine, with whom she later toured and recorded as a harp duo. Her enthusiastic advocacy of the works of Elias Parish Alvars led to first performances in France of his op.91 (Cannes, 1985) and op.98 (Besançon, 1989) concertos, and a subsequent CD recording with the Strasbourg PO. In the late 1990s her concern with popularizing the harp led to tours with her successful multimedia presentation *La Harpe Apprivoisée*, and since 1995 she has organized annual Journées de la Harpe at Arles. Marielle Nordmann was appointed Chevalier des Arts et des Lettres in 1996, and a Chevalier of the Légion d'Honneur in 1998.

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ANN GRIFFITHS

Nordoff, Paul (*b* Philadelphia, 4 June 1909; *d* Herdecke, North Rhine-Westphalia, 18 Jan 1977). American composer and music therapist. He studied the piano with Samaroff at the Philadelphia Conservatory (BM 1927, MM 1932) and composition with Goldmark at the Juilliard School. In 1960 he received the degree of Bachelor of Music Therapy from Combs College. He was head of composition at the Philadelphia Conservatory (1938–43), a teacher at Michigan State College (1945–9) and professor of music at Bard College (1948–59). Among the awards he received were two Guggenheim Fellowships (1933, 1935) and a Pulitzer Music Scholarship. Nordorff was a crusader for the newer trends in contemporary music, but his own style remained tonal, consonant and lyrically Romantic. Until 1959 he was a 'conventional' composer; thereafter he devoted his attention to music therapy for handicapped children, a discipline whose theory and practice he established in the USA.

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Orch: Prelude and 3 Fugues, chbr orch, 1932–6; Pf Conc., 1935; Suite, 1938; Conc., vn, pf, orch, 1948; Vn Conc., 1949; The Frog Prince (H. Pusch, Nordoff), nar, orch, 1954; Winter Sym., 1954; Spring Sym., 1956; Gothic Conc., pf, orch, 1959
Vocal: Secular Mass (W. Prude), chorus, orch, 1934; 34 songs (e.e. cummings), 1942–57; Lost Summer (Warner), Mez, orch, 1949; Anthony's Song Book (Nordoff), 1950; other songs and song cycles, choral pieces

Other inst: Pf Qnt, 1936; Qnt, wind, pf, 1948; Sonata, vn, pf, 1950; Sonata, fl, pf, 1953; pf pieces
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all in collaboration with C. Robbins

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RUTH C. FRIEDBERG

Nordqvist, (Johan) Conrad (*b* Vänersborg, 11 April 1840; *d* Charlottenlund, 16 April 1920). Swedish conductor, organist and composer. After beginning his career as a military musician, he studied at the Swedish Royal Academy of Music. From 1859 he worked as a viola player (later violinist) in the Hovkapellet (opera orchestra), advancing to chorus master in 1876. He was appointed court conductor in 1885 and first court conductor in 1892. From 1888 to 1892 he was also director of the Royal Opera and was instrumental in saving it from financial ruin during the 1880s. Among his other posts were those of military music director of the Jönköping regiment (1864–74), organist at the Storkyrka in Stockholm (from 1875) and conductor of the Stockholm Musikförening (1886–9). He was a music teacher at two Stockholm schools, and he taught harmony at the conservatory (1870–72, 1880–1900) and ensemble and orchestral playing (1910–16).

As a composer of theatre and ballet music, piano pieces, band music and other occasional pieces Nordqvist was of slight importance, although his funeral march for Karl XV (1872) is well known. His work as a conductor, with particular success in Mozart and French *opéra comique*, and as director of the Royal Opera, made him one of the central figures in the Swedish musical life of his time. He was elected a member of the Swedish Royal Academy of Music in 1870.

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ANDERS LÖNN

Nordqvist, Gustaf (Lazarus) (*b* Stockholm, 12 Feb 1886; *d* Stockholm, 28 Jan 1949). Swedish composer and organist. He studied the organ, the piano and composition at the Stockholm Conservatory (1901–10) and was a pupil of Willner in Berlin (1913). He was organist of the Adolf Fredrik Church, Stockholm (1914–49) and principal organ teacher at Wohlfart's music school (1926–49). From 1925 until his death he also taught harmony at the conservatory, where in 1944 he was appointed professor. His best-known works are among the *c*200 solo songs, in a lyrical and moderate late Romantic style; he also composed cantatas and other choral works, religious music, a violin sonata and pieces for the piano and organ.

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ANDERS LÖNN

Nordraak [Nordraach], **Rikard** (*b* Christiania [now Oslo], 12 June 1842; *d* Berlin, 20 March 1866). Norwegian composer. As a child he studied with Herman Neupert, a music dealer and publisher, and composed some little piano pieces. His father intended him to become a businessman and at 15 he was sent to Copenhagen for training; however, he was able to take lessons from the Danish singer and composer C.L. Gerlach, and in 1859 continued his studies in Berlin, where he became a pupil of Theodor Kullak (piano) and Friedrich Kiel (composition). After only six months he had to return to Christiania, where he studied for two years under Rudolph Magnus; during this period he became a member of the Nye Norske Selskab (New Norwegian Society), where he met L.M. Lindeman and Ole Bull, and came under the influence of the new national movement in art and literature. His op.1, four dances for piano, was published at this time.

In 1861 Nordraak returned to Berlin and his former teachers and worked there for two years. In 1864 he went to Copenhagen, where, with Grieg, C.F.E. Horneman and Gottfred Matthison-Hansen, he founded the music society Euterpe, whose aim was to perform works by young Scandinavian composers. At this time several of Nordraak's works (some with texts by his cousin Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson) were published: *Romancer og sange* op.1*a*, *Fem sange* ('Five Songs') op.2, the incidental music for Bjørnson's *Maria Stuart i Skotland* and the Norwegian national anthem *Ja, vi elsker dette landet* ('Yes, we Love this Land'), which was first sung on 17 May 1864, Norway's national day, and quickly became a popular favourite. He went to Berlin again in 1865 and spent the rest of his short life there.

Nordraak's importance in Norwegian music history lies mainly in the strong national fervour, the love of Norwegian folk music, and the passionate belief in the future of Norwegian music which he was able to generate in his contemporaries, especially his friend Grieg. Grieg, who composed a funeral march to Nordraak's memory, wrote about their first meeting:

> I will never forget this impression. Suddenly it seemed as if a mist fell from my eyes and I knew what I wanted. It was not exactly the same as what Nordraak wanted, but I believe the way to myself went through him.

In his short lifetime Nordraak's compositions were necessarily few; according to Grinde:

> it was only natural that some of them bore the marks of an inexperienced composer. All the same, his best works bear witness to an astonishing maturity and indicate that his artistic personality was already clearly defined. Of Grieg's contemporaries he is the only one whose style is independent of Grieg's. He had not only developed more quickly than Grieg, but in an entirely different direction.

Nordraak's music is simple: his melodies are usually diatonic, sometimes based on triads; his harmonic language is artfully economical. What he sought was purity and clarity, not complexity of sound or effect. His direct approach is perhaps most evident in the songs, whose form is nearly always strophic, with the piano accompaniment playing a subordinate role.

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Norsk faedrelandssang: Ja, vi elsker dette landet [Norwegian National Anthem: Yes, we Love this Land] (Bjørnson), 1863–4 (1864)

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Sangen (J.D. Behrens); I stormen [In the Storm] (J.S. Welhaven)

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Inst: 4 dandse, pf, op.1 (1859–60); Scherzo-caprice, pf, ed. E. Grieg (?1871); Valse caprice, pf (1874); Troubadur-vals, pf, 1861 (1898); Melodi, pf, ed. E. Nissen (1925); Venskabs-polka [Friendship Polka], pf, 1858; Taarnvaegteren [Tower Watchman], pf; 2 motifs from a sym. 1st movt, pf; Allegro, pf; Halling, vn, ed. E. Nissen (1892–3); Corno solo, E, hn, pf

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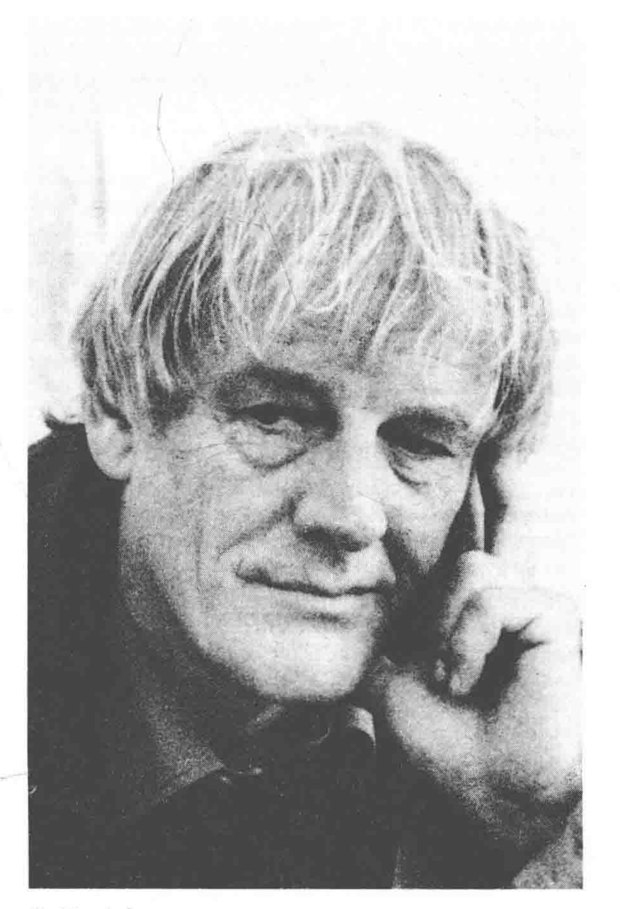
KARI MICHELSEN

Norena, Eidé [Hansen-Eidé (neé Hansen), Kaja Andrea Karoline] (*b* Horton, nr Oslo, 26 April 1884; *d* Lausanne, 19 Nov 1968). Norwegian soprano. She studied with Ellen Gulbranson in Oslo, where she made her début as Cupid (Gluck's *Orfeo*) in 1907. She sang at the Nationale Theater in Oslo (1908–18) and then at the Swedish Royal Opera, Stockholm; in 1924 she was engaged to sing Gilda at La Scala. She first appeared at Covent Garden in 1924 and was a regular visitor to London where her Desdemona (1937) was especially distinguished. At the Paris Opéra (1925–37), her roles included the Queen of Shemakha (*The Golden Cockerel*), Marguerite de Valois (*Les Huguenots*), Mathilde (*Guillaume Tell*) and Ophelia (*Hamlet*). Norena sang at the Metropolitan (1933–8), making her début as Mimì, and also in Vichy and Monte Carlo, where her Marguerite de Valois and Juliette were much admired. In Amsterdam she sang the three heroines of *Les contes d'Hoffmann*. Her lovely voice, sincere feeling and restrained, impeccable style are preserved on recordings of her Violetta, Desdemona, Marguerite de Valois and Juliette. (*GV*; L. Riemans; R. Vegeto)

HAROLD ROSENTHAL/ALAN BLYTH

Nørgård, Per (*b* Gentofte, 1932). Danish composer and theorist. From the age of 17 Nørgård studied privately with Vagn Holmboe, later entering the Royal Danish Conservatory, Copenhagen, where he completed his studies with Holmboe and Høffding. He subsequently studied privately with Boulanger in 1957. He became active as a teacher in his own right in the late 1950s, with appointments at the Odense Conservatory in 1958 and at the Royal Danish Conservatory in 1960. In 1965 he left Copenhagen for the Århus Conservatory, where he established an important class in composition which attracted many of the leading Danish composers of the younger generation (including Abrahamsen, Rasmussen and Sørensen). He retired from the conservatory in 1994.

Nørgård came to prominence as a composer relatively early. His first acknowledged works, which he completed at the age of 19, are in a contrapuntal, freely chromatic tonality closely related to Holmboe's work of the period. By the time he composed Symphony no.1 'Sinfonia Austera' (1954), the influence of Holmboe had been



Per Nørgård

partly supplanted by that of Sibelius, whose later symphonies proved crucial to Nørgård's compositional development. In the mid-1950s Nørgård corresponded with Sibelius, dedicating his *Sånger från Aftonland* (1956) to the Finnish master. It was the sense of 'endless unfolding' in Sibelius's later music which was especially important to Nørgård, and this feeling is equally apparent in Nørgård's own symphony, where it complements the techniques of continuous metamorphosis that he had learnt from Holmboe. This symphony, along with *Konstellationer* (1958) for string orchestra, performed at the 1959 ISCM Festival, which also uses the metamorphosis technique, established Nørgård as the leading Danish composer of his generation. Around this time Nørgård described his main psychological stimulus as 'the universe of the Nordic frame of mind' – a concept he later admitted was rather nebulous, but which may be felt in the sonority as much as the form of the works of this period. Like Holmboe's *Sinfonia Boreale* (Symphony no.6), which he acknowledged as an important influence, Nørgård's works up to 1960 showed a distinct preference for a hard, clean, austere orchestration, even to the point of a certain roughness of texture and spacing. In any case his sonorities deliberately lack the warmth of those of mid-century French or Italian composers, favouring high and low registral extremes.

In 1960, together with his contemporaries Norhølm and Gudmundsen-Holmgreen, Nørgård attended the Cologne ISCM Festival, where he heard first performances of such pieces as Stockhausen's *Kontakte* and Kagel's *Anagramma*, in addition to pieces by Boulez and Berio. All three Danes were profoundly affected by what they heard, and their period of 'Nordic isolation' came to an abrupt end. Although Nørgård did not embark upon a period of total serialism, his music did suddenly branch out into a far more discontinuous and disjunct style, involving elements of strict organization in all parameters, some degree of aleatoricism and controlled improvisation, together with an interest in collage from other musics. The use of collage is at its most extreme in the opera *Labyrinten* ('The Labyrinth', 1963), and the ballet *Den unge mand skal giftes* ('The Young Man to be Married', 1964–8), works whose turbulent surface could not have been further from the objective contrapuntalism of the decade before. Nørgård's constructivist explorations culminated with the composition of *Fragment VI* (1959–61) for six orchestral groups, which won the Gaudeamus Prize in 1962. Though the work had clearly impressed a jury which included such figures as Stockhausen, Boulez and Krenek, Nørgård was disaffected with it, realizing that none of the precise calculation he had devised during its composition was perceptible to the listener, and promptly withdrew the piece from his official catalogue. He has since remained intensely sceptical of constructive compositional devices which bear no direct relationship to audible reality.

Nørgård's music underwent a further change in the mid- to late 1960s, with his increased preoccupation with the acoustical properties of sounds and their perception. Two large orchestral pieces from this time, *Luna* (1967) and *Iris* (1966–7), explore dense orchestral textures in a manner analogous to Ligeti's music from the same period, but with a far greater degree of consonance in the harmony, often deriving from the natural harmonics of the overtone series. The first movement of *Voyage into the Golden Screen* (1968–9) consists solely of two such overtone series, tuned a quarter-tone apart. This results in complex 'beats' between the closely adjacent frequencies, and its rich, slowly evolving texture, curiously similar to the music of Scelsi (whose music Nørgård did not know at that time) make it an important forerunner of the European SPECTRAL MUSIC of the 1970s and 80s.

The second movement of *Voyage* explores another form of gradual evolution derived from Nørgård's so-called 'infinity series', which he had discovered as early as 1959 and which was to prove crucial to his output in the 1970s (see Kullberg, 'Beyond Infinity', in Beyer, ed., 1996). The infinity series is organized such that it contains a number of replicas of itself, both in original and inverted forms. These replicas occur on different levels and (if the series is projected using equal note values) at different speeds. For example, taking every fourth note of the series gives the original series at a quarter speed, while taking the odd-numbered notes in the series gives the inversion of the series at half speed. Since it is evident that each of these forms will equally contain further similar magnifications of the series themselves, the series can be adjudged infinitely complex in its layering potential. In Nørgård's Second Symphony (1970), an extrapolation of the second movement of *Voyage* onto a duration of nearly half an hour, the entire pitch content is derived from the infinity series, with different layers of the orchestra assigned different magnifications of the series. For example, for much of the piece the horns play the original series at quarter speed, whilst the strings have much slower expansions, creating slow-moving drones. As in *Voyage*, the slowest speed is marked by the piano and bells, which play every 256th note, forming a very slow version of the original series in transposition. All of these layers operate in relation to (and in pitch unison with) the original series, which is played on the flutes in quavers.

For his Third Symphony, completed in 1975, Nørgård devised analogously infinite systems for harmony (based on the overtone series and its inversion, the undertone series) and for rhythm (based on the proportions of the golden section as unfolded in the Fibonacci series) to form a total musical system concerning every aspect of a work, from large-scale form to the smallest details. Nørgård himself calls this type of composing 'hierarchical', to signify its perpetual evolution in complementary, related layers, each of which represents augmented or diminished versions of each other in time. The results are surprisingly consonant, due to the emphasis on the overtone series, and at times sound close to conventional tonality. As if to acknowledge this, Nørgård includes in the coda to the symphony a complete quotation of Schubert's song *Du bist die Ruh'* as one strand in a typically multi-layered hierarchical texture. Nørgård stands very far removed, however, from the neo-romantic trends which sprang up in central Europe around this time: his aim is in no way nostalgic, even though he acknowledges as compositional tools the fullest range of harmonic and melodic types, from the most consonant and conjunct to the most dissonant and abrupt.

Nørgård's hierarchical period lasted until the end of the 1970s, with the opera *Siddharta* (1974–9), towards the end of which, for dramatic reasons, the harmony and order of this technique are dramatically destroyed. The music of the following decade was dominated by a return to greater overt disorder of texture and form, and a focus

on climates of great emotional and psychological instability. In part this may be attributed to Nørgård's encounter with the writings and paintings of the Swiss schizophrenic artist Adolf Wölfli, who was active in the first part of the century. Nørgård's fascination with this creative outsider produced a complete change in his style, in which an almost expressionist fondness for emotional extremes became the dominant feature, with ordered systems such as had characterized his previous music relegated to the background. His Fourth Symphony bears a subtitle from Wölfli, 'Indian Rose Garden and Chinese Witch's Lake'; its sharply polarized two-movement form typifies the twin extremes of the title, although elements from each movement penetrate the other. In addition to numerous smaller Wölfli-inspired pieces throughout the 1980s, Nørgård also composed a chamber opera, *The Divine Circus* (1982), which explores the artist's painful life-history in metaphorical form.

Although Nørgård has never returned to the extreme order of his infinite systems as an end in itself, he has in more recent compositions displayed a renewed concern for construction and patterning both in pitch and rhythm. His most prominent recent technical innovation is an elaborate set of melodic patterns he terms 'tone lakes', similar to the infinity row but working in several directions simultaneously. Elements from such a pattern form an important feature in the revolving bell-like permutations of *Tintinnabulary* (String Quartet no.6, 1986) and also feature as a central element in his most experimental work to date, the Fifth Symphony (1986–90). This ambitious single-movement work is perhaps the most daring Nørgård has yet attempted, a highly unpredictable and episodic set of apparently disconnected fragments which repeatedly run off either extreme of the orchestra's range into inaudibility. When these fragments finally cohere it is into one of the densest and most terrifying orchestral tuttis in his output, making passing reference to the turbulent conclusion of his First Symphony before vanishing suddenly into a final silence.

As he moved towards his eighth decade Nørgård's style remained in a state of evolution and change, prompted by his ceaselessly enquiring mind and his firm belief that composing must be an essentially exploratory activity. Meanwhile the overriding constant in his output remains his devotion to the Sibelian ideal of continuously unfolding melodic lines in simultaneous evolution and, along with that – despite his fondness for abrupt change and highly volatile forms – an easily identifiable lyrical gift which makes his style one of the most personal in contemporary music.

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Ballets: Den unge mand skal giftes [The Young Man to be Married] (after I. Ionescu), 1964, broadcast 2 April 1965, staged Copenhagen, Royal Theatre, 15 Oct 1967, red. version, 1968; Tango chikane (F. Flindt), 1967, Copenhagen, Royal Theatre, 15 Oct 1967, version for red. orch, 1969

Incid music: Blomsterduft [Scent of Flowers], tape, 1963 [for play by J. Saunders]; Det er ikke til at baere [It Is Unbearable], fl, tpt, gui + elec gui, pf, vn, db, 1963; Pastorale, 2 cl, trbn, va, 1963; Stumspil, fl, tpt, vn, db, pf, 1966 [from incid music Act without Words]: Musaic, 3 trbn, 5 cornet, elecs, 1969; Act without Words (S. Beckett), 1966; Såret [The Wound], harmonica, accdn, hammond org, 1 elec gui, 1966 [for radio play by T. Hughes]; Nattergalen [The Nightingale] (TV puppet play, J. Vestergaard, after H.C. Andersen), 1969; Snedronningen [The Snow Queen] (TV puppet play, Vestergaard, after Andersen), 1970; Hedda Gabler (H. Ibsen), 1993, BBC TV, Nov 1993

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CHORAL

accompanied mixed chorus

Triptychon (Pss, Requiem Mass), SATB, org, 1957, rev. SATB, orch, 1960; Det skete i de dage (B. Nørgård), mixed chorus, children's chorus, actors, recs, tpt, perc, str, 1960; Landskabsbillede (T. Bjørnvig), SATB, insts, 1961, rev. 1992; Dommen [The Judgement], Mez, T, 2 Bar, B, mixed chorus, female chorus, children's chorus, wind, perc, pf, str, tape, 1962, rev. 1965; Den unge mand skal giftes [The Young Man to be Married], concert suite, SATB, orch, 1964–5 [from op]

Babel, soloists, chorus, insts, dancers and mime ad lib., 1965, rev. as Nye Babel, 1968; Oluf Strangesøn (folksong text), SATB, 3 perc, 1971, rev. 1992; Sym. no.3 (Lat. texts, R.M. Rilke, F. Rückert, W. Scott), Mez/C, double chorus, orch. 1972–5; Libra (R. Steiner, Pss), T, double chorus, gui, other insts ad lib., 1973 [see also SOLO VOCAL]; Singe die Gärten mein Herz, die du nicht kennst (Rilke: *Sonette an Orpheus*), 8vv, (fl, cl, hn, pf, 2 perc, vc)/pf, 1974

Vinterkantate [Winter Cantata] (O. Sarvig), S, mixed chorus, org, 1976, rev. 1990; Den afbrudte sang (Orfeus og Euridike) [The Interrupted Song] (U. Ryum, P. Nørgård), chorus, perc, hp, other insts ad lib., 1977; Tider og højtider [Times and High Times] (Lalander), SATB, variable insts, 1978; Tidligt forårs danse [Dances of Early Spring] (Rilke), SATB, ob, 4 perc, dancers ad lib., 1979–80; Halleluja – vor Gud er forrykt [Hallelujah – Our God is Mad], SATB, 3 perc ad lib., 1979–82, rev. 1992; Foråressang [Spring Song], mixed chorus, perc ad lib., 1980

Solen er hvid [The Sun Is White] (I. Christensen), chorus, gamelan, orch, 1980–81, rev. 1991; Drømmesange [Dream Songs], SATB/SA, perc ad lib., 1981; Hvem ved [Who Knows] (Christensen), SATB, insts ad lib., 1981; Jordens vej [The Way of the Earth] (O. Sarvig), chorus, org, 1981; Slå dørene op [Open the Doors] (Christensen), mixed chorus, children's chorus, insts ad lib., 1981; Solen er rund [The Sun Is Round] (Christensen), SATB, insts ad lib., 1981; Noget andet [Something Else], SATB, sax qt, tpt, trbn, gui, hp, synth, 4 gamelan, perc, vc, db, 1982; Korsalme [Choral Hymn] (O. Sarvig), SATB, insts ad lib., 1982

Eclipse, T, chorus, orch, 1981 [from op Siddharta]; Den fjerde dag [The Fourth Day]: in memoriam Thomas Ring (A. Sunesson, Bible: *Genesis*, Lat. texts), mixed chorus, chbr orch, 1984; Den foruroligende Aelling [The Alarming Duckling] (P. Borum, Wölfli, T. Kjellgreen), 12vv, tape, 1985, rev. 1992; Stjernen og stjernen [The Star and the Star] (I. Michael), vv, insts, 1987; Mens regnen falder [While the Rain Is Falling] (V. Lunbye), mixed chorus, 6 perc, 1990; Freedom (Whitman), SSATB, 2 perc ad lib., 1992 [after work for T, gui, 1977]; I Hear the Rain, mixed chorus, perc, 1992; Orfeus' dansevise [Orpheus's Dance Song] (P. Nørgård), SATB, 5 perc ad lib., 1992 [from Den afbrudte sang [The Interrupted Song], 1977]; Til bogen [To the Book] (P. Riis), SATB, str qt, 1993; Huldregaverne [The Wood Spirit's Gifts] (B.S. Ingemann), nar, chorus, chbr ens, 1999; Morning Myth (P. Tafdrup), 7 strophes for SATB, 2000

unaccompanied mixed chorus
SATB unless otherwise stated

2 sange for blandet kor [2 songs for Mixed Choir] (H. Rasmussen), 1952, rev. 1992; Aftonland [Evening Land] (P. Lagerqvist), 1954; Fuglen hr. Jon [The Bird Mr Jon] (folksong text), 1961, rev. 1992; Du skal plante et trae [You Shall Plant a Tree] (P. Hein), 1967; 6 danske korsange (Hein, O. Sarvig, N. Peterson and others), SSA/SSATB, 1967–91; Gaudet mater, 1971; Maya danser (for sin ufødte søn) [Maya Dances (for her Unborne Son)] (B. Nørgård), 1974–80, rev. 1992; Frostsalme [Frost Psalm] (O. Sarvig), 16vv, 1975–6; Mit løv, mit lille trae [My Leaf, My Little Tree] (J.V. Jensen), 1975, rev. 1992; Kredsløb (O. Sarvig), 1977; Wie ein

Kind (Wölfli, R.M. Rilke), 1979–80, movt 2 rev. as Jorden er som et barn [The Earth Is Like a Child], 1992

Abendlied (Wölfli), 1980; Ordet (N.F.S. Grundtvig), 1982; HILDI(n)G ROSENBERG, chorus, recitation ad lib., 1982; 3 motetter til Agnus Dei, 1982; Afbrudt hojsang, skrig – og drikkervise [Interrupted Hymn, Scream and Drinking Song] (Bible: *Song of Solomon*, K. Antz), 1983; Tusind takker til Tage [A Thousand Thanks to Tage] (P. Nørgård), 1983; Marche macabre (J.G. Brandt), 1984; Støv (Brandt), canon, 1984, rev. 1992; Julens glaede [The Delight of Christmas] (J. Møllehave), hymn, 1985; 3 hymniske ansatser (G. Ekelöf, T. Larsen, R.M. Rilke), 1986

La peur as it were (P. Eluard, J. Cage), 2 SATB, 1989, withdrawn; Regn nat [Rain Night] (M. Strunge), 1989, rev. 1992; 4 motetter (Pss xxvii, lxxxiii), 1991; Forårsmorgen [Spring Morning] (T. Larsen), 1992 [arr. from Morgenmusik II, 1961]; Golgatha (B. Nørgård), 1992 [rev. of movt from Dommen, 1962]; Landskab [Landscape] (T. Larsen), 1992 [rev. of song from 9 danske sange, 1v, pf, 1955–8]; Overstået angst [Fear Overcome] (H. Rasmussen), 1992 [rev. of no.5 of 9 danske sange, 1v, pf, 1955–8]; En stjerne er sat [A Star Is Set] (Bible, B. Nørgård), 1992 [arr. from Det skete i de dage, 1960]; Og der skal ikke mere gives tid [And time shall be no more] (L. Lundqvist, A. Wölfli and others), 1993; 3 systrar [3 Sisters] (S. Von Schoultz), SSATBB, 1993; Vänskap [Friendship] (Amerindian), 1996

male chorus

2 pastoraler (T. Larsen), T, TTBB, pf/orch, 1957; Grøn sang [Green Song] (E. Knudsen), male chorus, 1959, rev. SATB, 1992; Noget om kloge og gale [Something about the Clever and the Mad] (H. Rasmussen), TTB, 1959; Sinfonia profana (P. Nørgård), TTBB, cl, 1959; Lykkestreif [Piece of Good Luck] (T. Bjørnvig), TTBB, 1960, arr. SATB, 1992; Strandvalmue [Horn Poppy] (T. Larsen), TTBB, 1960, arr. SAATBB, 1986; En livlsang ven [A Lifelong Friend] (P. Riis), TTBB, 1991; Inre och yttre landskap [Inner and Outer Landscape] (T. Tranströmer), 1995

children's chorus

Tivoli (B. Nørgård), childrens's chorus, perc, other insts (3 rec, 3 vn, vc) ad lib., 1959; En Ammehistorie (E. Werner), children's chorus, insts (3 rec, 3 vn, pf) ad lib., 1959; Morgenmusik I [Morning Music I] (N. Peterson), children's chorus, 3 wind insts ad lib., 1961; Morgenmusik II [Morning Music II] (U. Harder, O. Abildgård, T. Larsen), spkr, children's vv, insts ad lib., 1961; Jeg ved, hvor en lind hun står [I Know Where a Lime Stands] (F. Jaeger), SSA, 1992 [from film score Den røde kappe, 1966]; Men tredie gang [But the Third Time], 1997

SOLO VOCAL

with piano

Det åbne [The Open] (P. la Cour), S/T, pf, 1952–5; 9 danske sange (H. Rasmussen, T. Larsen, J.V. Jensen, J.V. Jensen, J. Jørgensen, J.A. Schade), 1955–8; 10 danske sange (P. Hein, O. Sarvig, I. Michael, J.V. Jensen and others), 1955–87; Af Tue Bentsons viser [From Tue Bentson's Ballads] (V. Struckenberg), Bar, pf, 1960; Nocturner (Chin. texts in Dan. trans.), S, pf, 1961, orchd 1962; L'amour, la poésie (P. Eluard), A, B, pf, 1967, rev. S, T, vib + mar, 1979 as Kaerligheden, poesien [Love, Poetry]; 2 salmer fra Babettes Gaestebud [2 Hymns from 'Babette's Feast'], 1987 [from film score]; Songs (H. Groes), B-Bar, acc/mezzo, pf, 1991–2

with other instrument(s)

2 recitativer (P. Lagerqvist), A, vc, 1955–6; Sånger från Aftonland [Songs from Evening Land] (Lagerqvist), A, fl, vn, va, vc, hp, 1956; 3 kaerlighedssange [3 Love Songs] (A. Rimbaud, R.M. Rilke), A, orch, 1963–5; Prisme (J. Sonne), song cycle, Mez, T, B, fl, trbn, 2 perc, elec gui, vn, db, 1964; 3 chansons (Eluard), A, a fl, 1967 [arr. of movts 3–5 of L'amour, la poésie]; Sub rosa (F. Rückert), Mez, T, elec gui, 1971; Wenn die Rose sich selbst schmückt, schmückt sie auch den Garten (Rückert), S, a fl, db, perc, 1971

Libra (R. Steiner), T, gui, 1973 [see also CHORAL]; Nova genitura (Lat. hymns), S, rec, lute, hpd, va da gamba, 1975; Fons laetitiae (Lat. hymns), S/T, hp/lute, 1975; Freedom (W. Whitman), T, gui, 1977; Mystery (anon.), S, fl, 1978; Seadrift (Whitman), S, fl/red, pf/hpd, gui, vn, vc/va da gamba, perc, 1978; Daggry [Daybreak] (H. Nordbrandt), S, a fl, gui, 1981; Day and Night (T. Hughes, W. Shakespeare), low v, vc ad lib., pf, 1982

Plutonian Ode (A. Ginsberg), S/Bar, vc, 1982–4; Marche macabre (J.G. Brandt), 1v, gui, 1983; Kropsdrøm [Body Dream], S, fl, perc + synth, tape, 1984; Gondellied (Nietzsche), Bar, vc, 1985; Entwicklungen (Rilke), A, fl, gui, vc, perc, 1986; Ildnatten [Fire Night] (H. Mølbjerg), S, Bar, perc, tape, 1986; L'enfant et l'aube (A. Rimbaud), S, T, fl, cl, perc, pf, vc, 1987–8; Indvielsessang [Consecration Song] (V. Lundbye), S, org, 1988; Laengsel og Opfyldelse [Longing and Fulfilment] (H. Groes), B, accdn, 1991; 2 årstidssange [2 Season Songs] (H. Nordbrandt), S, org, 1992; Noget om laerkesang og om laerken selv [Something about the Lark Song and the Lark Itself], T, cl, vn, vc, pf, 1998

ORCHESTRAL

Solo inst, orch: Rapsodi in D, pf, orch, 1952; Recall, accdn, orch, 1968, rev. 1977; For a Change, perc, orch, 1982; Between, vc, orch, 1984–5; Remembering Child, va, chbr orch, 1985–9, rev. 1987; Helle Nacht, vn, orch, 1986–7; King, Queen and Ace, hp, 13 insts, 1988–9; Conc. in due tempi, pf, orch, 1994–5; Bach to the Future, 2 perc, orch, 1996–7

Str: Adagio di Preludio, 1950–51, movts 1 and 3 withdrawn; Metamorfosi, 1953; Konstellationer [Constellations], 1958; Forspil ved havet [Prelude at the Sea], str, pf, 1983–4; Pastorale, 1988 [from film score Babettes Gaestebud]; Fugitive Summer, 1992 [orig. entitled Gossamer]; Tributes (3 works for str orch): Out of this World: Parting (Hommage à Witold Lutoslawki), 1994; 4 Observations: From an Infinite Rapport (Hommage à Béla Bartók), 16 str/str orch, 1995; Voyage into the Broken Screen (Hommage à Sibelius), 1995

Other orch: Sym. no.1 'Sinfonia Austera', 1954; Lyse danse [Bright Dances], chbr orch, 1959; Fragment VI, 6 orch groups, 1959–61, rev. 1962, withdrawn; Komposition, 1966; Iris, 1966–7, rev. 1968; Luna, 1967; Voyage into the Golden Screen, chbr orch, 1968–9; Sym. no.2, 1970, rev. 1971; Drømmespil [Dream Play], chbr orch, 1975, rev. 1980; Twilight, 1976–7, rev. 1979; Towards Freedom?, 1977; Sym. no.4 'Indischer Roosen-Garten und Chineesischeer Hexen-See', 1981; Burn, 1981 [orig. entitled Illumination]; Sym. no.5, 1986–90, rev. 1991; Spaces in Time, pf, orch, 1991; Amled Suite, 1993 [from film score Amled – Prinsen af Jylland]; Aspects of Leaving, chbr orch. 1997; Sym. no.6 (At the End of the Day), 1997–9; Terrains Vagues (1999–2000)

Brass/wind band: Doing, brass band, 1968 [variations on Beatles' song 'You Can't Do That']; Modlys [Backlight], wind, pf, perc, 1970

CHAMBER AND SOLO INSTRUMENTAL

5 or more insts: Qnt 'Hommage à Marc Chagall', fl, vn, va, vc, pf, 1952–3; Nattergalen [The Nightingale], fl, gui + elec gui, pf + cel, perc, mar, vn, va, vc, 1969 [from incid music]; Whirl's World, wind qnt, 1970; Lila, fl, 2 cl, cel, 2 hp, pf, xyl, vib, 3 vn, va, vc, 1972; Nu daekker sne den hele jord [Now Snow Covers the Whole Earth], 8 tuba, 1976; Prelude and Ant Fugue (with a Crab Canon), fl, cl, perc, gui, mand, vn, db, 1982; Braending [Burning], 2 fl, 2 cl, 2 hn, 2 tpt, accdn, pf, vib, 2 vn, 2 vc, 1983; Prelude to Breaking, fl, cl, pf, perc, 2 vn, va, vc, opt. Mez (text: G. Ekelöf), 1986; Og livets sommer sover dybt [And Deeply Sleeps the Summer of Life], 8 vc, 1988; Syn, 2 tpt, hn, 2 trbn, 1988, rev. 3 tpt, hn, 2 trbn, 1989; Night-Symphonies, Day Breaks, 1991–2; Novemberpraeludium [November prelude] (S.S. Blicher), spkr, cl, vn, vc, hpd, 1993; Scintillation, 1993, fl + pic, cl + b cl, hn, pf, vn, va, vc, 1993; Vintermusik, fl, cl, vc, perc, gui, org, 1998; A Nervous Fanfare, a sax, 2 tpt, 2 trbn, perc, 1999

Qts: Quartetto breve (Str Qt no.1), 1952, rev. 1987; Quartetto brioso (Str Qt no.2), 1953, rev. 1958; 3 miniaturer (Str Qt no.3), 1959; Dreamscape (Str Qt no.4), with tape, 1969; Inscape (Str Qt no.5), 1969; Paradigma, cl, trbn, vc, pf, 1972; Midsommerkilde [Midsummer Source], 4 fl, 1979; Babettes Gaestebud: suite, vn, va, vc, pf, 1986 [from film score]; Tintinnabulary (Str Qt no.6), 1986; Roads to Ixtlan, sax qt, 1992–3; Str Qt no.7, 1992–3; Viltir svanir [Wild Swans], sax qt, 1994; Dansere omkring Jupiter [Dancers around Jupiter], sax qt, 1994–5; Str Qt no.8 (Night Descending), 1996–7

Trio: Trio [no.1], cl, vc, pf, 1952–5; Arcana, elec gui, perc, accdn, 1970; Spell (Trio no.2), cl, vc, pf, 1973; Heyday's Night, rec, vc, hpd, 1980–81, rev. 1982; Lin, cl, vc, pf, 1986; Hommage à Jacques Tati, Playtime and Songtime, 2 pieces, 3 gui, 1986–92; Pastorale, vn, va, vc, 1987 [from film score Babettes Gaestebud]; Lerchesang, fl, vn, vc, 1988; Strenge, vn, va, vc, 1992, rev. 1993; Det er bare noget han bilder sig ind [It's just Something He Imagines] (Gennem Spejlet II [Through the Mirror II]), tpt, trbn, pf, 1992–5; Hedda Gabler: suite, va, hp, pf, 1993 [from incid music]; Den rosenfingrede dagning [The Rosen-Fingered Dawn], a fl, vn/va, gui, 1998

Duo: Sonata, vn, pf, 1951–2; Suite, fl, pf, 1953, rev. 1962, movt 1 rev. 1975 as Pastorale: Diptychon, vn, pf, 1954; Trompetmusik I–II, 2 tpt, 1960; Fragment V, vn, pf, 1961; Cantica, vc, pf, 1977; Mating Dance, fl + a fl, gui, 1977; Proteus, fl, perc, 1980, rev. 1986–97; Sonora, fl + a fl, hp, 1981; Hut ab, 2 cl, 1988; Variationer søger et tema [Variations in Search of a Theme], vc, gui, 1991; Gennem spejlet I [Through the Mirror I], tpt, pf, 1992; Cao shu, cl, pf, 1992–3; Tjampuán, vn, vc, 1992; Arresø-billeder [Pictures of Arresø], ob, pf, 1995–6; Wasser und Rosen von Isaphan oder Schiros, 2 gui, 1997; Klage eller danse [Lamentation or dance], vn, gui, 1998

Perc (1 player unless otherwise stated): Rondo for 6, perc ens, 1964; Waves, 1969; Isternia, cimb/mar, 1979; Ghending, 8 perc, 1980; Medstrøms og modstrøms [With the Current and Against the Current], 4 perc, opt. pf, 1981; Små slag [Small Beats], 6 perc, 1981; Square Round and Zigzag, perc ens, 1981–6; I Ching, 1982; Black and White and in Colours, perc ens, 1983, rev. as Square and Round, 2 dances, perc sextet, 1985–6; Energy Fields Forever, 1985, rev. 1986; En lys time [A Light Hour], perc ens, 1986; Poème, 1986–7; Nemo dynamo, perc, cptr, 1989; Bulan, vib, mar, 1990; Echo-Zone Trilogy, 2 perc, 1991–3; Det veltemperede slagtøj [The Well-Tempered Percussionists], 2 perc, 1994–5

Pf: Concertino no.2, 1950; Preludio espansivo e rondo, 1953; Sonata i een sats [Sonata in 1 Movt], 1953, rev, 1956; Trifoglio (3 intermezzi), 1954, rev. 1956; Sonata no.2, 1957; Skitser [Sketches], 1959; 9 studier, 1959; 4 fragmenter, 1959–61; Grooving, 1967–8; Rejser, 1969; Turn, pf/hpd, 1973; 2 mediterrane meditationer, 1980; Maya, 1983; Achilles og skildpadden [Achilles and the Tortoise], 1983; Without Jealousy (A Tortoise's Tango), 1984; 2 klaverstykker fra Babettes Gaestebud [2 piano pieces from 'Babette's Feast'], 1987 [from film score]; Remembering, 1989; Light of a Night, 1989 [after Beatles' song 'Blackbird']; 3 Magdalena-strofer [3 Magdalen verses], 1994; Stjerne-barcarole [Star barcarole], 1995; Unendlicher Empfang, 2 pf, 1997; Esperanza, 1997–8; Make your choice Mr Schneider, 1998

Other kbd: Introduktion og toccata, accdn, 1952, rev. 1964; 5 orgelkoraler, 1954; Preludio festivo, org, 1956; Partita concertante, org, 1958; Le bal somnambule, accdn, 1966; Anatomisk safari [Anatomical Safari], accdn, 1967; Canon, org, 1971; Three Beings, clavichord/hpd/pf, 1979; Frostsalmemusik, org, 1980; Märchenfarben, accdn, perc ad lib., 1980; Vintersalme, org, 1980; 3 søskende, synth, 1985; Nine Friends, accdn, 1985; Trepartita, org, 1988; Gemini Rising, hpd, 1990; Sommerpraeludium, org, 1991; Jeg ved et evigt himmerig [An Eternal Paradise I Know], org, 1992; Notturno (Tongues by Night), org, 1992; Mattinata (Tongues of Light), org, 1992; winds I–III, accdns, 1992; Den signede [The Blessed], org, 1995; Eremitkrebs Tango [Esmeralda], accdn, 1997

Other solo inst: Sonata, vc, 1951, rev. 1953; Solo intimo, vc, 1953–4; Libra, rec, 1973; Genkomster [Returns], gui, 1976; Til minde om . . . [In memory of . . .], gui, 1978; Luftkasteller [Castles in the Air], fl, 1980; Solo in scena, vc, 1980; Papalagi, gui, 1981; 3 vignetter, rec, 1981; Lille Dans [Little Dance], hp, 1982; Skala Fanfare Variation, tpt, 1982; In the Mood of Spades, gui, 1985; Majmånemusik [May Moon Music], vn, opt. pf, opt. vc, 1988; Swan Descending, hp, 1989; Clubs among Jokers, gui, 1989; Sensommer-elegi [Late Summer Elegy], vc, 1991; Libro per Nobuko, va, 1992; Hjerterdame-tur, gui, opt. vc, 1995; Luftkasteller: 2 Stykker, carillon, 1995; Serenita, gui, 1996; Morgenstund [Early Morning], gui, 1997–8; What – is the word . . ., vc, 1998; Fuglefødselsdag [Bird's Birthday], rec, 1998; I Heseringen – og udenfer [Within the Fairy Ring – and out of it], cl, 1999

TAPE

Titanic (T. Bjørnvig), spkr, tape, 1962; Den fortryllede skov [The Enchanted Wood], 1968, rev. as Det store baelt [The Great Belt]; Kalendermusik, 1970, alternative version Årsfrise; Ildnatten [The Night of Fire], 1983; Expanding Space, 1985; Fra de evigt fjernere stjemen [From the Ever More Distant Stars], 1985; Twittermachine, 1985

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JULIAN ANDERSON

Norgate, Edward (*b* Cambridge, Feb 1581; *d* London, bur. 23 Dec 1650). English organist, heraldic artist and possibly instrument maker. He was the son of Robert Norgate (*d* 1587), Master of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. Subsequently Norgate's mother married Nicholas Felton, later Bishop of Ely, in whose house he was brought up. Norgate went to London, where he served the king in numerous capacities.

In 1611 he was granted the office of tuner of the king's virginals, organs and other instruments jointly with Andrea Bassano until the latter's death in 1626. He is usually referred to as Keeper of the Organs, and payments were made to him for building a new organ at Richmond (£120 in 1639) and at various times between 1629 and 1641 for repairing the organs and virginals at other royal palaces. These payments may have been for arranging and overseeing the work rather than for carrying it out himself. During this period he held the post alone, but in 1642 it was granted jointly with his son Arthur, thereafter 'to the longer liver of them'. With the onset of the Civil War this arrangement had no practical consequences; but although Arthur survived the Restoration, the post passed to John Hingeston (2 July 1660).

Norgate was also reputed a fine organist. On 25 March 1646 Sir William Swann (an amateur musician living in Holland) wrote to Constantijn Huygens: 'yesterday wee have bin in our devotions ... in the presence of one Mr Northget, a great lover of musike and a verre good organist ... he is one of the kings servants, clarke of the signet office, and one of his May[tes] heraults, and verre well knowen to Mr Laynier'. He was made Windsor Herald (in 1633), and for most of his working life he was engaged in writing and illuminating royal patents, diplomatic correspondence and other documents. He travelled a good deal: to Brussels as an agent for the purpose of buying pictures for the queen's cabinet at Greenwich, and to Italy on a similar errand for the Earl of Arundel. His first wife, Judith Lanier (sister of Nicholas Lanier), must have died before 1619, for in that year he married Ursula

Brighouse. In May 1632 a warrant for an allowance of 15s. a day was made to Norgate towards 'the diet and lodging of Signior Antonio Van Dike and his servants, to begin from April 1st last' for the duration of Van Dyck's stay.

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IAN SPINK

Nørholm, Ib (*b* Copenhagen, 24 Jan 1931). Danish composer. He began piano studies at the age of nine and organ lessons at the age of 15. In 1949 he composed a chamber opera based on Andersen's *Sneglen og rosenhaekken* ('The Snail and the Rose Tree'). In the following year he entered the Royal Danish Conservatory in Copenhagen, where he studied theory with Holmboe, history with Hjelmborg, and form and analysis with N.V. Bentzon and Høffding. Between 1954 and 1956 he completed examinations in theory and history, teaching, church music and organ performance. He was music critic for the Copenhagen newspaper *Information* (1956–64) and became assistant organist at Elsinore Cathedral in 1957. He began teaching part-time at the Copenhagen Conservatory in 1961. In 1964 he was appointed organist at the Bethlehems kirken, Copenhagen, and also teacher of theory and history at the conservatory in Odense, becoming later a lecturer there (1967–73). He was then appointed lecturer in theory at the Copenhagen Conservatory, and was professor of composition from 1981. He was head of the Danish section of the ISCM (1973–8, board member from the early 1960s) and a member of Statens Kunstfond (1971–4). Awards he has received include the Lange-Müller Stipendium, the Axel Agerbys Mindelegat, the Carl Nielsen Prize (1971) and the Anckerske Legat. He was knighted in 1981.

The earliest works by Nørholm, who achieved recognition with his Symphony no.1 op.10 (1956–8), were in the Danish lyrical and tonal tradition which evolved in the post-Nielsen modernist era. He began, however, to participate in the debate which arose between composers of the Danish tradition and those who wished to meet the challenge of the international avant garde. He joined the group of young Danes who, on Nørgård's initiative, met periodically from 1959 to analyse music by such composers as Boulez and Stockhausen. Together with other members of Nørgård's group, Nørholm attended the ISCM Festival in Cologne in 1960, an event which made a deep impact upon him. In 1960 and 1962 he also attended the international summer courses in Darmstadt. As a board member of the ISCM section, he was involved in the Fluxus festival in Copenhagen in 1962 which further impressed him.

These experiences led him to try out different techniques during the following decade: predetermined serialism (the 'tabular' Trio, 1959), structuralism and sonorism (*Fluctuations*, 1962, awarded the Gaudeamus Prize in 1964), graphic notation (*Relief II*, 1963), aleatory features and the use of extra-musical implements (*Directions: inconnue*, 1962–4, for solo violin with mechanical toys). This last was a preliminary study for the television opera *Invitation til skafottet* ('Invitation to a Beheading', 1965, broadcast 1967), based on Nabokov's novel; in its stylistic diversity it can be seen as the starting-point for Nørholm's 'pluralism' (or postmodernism, at a time when this term had not yet been coined). The work's librettist was Paul Borum, who for the following three decades was Nørholm's partner in the creation of several text-based compositions. With works like *Strofer og marker* ('Stanzas and Squares', 1965 and 1966) and *Flowers from the Flora of Danish Poetry* (1966) Nørholm became associated with the 'new simplicity' movement in Denmark at that time; the simplicity of the compositions was a reaction against the excessive intricacy of some avant-garde works. His string quartets from 1966, *From my Green Herbarium* and *September–October–November*, on the other hand, tended towards pluralism in their application of the collage principle to a blending of different styles.

In spite of its links with these fashionable trends, Nørholm's music maintained its personal touch of expression. His central work from 1971, the 55-minute-long Second Symphony *Isola bella*, commissioned and first performed by the Danish RSO, was a full-scale embodiment of Nørholm's experience that different stylistic expressions, contrary to later postmodern belief, were equally involving. Ranging from pure naivety to complex, avant-garde sophistication, they served as what Nørholm described as 'an experiment to create a whole musical life'. This was achieved not by the use of pastiche but by structural differentiation, involving an array of tonal techniques – ranging from use of the major/minor modes to dodecaphony – as immediately perceptible symbols of expression.

Similar utilization of stylistic diversity in a programmatic context is found in the two subsequent symphonies, *A Day's Nightmare* (1973), describing the 'general existential neurosis' of modern daily life, and *Modskabelse* ('Decreation', 1978–9), with solo vocalists and two choruses, based on texts by Borum on the genesis of man and the universe, and on the evolution of human knowledge. In this huge cantata, however, the obvious juxtaposition of styles is superseded as a formal principle by the use of strict procedures of construction. This had also been the case in works such as the chamber opera *Den unge park* ('The Young Park', 1970), in which the continuous conversation between schematically drawn characters is carried by a leitmotif technique in a contrapuntal setting. A similar technique is at play in the following opera, the *Garden Wall* (1976), whereas *Sandhedens Haevn* ('Truth's Revenge', 1985), after a marionette comedy by Blixen, is based mainly on intuitively created material.

This constant shifting between construction and intuition is the driving force in Nørholm's creativity, and is also a source of continuing renewal. Thus, while a personal stylistic synthesis based on what might be called 'integrated bitonality' is apparent in some works, for example the Violin Concerto (1971) or the Fifth and Ninth Symphonies (1980 and 1990 respectively), a more eclectic tendency is present in other compositions, especially the long series of works that continue the tradition of Danish vocal lyricism, from *Summer Sceneries* (1967) through to *Elverspejl* ('Elf's Mirror', 1996). The programmatic function of pluralism within a symphonic context, still prominent in the Sixth Symphony ('Moralities', 1981), has since then been replaced by the interplay between soloist and orchestral individuals, groups and tutti in the series of solo concertos (this was already inherent in the Second Symphony). Again, attempts at stylistic categorization are constantly undermined by

unexpected twists even within the smallest chamber pieces, such as the sudden use of a train whistle in the unprogrammatic piece for solo cello *In the Middle of Darkness* (1994), reminiscent of *Direction: inconnue* of 30 years earlier. In the programme note for his Seventh Symphony 'Ecliptic Instincts' (1982) Nørholm relates this continuing change of direction to 'the deep-rooted European restlessness, as an acceptable condition for our equally inexhaustible dynamism'.

WORKS

STAGE AND ORCHESTRAL

Operas: Sneglen of rosenhaekken [The Snail and the Rose Tree] (chbr op, after H.C. Andersen), 1949; Invitation til skafottet [Invitation to a Beheading] (TV op, P. Borum, after V. Nabokov), op.32, 1965, Danish Television, 1967; Den unge park [The Young Park] (chbr op, I. Christensen), op.48, 1969–70; The Garden Wall, op.68, 1976; Sandhedens Haevn [Truth's Revenge] (chbr op, J. Heiner, after K. Blixen), op.95, 1985

Orch: Theme and Variations, op.1, str, 1955; Sym. no.1, op.10, 1956–8; Fluctuations, op.2, 34 str, 2 hp, hpd, mand, gui, 1962; Relief I–II, op.27, 23 insts, 1963; Serenade to Cincinnatus, op.28, chbr orch, 1964; Exile, op.29a, 1964; Relief III, op.29b, 1964; After Icarus, suite, op.39, 1967; Isola bella (Sym. no.2), op.50, 1968–71; Vn Conc., op.60, 1971; A Day's Nightmare (Sym. no.3), 1973: Skyggen [The Shadow], suite, op.59, 1974; Heretisk hymne, op.62, 1975; Idylles d'Acopalypse, sinfonietta, op.79, org, orch, 1980; Elementerne [The Elements] (Sym. no.5), op.80, 1980; Moraliteter [Moralities] (Sym. no.6), op.85, 1981; Ekliptiske instinkter [Ecliptic Instincts] (Sym. no.7), op.88, 1982; Spirales, accdn conc., op.97; Sankornets topologi [Aspects of Sand and Simplicity], op.102, str; At Høre Andersen [Hearing Andersen], op.104, 1987; With Open Eyes, vn conc., op.109, 1989; Tro og Laengsel [Faith and Longing] (Sym. no.8), op.114, 1990; The Sun Garden in Three Shades of Light (Sym. no.9), op.116, 1990; Traernes skønhed og hvordan den opretholdes [The Beauty of the Trees and How To Maintain It] (Vn Conc. no.2), op.126, 1992–3; Va Conc., op.130, 1993–5; Galleri, Conc. for 2 Mar and Orch, op.133, 1994; Olympiade (Org Conc. no.2), op.142, 1996

VOCAL

Choral: 4 Songs, op.3a, 1955; 3 Madrigals (H. Rasmussen), op.11, 1957; St Olai Festival Versicles, op.20, solo vv, chorus, wind, orch, 1959; 3 Songs, op.21, male vv, 1959; Kenotafium (A. Pedersen), op.23, 1v, chorus, orch, 1961; Apocryphal Songs, op.24, 1v, chorus, insts, 1960; Sacrifice (Borum), op.34, 1966; Summer Sceneries (A. Oehlenschläger), op.40, solo vv, chorus, orch, 1967; 3 Songs (S. Kierkegård), op.46, male vv, 1969; Jongleurs-69, op.47, solo vv, chorus, loudspkr v, ensembles, orch, 1969; Light and Praise, op.55, solo vv, chorus, orch, 1971; Days' Nightmare I–II, opp.57–8, solo vv, chorus, orch, 1971; Songs, op.59, equal vv, 1971; Proprium Missa Dominicae Pentecoste, op.71, vv, 2 chorus, wind, orch; Modskabelse [Decreation] (Sym. no.4), op.76, vv, chorus, orch, 1978–9; Americana, op.89, chorus; Lux secunda, op.91, vv, chorus, orch, 1984; 8 Mini-Motetter, op.96, chorus; Øjet [The Eye], op.106, chorus; Guds Hus's Bjerg [The Mountain of God's House], op.112, chorus, 2 trbn, perc, org, 1990; Julesorgen og -glaeden [Sorrow and Joy of Christmas], op.117, chorus, 4 cym, org, 1991; Mine danske kilder [My Danish Wells], op.128, chorus, 1994; Fuglene [The Birds], op.129, fl, cl, vc, chorus, 1994; Danskerens natur [The Character of the Dane], op.132, 1996; Elverspejl [Elf's Mirror], op.141, solo vv, chorus, orch, 1996

Solo vocal: 3 Songs (Rasmussen), op.3b, S, pf, 1955; Salvum me fac, op.5, S, org, 1955; 3 Songs (R. Browning), op.6, 1955; 3 Songs (P. Lagerquist, V. Ekelund, E. Leino), op.8a, S, pf, 1956, orchd as op.8b; 3 Songs (Rasmussen), op.14b, pf, 1957; 3 Songs (Pedersen), op.30, Mez, 6 insts, 1965; Flowers from the Flora of Danish Poetry, op.36, 1v, pf, 1966; Tavole per Orfeo, op.42, Mez, gui, 1967–9; 5 Songs (Borum), op.44, S, gui, perc, 1968; 3 Songs, op.54, A, pf, 1971; 6 Songs (Borum), op.64, S, pf, 1975; 3 vinterimpressioner, op.75, Mez, pf, 1978; Lys, 5 digte af Inger Christensen [Light, 5 Poems by Inger Christiansen], op.78, S, fl, hp, perc, vc, 1979; Frase-Parafrase, 3 duets, op.81, S, T; Whispers of Heavenly Death, op.103, S, gui, 1987; Dybet og Lyset [Deep and Light], op.119, S, A, fl, org, 1991; Mac Moon Songs I, op.125, S, fl, perc, 1993; Tribut, op.138, reciter, vn, gui, 1995; Mac Moon II, S, cl, pf, 1995; Tell All the Truth (E. Dickinson), 5 songs, op.139, T, pf, 1995

CHAMBER AND INSTRUMENTAL

For chbr ens: In vere (Str Qt no.1), op.4, 1955; Trio, op.13, cl, vc, pf, 1957; Mosaic, op.15, fl, str trio, 1958; Music for Rec, op.16, rec ens, 1958; Pf Trio, op.22, 1959; 5 Impromptus (Str Qt no.2), op.31, 1965; From my Green Herbarium (Str Qt no.3), op.35, 1966; September–October–November (Str Qt no.4), op.38, 1966; Prelude to my Wintry Morning, op.52, fl, pf qt, 1971; Preludes to a Wind Quintet, op.53, wind qnt, 1971; Str Qt, op.65, 1976; De fynske katarakter [The Funen Cataracts], op.66, ob, cl, bn, vn, va, vc, db, pf, 1976; Contrast-Continuum, op.70, 4 fl, 1977; Conc. (Primus inter pares), op.72, va d'amore, 9 insts; Skygerne frosner [The Cladows Are Frostening], op.73, str qt, 1978; Essai prismatique (Trio no.2), op.77, vn, vc, pf, 1979; Modlyd [Backlight], op.82, fl, hp, va, 1980; Before Silence, 3 studies, op.83, 3 fl, 1980; Haven med stier der deler sig [The Garden with Paths that Separate], op.86, 8 insts, 1982; Purple to the People, op.90, ob, eng hn, trbn, va, vc, db, pf, perc, 1984; Den ortodokse drøm [The Orthodox Dream], op.92, fl, vc, hpd, 1984; En passant (Str Qt no.7), op.94, 1985; Lerchenborg akrostikon, op.98, S, str qt, 1986; A Touch of Mortality, op.99, ob, 4 vn, 2 va, vc, db; Essai réfléchi (Trio), op.100, cl, vc, pf, 1986–7; Medusa's Skygge [Medusa's Shadow], op.105, fl, va, vc, gui, 1987; Memories (Str Qt no.8), op.107, 1988; A Patchwork in Pink, op.109b, sax qt, pf, 1989; 2 studier og et intermezzo, op.113, 4 trbn, tuba, 1990; Øjeblikke [Moments], op.118, cl, tpt, vc, pf, 1991; Vejledning for den gyldne hamster [Instructions for the Golden Hamster], op.121, 4 tpt, 2 hn, 3 trbn, euphonium, tuba; Sax Qt, op.122, 1992; Tolv minutter af deres tid [12 Minutes of your Time], oktet, op.124, fl, cl, tpt, hp, pf, vn, va, vc, 1992–3; Ludite, op.135, rec, vn, gui, vc, 1994; Qt 9 'Hvad de spillede hos Waage Petersen, da Weyse var taget hjem' [What They Played at Waage Petersen's, after Weyse Went Home], op.137, str qt, 1994

For 1–2 insts: Rhapsody, op.2, va, pf, 1955; Tombeau, op.7, vc, pf, 1956; Sonata, op.12, vn, pf, 1956–7; Variants, op.19, vn, pf, 1959; Direction: inconnue, op.26, vn, toys, 1962–4; Sonata, op.41, accdn, 1967; Vignettes to the Little Prince, op.43a, fl, 1968; Suite, op.43b, fl, 1968; In Spring when Snow Is Falling, op.45, vc, perc, 1969; Theme and 5 Variations, op.61, vn, 1971; Controversies, op.63, gui, org, 1975; Sonata, op.69, gui, 1976; So to Say, op.74, fl, perc, 1978; Immanens, sonata, op.87, fl, 1982; Tea for Tuba, op.101, tuba, 1986; Sommer, Sonata no.2, op.110, gui, 1989; Cries of Spring, sonatine, op.123, fl, pf, 1992; In the Middle of Darkness, A Nightmare for Solo Vc, op.131, vc, 1994; A Path of Snow and Creaking, A Winter Work for Hpd, op.134, 1994; Praeludier for guitar, op.136, 1995

Org: Sonata, op.9, 1956; Concertino, op.17, 1958; Inquiries-Persuasions, op.49, 1970; Lys og skygge [Light and Shade], op.111, hp, org, 1989; Sonata, op.127, ob, org, 1993

Pf: Strofer og marker [Stanzas and Squares], 2 cycles, opp.33a–b, 1965, 1966; Signaturer fra en provins, op.51, 1970; Discourse on Time, op.84, 1980–82; Turbulens laminar, op.93, 1984; Cyclus i een sats [Cycle in One Movt], op.120, 1991

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MOGENS ANDERSEN

Noricus, Johannes. *See* AGRICOLA, JOHANNES.

Noringer, August. *See* NÖRMIGER, AUGUST.

Noris, Matteo (*b* Venice; *d* Treviso, 6 Oct 1714). Italian librettist. He wrote for all the principal Venetian theatres and his works, many of which were set more than once, were dramatically effective. In the 1670s and 80s he was closely associated with the Teatro di SS Giovanni e Paolo and the Teatro S Giovanni Grisostomo, both owned by the Grimani family. In 1686 the government castigated those responsible for mounting Pollarolo's setting of Noris's *Il demone amante, ovvero Giugurta*, which was deemed offensive on religious grounds and had to be revised. For five years after the scandal, Noris wrote librettos for Florence and Genoa, but none for Venice. In 1692 he began writing principally for the Teatro S Salvador. He wrote two librettos, *Attilio Regolo* (1693) and *Tito Manlio* (1696), for the Grand Prince Ferdinando de' Medici's theatre at his villa in Pratolino, as well as a *festa teatrale*, *Il greco in Troia*, celebrating the prince's marriage in 1689. It was not until 1697, after the successful restaging of *Tito Manlio* at the S Giovanni Grisostomo, that he began to write once again for the Grimani. By the 1690s Coronelli included him in a list of poetry instructors, along with Apostolo Zeno, Francesco Silvani and others. He died at an advanced age and was buried in the parish church of S Leonardo, Treviso.

Many of his works of the 1680s, in particular *Il re infante* and *Penelope la casta*, were stupendous affairs. Noris sought novel subjects and used them imaginatively: in his prefaces from the 1690s onward he vigorously attacked the promulgators of imitation, deriding those who borrowed from classical and neo-classical works. In spirit, Noris's work has much in common with 17th-century Spanish drama.

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HARRIS S. SAUNDERS

Norlind, (Johan Henrik) Tobias (*b* Vellinge, 6 May 1879; *d* Stockholm, 13 Aug 1947). Swedish musicologist. He studied with Adolf Sandberger at the University of Munich and with Oskar Fleischer, Johannes Wolf and Max Friedlaender at the University of Berlin. In 1903 he was appointed lecturer at the Borgarskola, Tomelilla, and later director (1907–14). He received a doctorate in 1909 from the University of Lund; his thesis was a study of Latin student songs in Sweden and Finland during the Middle Ages and Reformation. In 1919 he became director of the Musikhistoriska Museet, Stockholm; he also taught music history at the conservatory from 1918 to 1945 and was headmaster of the Borgarskolas folkhögskola, Stockholm (1919–31). He was the secretary of the Swedish section of the IMS (1901–14) and became a member of the Swedish Royal Academy in 1919. He was president of the Swedish Musicological Society and was the editor of *Svensk tidskrift för musikforskning* (1919–25 and 1943–4).

Norlind made a substantial contribution to Swedish musicology; his *Allmänt musiklexikon* became a standard reference work. His studies of Swedish folk music and instruments are particularly important. He was also interested in the instruments of other cultures; his *Systematik der Saiteninstrumente* (1936–9) describes and classifies 'zither' and 'keyboard' instruments from all parts of the world.

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M. ELIZABETH C. BARTLET

Norman, Barak (*b* 1651; *d* London, 1724). English maker of string instruments. He was an important and prolific maker whose work spans the end of the supremacy of the viol (by which instrument he achieved his greatest fame) and the growth in popularity of the violin family in England. Apprenticed in the Guild of Weavers in 1668, he probably received instruction in instrument making from Richard Meares, and his viols are the epitome of the elegant English style of the period. Beautifully made



'Division viol' by Barak Norman, London, 1692 (Royal College of Music, London)

instruments, in the style of Meares, their elegant form is often richly decorated with elaborate double purfing and floral patterns, including his own monogram. The decoration also extends to the fingerboard and tailpiece, which on surviving examples are intricately inlaid. The arched fronts were made in the distinctive English manner, from several bent staves jointed together. The heads are magnificently carved, but frequently an open scroll of very pure form is used instead. The varnish is slightly thinner and harder than is found on the best English work of the 17th century. The earliest known instrument by Norman is a bass viol dating from 1679 (Berlin, Musikinstrumenten-Museum). Early patrons were the Pleydel-Bouverie family of silk merchants; a Norman bass viol of 1691, probably commissioned from the maker, remains in their family collection at Longford Castle, Wiltshire. First established in Bishopsgate, close to Meares, Norman later moved to premises in St Paul's Churchyard, at the sign of the 'Bass Viol' or 'Bass Violin', an address previously occupied by Francis Baker, also a viol maker.

Around the turn of the century Norman became more interested in making violins, violas and, particularly, cellos. The latter are among the earliest examples of the English cellos that were to be so well thought of during the 18th and 19th centuries. They are often on a slightly small model, but with strong, full archings and a rich brown varnish. Like the viols, they are readily identified by the 'BN' monogram inlaid in purfling in the centre of the back.

The somewhat rarer violins and violas are also fine and effective instruments, covered with a fine red varnish and strongly influenced by contemporary Cremonese work. These were probably made by other craftsmen in the workshops, since there is little similarity in workmanship with the viols. The distinctive small-cornered model shows some similarity to violins by Christopher Wise, a neighbour in Bishopsgate, and Joachim Tielke, the celebrated Hamburg maker, both active in the last decades of the 17th century. Some violins and violas attributed to Norman were, in fact, reconstructed from viol parts by later hands.

About 1715 the violin maker Nathaniel Cross became involved in the business, and after Norman's death in 1724 he took over the workshop, which continued to produce instruments with the joint label of Norman and Cross. The stock of the business was auctioned in 1730, but the workshop of the 'Bass Violin' was subsequently acquired by Robert Thompson, a prolific violin and cello maker.

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JOHN DILWORTH

Norman, Jessye (*b* Augusta, GA, 15 Sept 1945). American soprano. She studied at Howard University, the Peabody Conservatory and the University of Michigan (with, among others, Pierre Bernac and Elizabeth Mannion). She won the Munich International Music Competition in 1968 and made her operatic début in 1969 at the Deutsche Oper, Berlin, as Elisabeth (*Tannhäuser*), later appearing there as Countess Almaviva. Further engagements in Europe included Aida at La Scala and Cassandra at Covent Garden, both in 1972. The following year she returned to Covent Garden as Elisabeth. For her American stage début she sang Jocasta in Stravinsky's *Oedipus rex* and Purcell's Dido with the Opera Company of Philadelphia (1982); she appeared first at the Metropolitan Opera in 1983, once again as Cassandra. Other roles she has sung include Gluck's Alcestis, Strauss's Ariadne, Madame Lidoine (*Dialogues des Carmélites*), Emilia Marty (*The*

Makropulos Affair), the Woman (*Erwartung*), Bartók's Judith, and Wagner's Kundry and Sieglinde.

Norman has a commanding stage presence; her particular distinction lies in her ability to project drama through her voice. Her opulent and dark-hued soprano is richly vibrant in the lower and middle registers, if less free at the top; although her extraordinary vocal resources are not always perfectly controlled, her singing reveals uncommon refinement of nuance and dynamic variety. Her operatic recordings include Countess Almaviva, Haydn's Rosina (*La vera costanza*) and Armida, Leonore, Euryanthe, Verdi's Giulietta (*Un giorno di regno*) and Medora (*Il corsaro*), Carmen, Ariadne, Salome and Offenbach's Giulietta and Helen. As her many discs reveal, she is also a penetrating interpreter of lieder and *mélodies*, at her finest in the broader canvases of Mahler, Richard Strauss (whose *Vier letzte Lieder* she has recorded with distinction) and Debussy.

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MARTIN BERNHEIMER/ALAN BLYTH

Norman, John (*fl* ?1509–45). English composer. He has been identified with the John Norman who, according to an 18th-century account, was organist and master of the choristers at St David's Cathedral, Pembrokeshire, during the period 1509–22. The John Norman who joined the London Fraternity of St Nicholas in 1521 may be the same man, as may a clerk of St Thomas's Chapel, London Bridge (1528–34), and a clerk of Eton College (1534–45). Only three works by Norman are known to have survived. The Compline antiphon *Miserere mihi, Domine* (*Gb-Lbl* Add.5665; ed. in Miller) has the proper plainsong as a cantus firmus in breves, surrounded by two very florid voices: the result is somewhat similar to Taverner's *Audivi vocem*, but less effective. A five-voice *Missa 'Resurrexit Dominus'* (*Ob* Arch.f.e.19–24, olim Mus.Sch.e.376–81; ed. in EECM, xvi, 1976) has the Easter antiphon of that name as cantus firmus. The style is broadly similar to that of Taverner's large-scale works, but less imaginative texturally and tonally. Norman's Marian votive antiphon *Euge dicta sanctis oraculis* (*Cu* Peterhouse 471–4, lacking the tenor) has greater character and variety than his Mass, and is a little more ornate, with a more controlled and purposeful floridity than is achieved in *Miserere mihi, Domine*.

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HUGH BENHAM

Norman, (Fredrik Vilhelm) Ludvig (*b* Stockholm, 28 Aug 1831; *d* Stockholm, 28 March 1885). Swedish composer and conductor. He showed an early talent for improvisation at the keyboard and for composition, and as a child began his study of the piano with Theodor Stein and Jan van Boom, and of composition with A.F. Lindblad. His first publication (1843) was a book of songs composed at the age of 11. After his father's death, which left him poor, interest shown by the Crown Prince Oskar, Jenny Lind and others enabled him to continue his musical education at the Leipzig Conservatory (1848–53) under Hauptmann, Moscheles and Rietz. Through the mediation of Schumann, two of his piano pieces were published in 1851.

In 1858, a few years after his return to Stockholm, Norman was appointed teacher of composition at the conservatory, remaining in that post until 1861, when he became conductor of the royal orchestra. His role in the enrichment and expansion of the city's musical life was also evident from his work for the *Tidning för theater och musik*, which from 1859 he edited with A. Rubenson and F. Hedberg, and from his founding, in 1860, of the Nya Harmoniska Sällskap, whose orchestra he conducted until 1878. After that he occupied himself with the establishment of the Musikförening and of the royal orchestra's subscription concerts, which formed the basis of the later Konsertförening. He was also active as a pianist, most notably during the 1860s as accompanist for the violinist Wilma Neruda, to whom he was married from 1864 until their divorce in 1869. He returned to the conservatory in the early 1870s to teach composition and the piano. He was elected a member of the Royal Swedish Academy of Music in 1857.

As a composer Norman was in the Leipzig Classical-Romantic tradition; his works reflect the influence of Mendelssohn, Gade and of Schumann, his early champion, as well as that of Franz Berwald, whose cause Norman supported in articles about Berwald's chamber music and by conducting the first performance of his Fourth Symphony. Norman's output includes three symphonies and a variety of chamber music in all forms; it is distinguished by excellent taste and craftsmanship, but, though fluent and accomplished, his art tends to be more drily academic and less distinctively personal than that of Berwald or Stenhammar.

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(*selective list*)

printed works published in Stockholm unless otherwise stated

VOCAL

Rosa rorans bonitatem, cant., Mez, chorus, str, op.45 (1878)

Humleplockningen [Hop-Picking], cant., solo vv, chorus, orch, op.63 (1884)

Other works: Sånger för tvenne röster [duets], 2vv, pf, op.17, 1851–72 (1880); 8 smärre sånger, 1v, pf, op.13, 1850–51 (1861); Skogssånger [Forest songs], 1v, pf, op.31, 1867 (1874); other songs

INSTRUMENTAL

Orch: 3 syms., F, str orch, op.22, 1858, E♭, op.40, 1871 (1874), d, op.58, 1881 (1885); Konsertstycke, F, pf solo, op.54, 1875 (1882); 4 ovs., incl. Antonius och Cleopatra, op.57, 1881, ed. (1911)

Str: Sextet, A, op.18, 1854; Suite, 2 vn, op.26, *c*1865 (1887); Octet, C, op.30, 1866–7; Qnt, c, op.35, 1870 (Leipzig, 1875); 6 qts

Pf, str: Vn Sonata, d, op.3, 1848 (Leipzig, 1852); 5 Tonbilder im Zusammenhange, vn, pf, op.6, 1851 (1854); Pf Qt, E, op.10, 1856–7 (Leipzig, 1862); Vc Sonata, D, op.28, 1867 (1876); Sextet, a, pf, 2 vn, va, vc, db, op.29, 1868–9; Va Sonata, G, op.32, 1869 (1875); Pf Trio, b, op.38, 1871–2, ed. (1911)

Pf: 2 Klavierstücke (Leipzig, 1851); [4] Fantasistycken, op.5 (1852); Barnens danser och lekar [Children's dances and games], op.47, *c*1878 (1887)

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ROBERT LAYTON

Norman & Beard. *See* HILL, NORMAN & BEARD.

Normand, Marc-Roger ['Cuoprin', 'Coprino'] (*b* Chaumes-en-Brie, bap. 30 Dec 1663; *d* Turin, 25 Jan 1734). French organist, active in Italy. He was the son of Elisabeth Couperin and Marc Normand, and may have studied in Paris with his uncle, Charles Couperin (ii). He moved to Turin in 1688 and worked as harpsichord master to the princesses of Carignan. In the same year he took part, as harpsichordist, in Carisio's opera *Amore vendicato*. He proceeded to serve the King of Sardinia and became known as Cuoprin or Coprino. He was appointed second organist in 1699 and succeeded Francesco Ugo as *Organiste de la Chapelle Royale et controleur de la musique* in 1720, also becoming *valet de chambre* to the queen mother in 1723. In 1725 he married Jeanne Constance de La Pierre, granddaughter of the composer Paul de La Pierre, and on 9 April 1726 he was naturalized as a subject of the King of Sardinia. He was thanked by Couperin in the preface to *Les nations* (1726) for having sent him scores of Italian music, perhaps the works of his Turin colleagues, especially Francesco Michele Montalto, precentor of Turin Cathedral.

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MARIE-THÉRÈSE BOUQUET-BOYER

Normand, Théodule Elzéar Xavier. *See* NISARD, THÉODORE.

Normandin [La Grille], **Dominique** (*b* Paris, *c*1640; *d* Paris, *c*1717). French singer and theatrical impresario. A grandson of Le Bailly, Normandin sang in court performances from 1663 onwards. In 1675, as one of the king's musicians, he obtained a privilege from Louis XIV to give theatrical performances with large marionettes of his own invention. In 1676 he staged the *tragicomédie* of *Les Pygmées* in Paris, probably at the Théâtre du Marais, and then a *tragédie enjouée* entitled *Les Amours de Microton ou les charmes d'Orcan*, with ballets, theatrical machinery and stage sets. These works for marionettes, performed by singers hidden underneath the stage, were so successful and displayed so many similarities with Lully's *tragédies en musique* that Lully himself had them banned in 1677, even though he was related to La Grille (their wives were cousins). Normandin's 'Théâtre des Pygmées' or 'Opéra des Bamboches' anticipated the Opéra-Comique in staging parodies of operas.

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JÉRÔME DE LA GORCE

Nörmiger [Nöringer, Noringer], **August** (*b* ?Dresden, *c*1560; *d* Dresden, 22 July 1613). German organist and keyboard intabulator. Presumably he was the son of Friedrich Nörmiger, court organist at Dresden until his death in 1580. August Nörmiger occupied the same post from 12 December 1581 until his own death. After Hassler's death Nörmiger supervised the construction of the organ which he had designed for the Schlosskirche. According to a notice of 1592 he gave daily keyboard lessons to Prince Christian II and to Princess Sophie, daughter of Duke Friedrich Wilhelm of Saxony; in 1598 he compiled a keyboard tablature for Princess Sophie, then aged 11. This manuscript, once housed in the Staatsbibliothek Preussicher Kulturbesitz (now part of *D-Bsb*) and later in *D-Tu* Mus.40 098 (olim Z 89), is now housed in Kraków, Biblioteca Jagiellońska (*PL-Kj*).

The collection opened with 77 Lutheran chorales in simple settings with the melody in the top line. Coloration was absent, but Nörmiger used motivic repetition in the lower voices. The chorale melodies found here generally remained in use through the 17th and 18th centuries. Also, their arrangement in the manuscript followed the church calendar. A second section of 39 German sacred and secular songs employed considerable ornamentation. The final section consisted of 94 dances (pavans, galliards, passamezzos etc) with sparse coloration. The presence of voice crossings, awkward leaps and parallel perfect intervals may indicate that these pieces were arrangements of other music. The scope of Nörmiger's anthology provides a glimpse of keyboard music and dance accompaniments popular at the Saxony court about 1600.

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CLYDE WILLIAM YOUNG

Noronha, Francisco da Sá (*b* Viana do Castelo, 24 Feb 1820; *d* Rio da Janeiro, 23 Jan 1881). Portuguese composer and violinist. Being largely self-taught, he emigrated to Brazil in 1837 and toured south America. Subsequently, he appeared in New York and Philadelphia (1846–47), London and Leeds (1854) and Portugal. Although the most significant part of his performing career ended around 1860 he continued to play in public until his death. He was director of the S Januário (1852) and Fénix Dramática (1880) theatres in Rio de Janeiro, and also of the Oporto Teatro Baquet (1861, 1875). These appointments resulted in a vast repertory of comic operas, operettas and vaudevilles on Portuguese texts.

Noronha was the first Portuguese composer to write operas based on literary works by national writers. The librettos of *Beatrice di Portogallo* (1863) and *L'arco di Sant'Anna* (1867), inspired by Almeida Garrett's works, have many characteristics in common with those of his mid-19th-century Italian contemporaries, but the choice of Pinheiro Chagas's Brazilian novel *A virgem de Guaraciaba* for the libretto of *Tagir* (1876) seems to reflect the influence of Carlos Gomes's *Guarany*. Considered by his contemporaries as a creator of a Portuguese melodic style with authentic folk characteristics, his music is strongly influenced by the Italian operatic tradition.

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LUISA CYMBRON

Norovbanzad, Namjiliin (*b* 1931, Dundgov' (Middle Gobi), central Mongolia). Mongolian *urtyn duu* (long-song) singer of the Borjigin Khalkhas. She learnt to sing from her 'second mother', the renowned singer Tavhai, who acted as midwife at her birth. Initially she performed *giingoo*, the ritual song performed by child jockeys before horse-racing, and her talent soon became evident. She then became a member of the cultural 'club' at the centre of her district. She won a gold medal at the International Youth and Students Festival held in Moscow in 1957 and in the same year became a member of the National Ensemble of Folksong and Dance (*Ulsyn Ardyn Duu Büjgiin Chuulga*) in Ulaanbaatar, where she remained for over 30 years. Norovbanzad delivers long-songs in a wonderfully powerful soaring voice. In addition to Central Khalkha, which became the 'national' theatre style during the communist period, she is able to perform in the grand *aizam* style e.g. in *Övgön Shuvuu* ('Old Man and Bird') and in the more detailed and precise Borjigin Khalkha style e.g. *Altan Bogdyn Shil* ('At the Peak of Altan Bogd') (*see* MONGOL MUSIC, §1(i)). She has gained many awards and titles for her skill including National Meritorious Artist, People's Artist and the National Honorary Award of Excellence. She has performed in over 20 different countries including the USA, Europe and Japan.

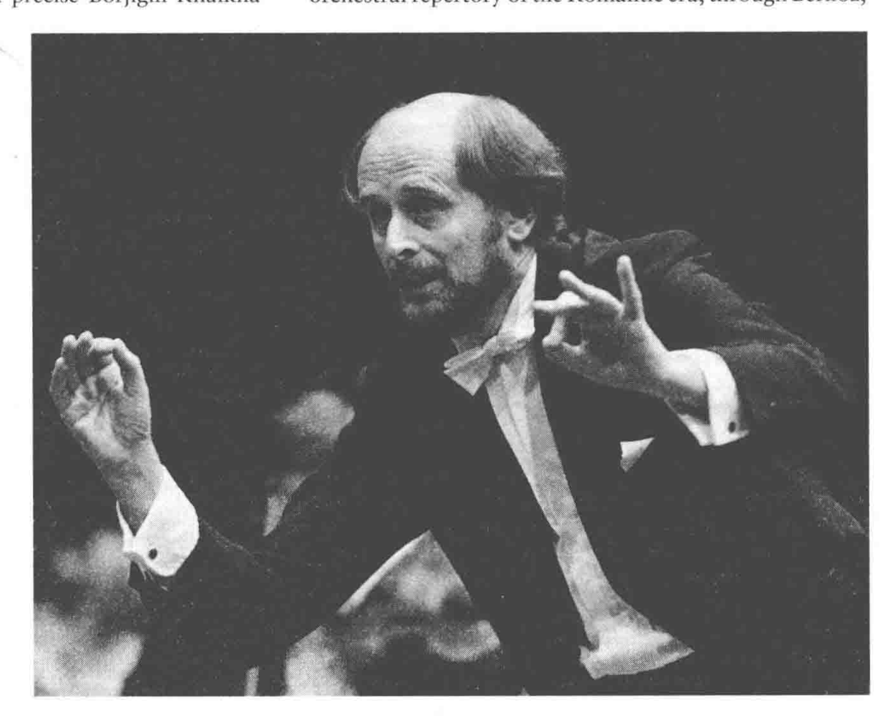
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CAROLE PEGG

Norrington, Sir **Roger (Arthur Carver)** (*b* Oxford, 16 March 1934). English conductor. He was a choral scholar at Cambridge University, studied conducting with Boult at the RCM and began his musical career as a tenor. In 1962 he made his conducting début with the Heinrich Schütz choir, which he founded and with whom he made numerous recordings of repertory from the 17th and 19th centuries. From 1969 to 1982 he was musical director of Kent Opera, demonstrating his dramatic flair and the breadth of his taste in over 40 works, ranging from Monteverdi (including his own edition of *L'incoronazione di Poppea*) to Britten and Tippett. He made his début with Sadler's Wells Opera in 1973 (*Le nozze di Figaro*) and at Covent Garden in 1986 (Handel's *Samson*). He has also conducted opera in Florence, Venice, Vienna, Berlin, Paris and Amsterdam.

Norrington founded his own period orchestra, the London Classical Players (LCP), in 1978 and with them extended the concept of 'period performance' – orchestral size, seating and playing style – into the 19th century. With the LCP he made recordings of Haydn and Mozart (including *Die Zauberflöte*) and a prizewinning cycle of Beethoven symphonies, and reached into the core of the orchestral repertory of the Romantic era, through Berlioz,



Roger Norrington, 1985

Weber and Schumann to Wagner, Bruckner and Smetana. He invariably applied principles of scholarly research in seeking out original manuscripts and discovering therein hitherto unknown or ignored information about tempos (as in Bruckner's Third Symphony), phrasing and even octave transpositions of wind parts (in current editions of Smetana's *Má vlast*). More recently, in performances and recordings with the LPO, he has applied the same principles to embrace symphonies by Vaughan Williams. The LCP was disbanded in 1997 and its work taken over by the Orchestra of the Age of Enlightenment. Norrington has also been acclaimed for his performance and study weekends on London's South Bank devoted to the music of a single composer. He was musical director of the Bournemouth Sinfonietta from 1985 to 1989, and has conducted widely in Europe and the USA, where his posts have included musical director of the Orchestra of St Lukes and chief conductor of the Camerata Academica Salzburg and the symphony orchestra of the SDR. He was created a CBE in 1990 and knighted in 1997.

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GEORGE PRATT

Norris, Thomas (*b* Mere, Warminster, bap. 15 Aug 1741; *d* Himley Hall, Staffs., 3 Sept 1790). English tenor, organist and composer. He was a chorister at Salisbury Cathedral under John Stephens and received encouragement in his singing career from the philologist James Harris, MP, who lived in the close. He appeared as a solo soprano at Oxford in 1759 and at the Three Choirs Festivals of 1761 and 1762. On 9 October 1762 he made his début at Drury Lane singing in Act 2 of Steele's *The Conscious Lovers*. On 22 October he sang the soprano part of Daphnis in Harris's pasticcio afterpiece *The Spring*, which had previously been performed at Salisbury. The work was not a success and Norris gave up drama. Harris advised him to settle at Oxford, where on 19 October 1765 he matriculated at Magdalen College. On 12 November that year his exercise, an orchestral anthem *The Lord is King*, was performed for the BMus degree. On 16 December 1766 he was appointed organist at St John's College on the death of William Snow. In 1767, after the death of Henry Church, he was appointed lay clerk of Christ Church and on 5 November 1771 was admitted lay clerk of Magdalen College. In 1776 he succeeded Richard Church as organist of Christ Church. He held all four posts simultaneously. He was also a regular singer of songs and arias, predominantly by Handel, in weekly miscellaneous concerts held in the Music Room up to the year of his death. His only published orchestral work, his 6 Simphonies, op.1 (London, *c*1772), is dedicated to John, Earl of Sandwich, to whom he acknowledges 'many favours conferr'd upon the Author'.

Norris was a popular tenor and had regular engagements beyond Oxford. He performed at the Three Choirs Festivals from 1766 to 1788, the York Oratorios in 1769 and 1770, the February Oratorios at Drury Lane from 1770 to 1774 and in performances of *Messiah* at the Foundling Hospital in 1774 and 1775. He was a principal tenor at the Handel Commemorations in Westminster Abbey, 1784–7. His last appearance was at the Birmingham Festival in August 1790; he died ten days afterwards at Himley Hall, the seat of his patron Lord Dudley and Ward. 'Verses on the sudden Death of Mr Norris' by A. Seward of Lichfield, and an obituary notice, where he is mistakenly called Charles Norris, were printed in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of September 1790. A portrait of Thomas Norris, engraved by John Taylor, was published in 1777.

WORKS

6 Simphonies, 2 vn, 2 ob, 2 hn, va, b, op.1 (London, *c*1772)
8 Solo Songs, 1v, hpd (Oxford, ?1795)
Bacchus Jove's delightful boy, glee, 3vv; For Agathon in Fighting, glee, 4vv; Ye happy fields, glee, 4vv; O'er William's Tomb, glee, 4vv; Hallelujah, canon, 4vv; I said I will take heed, canon, 4vv: all in A Collection of Catches, Canons and Glees, ed. T. Warren, i–xxxii (London, 1763–94)
A Long Farewell, glee, 4vv; Lord let me know mine end, canon, 4vv: both in A Collection of Vocal Harmony, ed. T. Warren (London, *c*1775)
Double Chant in A, in The Cathedral Chant Book, ed. J. Marsh (London, *c*1805) and numerous 19th- and 20th-century anthologies
Anthems: Hear my Prayer, O God, *IRL-Dm*, *GB-Ob*, *Och*; Hear my Prayer, O Lord, ed. G.F. Jackman (London, 1862), also in Singer's Library of Concerted Music, ed. J. Hullah (London, *c*1862); I will alway give thanks, 1767, *Ob*; O how amiable, *WO*; The Lord is King, 1765, *Ob*
Ov. to Purcell's incidental music to The Tempest, ?1784, *Lbl*
Lost Anthems: In Jewry is God known; Rejoice in the Lord O ye Righteous; Sing unto God; Sing we Merrily; The Earth is the Lord's; Thou O God art Praised in Sion
Ov(s). perf. Oxford, 11 Nov and 6 Dec 1773, lost

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W. Shaw: *The Succession of Organists* (Oxford, 1991)

ROBERT J. BRUCE

Norris, William (*b* *c*1669; bur. Lincoln, 15 July 1702). English composer and cathedral singer. As a chorister of the Chapel Royal he sang at the coronation of James II in 1685. In 1686 he became a junior vicar at Lincoln Cathedral, where he was appointed Master of the Choristers in 1690.

Norris was one of several capable minor composers to grow up under John Blow's tutelage at the Chapel Royal. His St Cecilia's Day ode *Begin the noble song* is an extended work in which only the outermost sections are in the tonic (C major) or the tonic minor, intermediate movements being in A minor, F, D, and G minor. Norris's verse anthems, accompanied by organ alone, are tonally less adventurous although later examples consist of strongly differentiated contrasting sections; almost all survive in an incomplete partbook set (*GB-LI* 2–4, olim 311, 48–9), copied between 1686 and 1703. Several are found in partbooks from other cathedrals and in manuscript scores such as *GB-Lbl* Add.30932 and Add.31444/5, respectively in the hands of Daniel Henstridge and James Hawkins, and *Lbl* Harl.7340, part of Thomas Tudway's collection. The treble solo anthem *Blessed are those that are undefiled* was published without its brief chorus passages in Walsh's *Divine Harmony* (London, *c*1731) and, in a different version, in William Pearson's *The Second Book of the Divine Companion* (London, after 1722). Norris also wrote two 'chanting services' in which the full sections are set to a repeated Anglican chant.

WORKS

sources incomplete unless otherwise stated

SERVICES

Morning Service (TeD, Bs), S, A, SATB, org, *GB-EL*, *Lbl* (complete), *PB*

Evening Service (CanD, DeM), *LI*, *PB*, verse sections by James Hawkins

VERSE ANTHEMS

A Thanksgiving Anthem, *GB-LI*; Ascribe unto the Lord, *LI*; Behold how good and joyful, A, T, B, SATB, org, *Lbl* (complete), *LI*, *Ob* (complete); Behold now praise the Lord, *LI*; Blessed are those that are undefiled, S, SATB, org, *Ctc*, *DRc*, *EL*, *Lbl* (complete), *LI*, *PB*, The Second Book of the Divine Companion (London, after 1722), Divine Harmony: the 2d Collection (London, *c*1731); Deliver me O God, *LI*; God sheweth me his goodness, A, T, B, SATB, org, *Lbl* (complete), *LF*, *LI*; Hear, O thou shepherd, *LI*; In jury is God known, S, SATB, org, *Cjc*, *Ckc* (complete), *Ctc*, *DRc*, *EL* (complete), *Lbl* (complete), *LF*, *LI*, *Ob* (complete), *Och* (complete)

I said I will, *LI*; I will give thanks unto thee, O Lord, S, A, T, B, B, SATB, org, *Lbl* (complete), *LI*; Lord teach us to number our days, *LI*; Lord thou art become, *LI*; Lord who shall dwell, *LI*; My God, my God, look upon me, *LI*; My heart is fixed, *LI*; My heart rejoiceth in the Lord, S, A, T, B, SATB, org, *EL* (complete), *Lbl* (complete), *LI*; O praise God, *LI*, *PB*; O praise the Lord, *LI*; O sing unto the Lord, A, T, B, SATB, org, *Lbl* (complete); Praised be the Lord, *LI*; Sing, O daughter of Sion, A, T, B, SATB, org, *Lbl* (complete), *LI*; Thy righteousness, O God, *LI*

ODES

Begin the noble song, S, S, A, T, B, B, SATB, 2 tpt, 2 vn, b, org, *Ob* (complete)

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ROBERT THOMPSON

Norsk Musikforlag. Norwegian firm of music publishers. It was established in Oslo on 1 January 1909 through the merger of two existing firms, Carl Warmuth (founded *c*1843) and Brødrene Hals (1847), with Hals and the Danish publishers Wilhelm Hansen as owners. Hals sold its shares to Sigurd Kielland and Anders Backer-Grøndahl in 1929, and the latter took over Kielland's share in 1938. The present managing director is Leif Dramstad.

The merger of Warmuth and Hals led to the incorporation of several established Norwegian music publishers into Norsk Musikforlag, including Edvard Winther, Hermann Neupert, Lindorff & Co., A.M. Hanche, Johan D. Behrens and Petter Håkonsen. In 1925 the publisher Oluf By was acquired, and in 1975 Norsk Notestik with their predecessors J.A. Røsholm and Haakon Zapffe. Thus the greater part of the practical production of Norwegian music found itself under one roof.

In recent years Norsk Musikforlag has concentrated on educational and contemporary Norwegian music. Among composers whose work has been published by the firm are Pauline Hall, D.M. Johansen, Sverre Jordan, Valen, Hovland, Finn Mortensen, Nystedt and H.S. Saeverud. Since its establishment Norsk Musikforlag has maintained its position as the largest music publisher in Norway. The company also operates a large department for musical instruments.

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KARI MICHELSEN

Norsk Musikkforskerlag (Norwegian Musicological Society). Norwegian organization, founded in 1964 with the aim of promoting Norwegian musicological research, primarily through encouraging members to publish the results of their work in the society's yearbook, *Studia Musicologica Norvegica*. This publication contains articles in Norwegian, German and English. Members of the society participate in the Nordic Musicological Congress, normally held every four years in a different country, and some are involved in writing a new history of Norwegian music (to be published in five volumes, 1999–2003). Presidents of the society have been Olav Gurvin, Finn Benestad, Ola Kai Ledang, Nils Grinde, Gunnar Rugstad, Arvid O. Vollsnes, Owain Edwards, Idar Karevold and O.K. Sundberg.

OWAIN EDWARDS

North, Alex (*b* Chester, PA, 4 Dec 1910; *d* Los Angeles, 8 Sept 1991). American composer and conductor. After attending the Curtis Institute, where he studied the piano with George Boyle, he won a scholarship (1929) to the Juilliard School. He also studied on scholarship at the Moscow Conservatory (from 1933) and went on to serve as music director of the German Theatre Group and the Latvian State Theatre. He was the only American member of the Union of Soviet Composers, from which he received commissions for two choruses and a set of piano variations. In 1935 he returned to the USA and taught music for dance at Finch, Briarcliff, Sarah Lawrence and Bennington colleges. In New York he studied composition with Copland and Toch and composed ballet scores for Martha Graham, Hanya Holm and Agnes de Mille. In 1939 he went to Mexico as music director for the Anna Sokolow dance troupe, and while there he studied with Revueltas and conducted concerts at the National Palace of Fine Arts in Mexico City.

During World War II North served as a captain in the US Army; he organized therapeutic programmes for veterans and scored more than 80 documentaries for the Office of War Information. In 1946 his *Revue* for clarinet and orchestra was performed by Benny Goodman with the City Symphony of New York under Leonard Bernstein. He continued to compose for the theatre, particularly ballet scores, and after the success of his music for Elia Kazan's production of Arthur Miller's *Death of a Salesman*, Kazan invited him to write for the film version of Tennessee Williams's *A Streetcar Named Desire*. This, the first jazz-based symphonic score to be written for a film, brought North wide acclaim, and in the 1950s he became a leading Hollywood composer.

North made no stylistic distinction between his film music and his works in other genres; his entire output is

grounded in the traditions of symphonic and chamber music. Fundamentally dramatic in conception, though often not emotionally demonstrative, his works include moments of light and dark, violent dissonance and gentle lyricism or resignation. Although he used large symphonic forces to excellent effect (notably in the film scores for *Spartacus* and *Cleopatra*), he often wrote for smaller ensembles (as in *The Bachelor Party* and *Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?*). He was adept at integrating jazz elements (as in *A Streetcar Named Desire*, *The Long, Hot Summer* and *The Rose Tattoo*) and, like Bernard Herrmann, preferred to exploit timbre, affect and understated stylistic references, rather than referential themes and leitmotivic networks.

WORKS
(selective list)
for complete list see GroveA

FILM SCORES
** – documentaries*

*China Strikes Back, 1936; *Heart of Spain, 1937; *People of the Cumberland, 1937; *Mount Vernon, 1940; *A Better Tomorrow, 1944; *Library of Congress, 1945; *Venezuela, 1945; *City Pastorale, 1946; *Recreation, 1946; *Rural Nurse, 1946; *Coney Island USA, 1950; A Streetcar Named Desire, 1951; Death of a Salesman, 1951; The 13th Letter, 1951; Les misérables, 1952; Pony Soldier, 1952; Viva Zapata!, 1952; *The American Road, 1953; *Decision for Chemistry, 1953; The Member of the Wedding, 1953

Desirée, 1954; Go, Man, Go!, 1954; Man with the Gun, 1955; The Racers, 1955; The Rose Tattoo, 1955; Unchained, 1955; The Bad Seed, 1956; I'll Cry Tomorrow, 1956; The King and Four Queens, 1956; The Rainmaker, 1956; The Bachelor Party, 1957; Hot Spell, 1958; The Long, Hot Summer, 1958; South Seas Adventure, 1958; Stage Struck, 1958; The Sound and the Fury, 1959; The Wonderful Country, 1959; Spartacus, 1960; The Children's Hour, 1961; The Misfits, 1961; Sanctuary, 1961

All Fall Down, 1962; Cleopatra, 1963; The Outrage, 1964; The Agony and the Ecstasy, 1965; Cheyenne Autumn, 1965; Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?, 1966; 2001: a Space Odyssey, 1967 [not used]; The Devil's Brigade, 1968; The Shoes of the Fisherman, 1968; A Dream of Kings, 1969; Hard Contract, 1969; Willard, 1971; Pocket Money, 1972; The Rebel Jesus, 1972; Once Upon a Scoundrel, 1973; Lost in the Stars, 1974 [adaptation of work by Weill, 1949]; Shanks, 1974; Bite the Bullet, 1975; Journey into Fear, 1975; The Passover Plot, 1976; Somebody Killed her Husband, 1978; Carny, 1980; Wise Blood, 1980; Dragonslayer, 1981 [after 2001: a Space Odyssey]; Under the Volcano, 1984; Prizzi's Honor, 1985; The Dead, 1987; Good Morning, Vietnam, 1987; The Penitent, 1988; The Last Butterfly, 1991; many other documentaries

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Inst: Quest, chbr orch, 1938; Suite, fl, cl, bn, 1938; Rhapsody, pf, orch, 1939; Suite, str qt, 1939; Trio, ww, 1939; Wind Qnt, 1942; Window Cleaner, cl, 2 pf, 1945; Revue, cl, orch, 1946; Sym. no.1, 1947; Dance Preludes, pf, 1948; Holiday Set, orch, 1948; A Streetcar Named Desire, suite, orch, 1951 [based on film score]; Death of a Salesman, suite, orch, 1951 [based on film score]; Viva Zapata!, suite, orch, 1952 [based on film score]; Rhapsody, tpt, pf, orch, 1956 [for film Four Girls in Town]; Sym. no.2, 1968 [based on TV score Africa]

Vocal: Negro Mother (cant., L. Hughes), A, chorus, orch, 1940; Ballad of Valley Forge (A. Kreymborg), Bar, chorus, orch, 1941; Rhapsody, USA (A. Hayes), S, A, T, B, chorus, orch, 1942; Morning Star (cant., M. Lampell), chorus, orch, 1946; many songs

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CLIFFORD McCARTY/DAVID NEUMEYER

North, Francis, 1st Baron Guilford (*b* Kirtling, Cambs., bap. 2 Nov 1637; *d* Wroxton, Oxon., 5 Sept 1685). English lawyer, amateur musician and philosopher, elder brother of ROGER NORTH. He was educated at King Edward VI Free Grammar School, Bury St Edmunds, and St John's College, Cambridge (1653), where he learnt to play the viol, possibly with John Lilly, whom he later patronized in London. Admitted to the Middle Temple (1655) and called to the bar (1661), he was King's Counsel (1668), Solicitor General and Knight (1671), Attorney General (1673), Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas (1675) and Lord Keeper of the Great Seal (1682). Roger North and John Evelyn both characterized him as skilful in languages, music, painting and the 'new' (i.e. experimental) philosophy. As well as being a competent viol player, he enjoyed singing, and apparently transcribed and studied a number of Italian songs. He also composed some music, some of which survives (consort music, a 3, *GB-Ob*, b pt only; other consort music, Thomas North's private collection, Rougham, Norfolk). He appears to have known Purcell, with whom he made music on at least one occasion.

During his lifetime the science of musical acoustics emerged gradually from the coincidence theory, which provided the first physical explanation of consonance and dissonance based on the coincidence of motion of vibrating strings. In his version of this theory, North was concerned with the coincidence of motion (pulses) in the air and as perceived by the mind. He devised an 'ocular scheme' to represent the dependence of pitch on frequency. He also provided hints for a new theory of harmony, afterwards developed by Roger North, showing that individual chords function in relation to a chord root or 'fundamental' and within a tonality or 'key'. These contributions are preserved in his *A Philosophical Essay of Musick Directed to a Friend* (London, 1677; pubd anon.), a short tract printed under the auspices of the Royal Society. The tract was advertised in the society's *Philosophical Transactions* by its president, William, Viscount Brouncker, who probably was the 'so great a Philosopher and Musician' and 'Friend' to whom the tract was addressed (the two men adopted similar divisions of the monochord).

Prior to publication, North, through his father, sent a query 'about motion' to Robert Hooke, who replied directly to North on 12 and 26 November 1676. Hooke was already working on an experimental device for creating a frequency, and he used this device to provide an aural demonstration of North's 'ocular scheme'. After publication and in compliance with a request from North's brother, John, Isaac Newton gave his opinion of the tract in a letter dated 21 April 1677. Newton identified the central problem of the coincidence theory: that it does not consider phase relations of the sounding 'waves'. He also dissented from North's assertions that sound is produced in 'the Torricellian vacuum' and that the medium of sound is not the gross particles of air but particles of a middle nature between those of the air and the ether. The wider context of these assertions, which have implications

for musical acoustics, is to be sought in the controversies that began in the 1600s over interpretations of barometric and hydrostatic phenomena.

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MARY CHAN, JAMIE C. KASSLER

North, Nigel (*b* London, 5 June 1954). English lutenist and guitarist. He attended the GSM from 1964 to 1970 and from 1974 to 1975, and the RCM from 1971 to 1974. He studied the classical guitar with John Williams and Carlos Bonell, the viol with Francis Baines and the lute with Michael Schäffer in Germany (1976). Since 1973 he has performed with many leading ensembles, including the Early Music Consort of London, the Academy of Ancient Music and the English Concert. His distinguished solo career began with a Bach recital at the Wigmore Hall in 1977, and Bach's music has remained central to his repertory; a series of solo Bach recordings made in the 1990s has been particularly influential. North is equally well known as an accompanist and continuo player, and his book *Continuo Playing on the Lute, Archlute and Theorbo: a Comprehensive Guide for Performers* (London, 1987) is considered indispensable. He was a professor of lute at the GSM and has published editions of lute music by Byrd and Ferrabosco.

STEPHEN HAYNES

North, Roger (*b* Tostock, Suffolk, 1651; *d* Rougham, Norfolk, March 1734). English lawyer, writer, philosopher, historian of music and amateur musician, younger brother of FRANCIS NORTH.

1. Life. 2. Philosophy.

1. LIFE. He was the youngest child of Dudley, 4th Lord North, and Anne (*née* Montagu), and lived for some years in his grandfather's house at Kirtling, Cambridgeshire. Falling ill to infection with gastric and encephalitic symptoms (*c*1657), he was educated privately and then at the free schools of Bury St Edmunds and Thetford. He entered Jesus College, Cambridge (30 October 1667), where he was tutored by his brother John. A second illness terminated his university studies. He was admitted to the Middle Temple, London, on 21 April 1669, and on 29 May 1674 he was called to the bar. His public appointments included Steward to the See of Canterbury (1679), King's Counsel (1682), the Duke of York's Solicitor General (1684) and the Queen's Solicitor General (1685) and Attorney General (1686). On 16 January 1676 a fire broke out in the Middle Temple, after which North resided with his brother Francis. The fire led to an acquaintance with Christopher Wren, who was invited to design the new cloisters (30 November 1680); the design of the Great Gateway (which still gives access to the Temple from Fleet Street), long thought to be Wren's, was by North himself. After the Revolution of 1688, when North was forced to resign from public life, he moved to a house in Covent Garden leased from the estate of Peter Lely. Here he sorted through the papers of his brother Francis, wrote notes and animadversions on some of them, and commenced his 'scribbling' on music and other subjects. In 1692, after the funeral of his brother Dudley, he began remodelling his estate in Rougham, Norfolk (purchased 1690). On 26 May 1696 he married Mary, daughter of Sir Robert Gayer, and of their seven surviving children, the second son, Montagu, became custodian of North's manuscripts and his first editor. From these manuscripts we learn that music was 'the exercise' of North's youth; that he was 'imprest by the continuall use of it, in the family of my education'; and that it 'hath ever since bin my companion, and delight in all my solitudes as well as societys'. Therefore, 'I may be alowed to have no small esteem for it; as a man of honour loves his freind as such tho not esteemed by others' (*Cursory Notes of Musicke*, p.1 of edn).

Some of North's activities as a music lover are preserved in his literary masterpiece, *Notes of Me* (*c*1698). Written after the loss of his brothers as well as his public appointments, this text includes a poignant assay of whether suicide is lawful, thus giving a clue to North's reasons for 'idiography' (his term, *General Preface*, p.78 of edn). His self-portrait is modelled in part on the *Essayes* of Michel de Montaigne (1533–92), whose irony had darkened North's father's melancholy. North's tone is not consistently dark, however; rather, his 'drye mock' is that of one who, standing aside from events, writes with moderation occasionally embellished by exaggeration, as he tries to cast a beam of light on his own life, for example: 'I became as I thought a master of composition, which was a great pleasure; and I essayed some compositions of three parts, which I cannot commend' (*Notes of Me*).

North drew his data from events within his personal knowledge and experience, but his judgement of these events illuminates contemporary musical life generally, including music in entertainment, in education, in performance and in technology. From North's grandfather's time, music had served as a harmonizing influence within country households. As his father wrote: 'Of pastimes within dores Musick may challenge [religion as] the next place to Study, and it is more sociable, for it entertains many at the same time' (*GB-Lbl* Add.32523, f.6*v*). The North household, therefore, included one or more resident music masters, who, in North's youth, were John Lilly (theorbo), Henry and George Loosemore (organ) and John Jenkins (viol). With the last, North also studied the principles of music and composition. Since teacher and pupil became close friends, Jenkins probably encouraged North's interest in educational methods; for example, that beginners in music 'should be trained as in manufacture trades, first taught to provide the material and then to put it together, and lastly to finish it' (*Notes of Me*). In this comparison North emphasized productivity; however new methods were coming into vogue that emphasized

receptivity: the beginner was to be cultivated like a plant, the principles of his or her education being derived from materials placed before his or her senses. Still other social changes were underway, as resident music teachers were replaced by itinerant ones; and as private consorts of viols were becoming less fashionable than public concerts with violins. In 1709 North's own children had music lessons with a 'rare harpsi[c]ordiere' (*Lbl* Add.32501, f.60), no doubt François de Prendcourt, whose treatise North copied and subsequently put under critical scrutiny. Between about 1674 and 1685 North himself performed in a weekly music meeting of gentlemen amateurs and professionals that included the violinist Nicola Matteis (i), whose virtuosic playing so impressed North that he was prompted to examine and put to critical test the new bowing techniques and ornamentation by comparison with older practices. The word 'vibrato' had yet to be coined; and North provided an early description, representing the practice as a wavy line, because he was unable to find the appropriate nomenclature (*Notes of Me*).

These and other changes made North keenly aware of the need for printed scores. To this end, he sought to reduce the expense of copperplate engraving (introduced *c*1683) by urging composers to learn reverse writing and, then, to buy and etch copperplates themselves. As a demonstration, North engraved in score 'a sonata or two' and gave the plate to the music publisher, John Carr, 'but found none to follow the industry of my example' (*Notes of Me*, p.89 of Jessop edn). This took place when North was treasurer of the Middle Temple (*c*1682–4), in which capacity he invited the organ builders Bernard Smith and Renatus Harris to submit designs for a new organ for the Temple Church. The successful tenderer, Smith, afterwards built North's organ (*Lbl* Add.32531, f.1), which was set up in the long gallery at Rougham when North was completing his first systematic treatise on music (*Cursory Notes of Musicke*, p.1 of edn).

2. Philosophy. North's writings on music fall within the Augustan tradition of a wit who exercises judgement in commenting on the contemporary scene. This tradition was the seedbed for the emergence of historiography generally, including the music historiography that he was the first to produce during the closing years of his life. But North also turned his thoughts 'with more than ordinary intentness to search of truth in the way of phisicks' (*Cursory Notes of Musicke*, p.1 of edn). Hence, his critical 'examen' includes both the science and the art of music. In these two domains North was innovative in at least four ways: before Vaucanson (1738), he understood how certain wind instruments produce sound; before Diderot (1748), he elaborated a physics of beauty that stressed activity, not the matter, in things as having ontological significance; before Rameau (1722), he developed a theory of harmony as individual chords that function in relation to a chord root and within a key; and before Hawkins (1776) and Burney (1776–89), he rejected the traditional explanation that music was a gift of the gods or God or that it was invented by Jubal or Tubalcain, outlining instead a naturalistic theory of the origin of music and arguing that historical change comes chiefly through new musical ideas and new musical technology.

North's chief innovation, however, was epistemological, since before Helmholtz (1863–77) he sought the origin of music in empirical consciousness by arguing that such knowledge grows out of simple sense perception by way of repetition (association) and subconscious inference, and by stressing that an important part of sensory knowledge derives from movement, since 'actions of the body are, as I may say, mentally performed, [and] the imagination will follow use' (*Lbl* Add.32531, f.17). To develop this type of epistemology, North treated music as a form of communication involving the motion of sound generators, the motion of the medium of sound and the motion within the perceiver. To show how music conveys emotion and meaning, he analysed it in terms of disorder, which provides a measure of uncertainty (*Cursory Notes of Musicke*). As a piece of music unfolds, the listener acquires certain expectations from memories of previous cultural knowledge. When those expectations are momentarily frustrated, such as in a delayed cadence or extended embellishment, the attentive listener becomes more engaged and consequently more receptive to an emotional or meaningful response. This type of theory is what we now call 'information theory', since it stresses the importance of uncertainty in musical communication and the probabilistic nature of musical style.

In about 1698 North's starting-point was a coincidence theory, in which pitch is related to rates of vibration (frequencies) of the source of sound. When pulses of air produced by different pitches coincided frequently in agreement, concord occurred and was heard; but when pulses coincided infrequently or broke in on one another, the result was discord. The direct cause of concord was thus related to a physical phenomenon that provided a natural, or rational, connection between pulses and harmony. But if data is communicated as a composition of pulses, how is musical knowledge possible? To answer this question, North conceived the mind as a computer that, in sensation, processes pulses subconsciously by counting. If pulses strike us faster than we can count, the mind collects them into larger units or pitches. But pitches do not merely exist at the moment they are heard, they also endure in memory and relate to what came before and what follows after. Memory, therefore, accepts or rejects a pitch as harmonically functional by a process of comparison. Once stocked with data from sensation and memory, imagination produces new ideas by means of a rudimentary probabilistic mechanics of combinations and permutations, whereby pitches change their position and arrangement, as, for example, in chord inversions.

The origin of musical knowledge, and the condition of its possibility, is the intuition of time that underlies the act of counting. But musical knowledge itself depends, for art, on acquired memories and, for science, on 'a stock of collected truths'. Thus, harmony is not in the world of eternal ideas, as the Platonists supposed, but in 'a musicall ear' that has acquired ideas of consonance, 'as if such were so many distinct essences' (*Lbl* Add.32549, f.94*v*). Take musical memory away, and nothing is left but pulses. North thus rejected the Platonic notion of harmony or beauty as a 'sort of divine stamp' on our nature, as well as the Cartesian spatial model of memory as an instantaneous impression on wax. Instead, he relied on a temporal model of memory as a vibrating string, when he wrote (*Lbl* Add.32537, f.93):

> any one ... may trye, and by a world of instances, find that after he hath heard one note, some that follow, will not agree so well as others, but after the former note ceaseth the memory of it makes as exquisite discord or concord as if the two sounded together. Which would make one think that memory is a sort of vibration, as the sound of a string after it is toucht, continues, so the sence being toucht continues to

vibrate as the string; and thereby memory of a former, and of a present sound, make harmony or discord, by actual agreements or disagreements as divers sounds together.

By conceiving memory as temporal and mind as computational, North revealed his indebtedness to Hobbes, even though he described Descartes as 'the most transcendent genius' (*Lbl* Add.34546, f.213*v*). But North also asserted: 'I am not a Cartesian in the sense of the academicks so as blindly to idolize him, but am glad as they are (but with more civility) to use him' (*Lbl* Add.34546, f.221*v*). As this statement indicates and as his writings demonstrate, North was a philosophical descendant of Cicero and eclecticism, even though the convictions that guided his eclectic procedure led him to adopt positions attributable either to Descartes or to Hobbes (or to their followers).

Some of these positions may be traced in North's thinking about musical thinking that began about 1698 and continued to about 1733, when he produced some 2000 pages of sketches for, as well as three different versions of, his theory of musical cognition. These pages are not mere rewritings; rather, they reflect his belief that knowledge acquisition in science and art is dynamic: knowledge of natural truth grows by hypothesis and experiment, whereas knowledge of beauty grows by convention and use. But science and art are not measured by 'one man's caprice ... but [by] the agreement of many, and the best' (*Lbl* Add.32531, f.47), so that the criterion of truth and beauty is intersubjectivity. Science and art are thus integral to North's theory, the importance of which has been obscured by scholarly practices that fragment his thought, ignore his intentions or value historiography above other types of writing. But when North chose knowledge of natural truths for his special diversion and study, he was confident that such knowledge (*Lbl* Add.32546, ff.194–194*v*):

is what [human] nature leads directly to, and advanceth in us by continuall degrees more or less from the first opening our eys in the world, to the finall closing them againe. And hath so little relation to fraud or profit as scarce corruptible that way, but is courted for its owne sake purely ... [and] in its cours, as auxiliary, takes in a reasonable skill in all other arts whatsoever, so that a profest naturalist may not without blushing, be absolutely ignorant of any thing.

This was his apology 'for the bold a[d]ventures' to be met with in his papers.

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those devoted solely to music; all MSS, in GB-Lbl unless otherwise stated; for further details see Hine, Chan and Kassler (1986), Chan, Kassler and Hine (1988) and Chan and Kassler (1989); biographical writings listed in the bibliography also contain references to music

EARLY PERIOD (c1698–c1707)

preparatory writings

Some Notes upon an Essay of Musick [by F. North] *printed, 1677, by way of comment, and Amendment* (Add.32531), ff.42–52*v*
Vossius de viribus Rithmi (Add.32531), ff.53–8*v*
Memorandums as to the phisicall solution of this theory [of Francis Roberts] (Add.32549), ff.34*v*–5
Some memorandums, concerning Musick (Add.32532), ff.1–26*v*

completed theory

Cursory Notes of Musicke (Rougham, Norfolk); ed. M. Chan and J.C. Kassler (Kensington, NSW, 1986)

MIDDLE PERIOD (c1708–c1720)

preparatory writings

Untitled on the theory of sound and music (Add.32537), ff.66–109*v*
Sound (Add.32537), ff.110–32*v*
Of Sounds (Add.32537), ff.133–48*v*
Frags., some titled, on the theory of sound and music (Add.32537), ff.149–241*v*

completed theory

Short easy, and plaine rules to learne in a few days the principles of musick, and chiefly what relates to the use of the espinette harpsicord or organ (Add.32531), ff.8–23*v* [F. de Prendcourt's tracts, with North's commentary]
The Theory of Sounds taking rise from the first principles of action that affect the sence of hearing, and giving phisicall solutions of tone, harmony and discord, shewing their anatomy, with the manner how most instruments of musick are made to yeild delicious, as well as triumphant sounds, with intent to leav no mistery in musick untoucht (Add.32534), ff.1–82*v*
An Essay of Musicall Ayre: Tending chiefly to shew the foundations of melody joyned with harmony, whereby may be discovered the native genius of good musick, and concluding with some notes concerning the excellent art of voluntary (Add.32536), ff.1–90

LATE PERIOD (c1721–c1730)

preparatory writings

Theory of Sounds shewing, the genesis, propagation, effects and augmentations of them reduced to a specifick inquiry into the cripticks of harmony and discord, with eikons annexed exposing them to occular inspection (1726, Add.32535), ff.1–73*v*
The Musicall Grammarian or a practick essay upon harmony, plain, and artificiall with notes of comparison between the elder and later musick, and somewhat historicall of both (Add.32533), ff.1–151*v*
Untitled frag. (Add.32537), ff.1–65*v*

completed theory

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JAMIE C. KASSLER

North American Indian music. *See* AMERINDIAN MUSIC and UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, §II, 4.

Northcott, Bayan (Peter) (*b* Harrow on the Hill, 24 April 1940). English music critic and composer. He read English at Oxford (BA 1962) and worked as an English teacher (1964–70). Musically self-taught up to this point, he studied composition with Alexander Goehr and Jonathan Harvey at the University of Southampton (BMus 1971) and then became a music critic for the *New Statesman* in 1973 and the *Sunday Telegraph* in 1976; in 1986 he was appointed chief music critic of *The Independent* and throughout his career he has contributed regularly to *Music and Musicians*, *Tempo* and the *Musical Times*. From 1987 to 1994 he was a member of the management council of the Holst Foundation, for which he now acts as a consultant and he was made a director of NMC Recordings in 1991.

During Northcott's early years as a critic, he concentrated on 20th-century music, especially postwar British and American music. In his later writings, he has broadened his interests to include the whole Western art music tradition. His numerous concise and germane articles on the music of contemporary composers have for three decades informed a wide audience of significant developments in modern music. He began composing in the late 1970s and many of his pieces comprise reworkings of classical procedures in his own terms; for example, his Sonata for solo oboe op.1 (1978) is a study in how a single line can variously imply its own accompaniment, after the example of Bach's solo sonatas. Other major works include *Hymn to Cybele* (1983), Sextet (1985), commissioned and performed by the Fires of London, Concerto for Horn and Ensemble (1996), and *Ave Regina Celorum/Alleluia* (1997), composed for the Gothic Voices and performed for the first time to critical acclaim at the Cheltenham Festival in 1997.

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ROSEMARY WILLIAMSON

Northern Ireland. For a discussion of the musical traditions of Northern Ireland, *see* BELFAST and IRELAND.

Northern Sinfonia Orchestra. Chamber orchestra founded in 1961 in NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE.

Norton, (George) Frederic(k) (*b* Salford, 11 Oct 1869; *d* Holford, Somerset, 15 Dec 1946). English composer and baritone. He was educated at Manchester Grammar School, studied singing with Francesco Paolo Tosti and, in 1894, joined the Carl Rosa Opera Company, taking such roles as Valentin (*Faust*) and Devilshoof (*The Bohemian Girl*). By the early 1900s he had progressed to reciting monologues on the variety stage and had also written some light songs and stage works. His childrens' play *Pinkie and the Fairies* made some mark at His Majesty's Theatre, London, in 1908, but nothing to presage the huge success of the musical comedy *Chu Chin Chow*, which opened at the same theatre on 31 August 1916 and ran for a record 2238 performances. The work was an oriental pantomime, in which Norton himself would occasionally take the role of Ali Baba. The show's escapism and wistfully nostalgic tunes, produced at the lowest point of World War I, exactly matched the needs of troops home on leave. Today, its music seems texturally basic, and even at the time was criticized for lacking inspiration; yet the Cobbler's Song went into the repertory of most bass-baritones, and was sung worldwide. No other Norton stage work found comparable success, but the gentle lilt and piquant chromaticisms of his barcarolle *La siesta*, in both orchestral and piano versions, achieved great popularity for a time.

WORKS
(selective list)

all theatres in London

Stage: The Water Maidens, 1901; Pinkie and the Fairies (fairy play, 3, W. Graham Robertson), His Majesty's, 19 Dec 1908; What Ho! Daphne, 1913; Chu Chin Chow (a musical tale of the East, 3, O. Asche, after: Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves), His Majesty's, 31 Aug 1916 [films: 1923, 1934]; Pamela (comedy with music, 3, Norton and A. Wimperis), Palace, 10 Dec 1917; Teddy Tail (children's play), 1920

Contribs. to: Orpheus in the Underground [after Offenbach] (op, 2, Norton, A. Noyes and H. Tree), His Majesty's, 19 Nov 1911; The Passing Show (revue), 1915; Flora (comedy with music, 3, H. Grattan, D. Burnaby and J. Heard), Prince of Wales, 12 March 1917

Instr: La siesta, barcarolle, pf (1925) [later orchd]; Funeral of a Spider (int)

Many songs, incl. Thyme and Lavender (W.G. Robertson), 6 songs

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GEOFFREY SELF

Norton, Lillian. *See* NORDICA, LILLIAN.

Norvo, Red [Norville, Kenneth] (*b* Beardstown, IL, 31 March 1908; *d* Santa Monica, CA, 6 April 1999). American jazz xylophonist and vibraphonist. After touring with a marimba band in the late 1920s he joined Paul Whiteman's orchestra. Mildred Bailey, the singer in the band, became his first wife, and from 1936 to 1939 they led a small orchestra in New York. Norvo joined Benny Goodman's sextet in 1944, at which time he changed permanently to the vibraphone. He was a soloist with Woody Herman's First Herd (1946), and he toured with Billie Holiday. During the 1950s he led trios with guitar and double bass, one of which was an outstanding cool-jazz ensemble with Tal Farlow and Charles Mingus (1950–51). In 1959 he toured there with Goodman. He toured there again in 1968 and 1969, but during the 1960s and 70s he worked mainly in Nevada and California. Several albums with famous swing musicians announced his return to the international arena, and in the 1980s he toured Europe regularly.

In the early 1930s, with Whiteman and later with his own ensembles, Norvo proved himself an exceptional improviser on the xylophone, a previously neglected instrument in jazz. He usually played the vibraphone without vibrato, almost like a xylophone. His improvising, strongly influenced by Teddy Wilson's piano style, suffered an occasional rhythmic stiffness at fast tempos, but was outstanding on such jazz ballads as *Ghost of a Chance* (1945, Baronet), recorded during a concert at Town Hall in New York. As a bandleader Norvo preferred delicate sounds. In the 1930s he led a drummerless sextet (trumpet, tenor saxophone, clarinet, xylophone, guitar, double bass) and an orchestra noted for its subtle approach to swing. In 1936–7 this orchestra specialized in the performance of highly praised arrangements by Eddie Sauter, in particular *Remember* (1937, Bruns.), which has an outstanding solo by Norvo. Norvo later brought his concern for clarity and restraint to the trio with Farlow and Mingus, as may be heard on *Move* (1950, Dis.). Among the leading musicians of the swing era, he was unusually successful in making a transition to the bop style.

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Oral history material in *US-NEij*

BARRY KERNFELD

Norway (Nor. Norge). Country in Scandinavia. The kingdom of Norway came under Danish rule in 1380; the Norwegians seized independence and wrote a new constitution in 1814, but the Kiel treaty forged a union with Sweden in the same year. In 1905 Norway again became a sovereign state.

The oldest archaeological finds of musical objects are bronze *lurs* (long curved trumpets probably used in cult processions or for signalling) from 1500–500 BCE, found both at Revheim in the west and Brandbu in the east, and bone flutes. Wooden musical instruments were found in the excavation of Viking ships dating from around 850 CE. A lyra-shaped harp from Numedal and a sheep-bone fipple flute from Bergen survive from the 14th century. Wood carvings in stave churches of the Middle Ages depict the ancient Norse harp, apparently a kind of lyre, and a sculpture in Nidaros Cathedral (Trondheim) shows a fiddler with a string instrument, probably the old Norse *fidla*. The Edda, bard poems and the sagas mention the *lur* as a military instrument, and the *fidla*, *gigia*, harp, pipe and trumpet were the instruments of the *leikarar* (jongleurs).

I. Art music. II. Traditional music.

I. Art music

Christianity, introduced in the 10th century, brought Gregorian chant to Norway. The celebration of the life of King Olav (*d* 1030), the national saint, created a new liturgy and brought pilgrims and church music from central Europe. Olav's cathedral (begun 1075) in Nidaros (now Trondheim) was an important centre; the archbishopric of Nidaros, established in 1152/3, comprised Norway, Iceland, Greenland, the Faeroe Islands, the Orkneys and the Western Isles of Scotland. A manuscript of around 1230 from the Orkneys contains the Hymn to St Magnus, the earliest example of polyphonic music (two parts, mostly parallel 3rds) from Scandinavia; no evidence has been found of polyphony used in Norway itself during the Middle Ages. During the 12th century cathedral schools teaching Gregorian chant were established in Trondheim, Oslo, Bergen and Stavanger. The *Missale nidrosiense* (Copenhagen, 1519) and the *Brevarium nidrosiense* (Paris, 1519) suggest that the Norwegian liturgy was fully elaborated by the end of the 15th century. With the arrival of the Reformation in Norway (1537), much diminishing the importance of Nidaros, and with the king, court and capital far away in Copenhagen, Norway lacked a major centre of cultural activity. Nevertheless some cities thrived; as fish, pelts and timber were exported from medieval times and mining was established in the 16th and 17th centuries, communications improved with central Europe, the Netherlands and England. The larger cities employed organists from the 14th century and municipal musicians by around 1600. The latter worked in large districts and could earn considerable income by sub-contracting their responsibilities. The king tended to bestow these privileges on his own musicians in Copenhagen, who then brought Danish, German and Dutch musical traditions to Norwegian cities. The Danish-Norwegian kings themselves visited

Norway infrequently; their officials there were mostly Danish, though some Norwegians were educated in Denmark and came back as civil servants or clergy. Few Norwegian composers are known from this period; Caspar Ecchienus (*fl* late 16th century) and Johann Nesenus (*d* 1604, active in Göttingen) are among the earliest Norwegian composers of polyphonic music known by name. Most public musical events took place in churches and used music by foreign composers.

During the 18th century various private societies were formed for entertainment, including theatre and music. Members performed themselves, sometimes with visiting musicians. The oldest such society still in existence is the Musikselskab Harmonien in Bergen, its orchestra (now the Bergen PO) established in 1765. J.D. Berlin, whose family were active in Trondheim as performers and teachers, wrote the first Danish-Norwegian music textbook, *Musikalske elementer* (Trondheim, 1744).

The brief independence of 1814 encouraged the movement for a national Norwegian culture. The local traditions of the inhabitants of the mountains and valleys, including their music, became the subject of intense interest for the upper classes. Depictions of national costumes were popular, poetry and stories were written down, songs transcribed and traditional fiddlers invited to the capital. Some foreign composers, among them G.J. Vogler, began to quote or imitate traditional Norwegian music in their works; Waldemar Thrane was the first Norwegian to do this, in his Singspiel *Fjeldeventyret* ('Mountain Adventure'), which was also the first Norwegian opera. Enthusiastically received, it had its première in 1825 in Christiania (now Oslo), and was given in Bergen and Trondheim soon afterwards. One of the most visible champions, in Norway and abroad, for Norwegian culture was the virtuoso violinist and composer OLE BULL. He used traditional music in his compositions and improvisations, gave concerts together with musicians playing the Hardanger fiddle and dancers in national costume, and established in Bergen the Nationale Scene (1850), the first theatre to use Norwegian rather than Danish as its main language.

During the first half of the 19th century there was no academy of music or conservatory in Norway; the only music education available to the general public was undertaken by the bands of the military services. Otherwise, young musicians studied abroad, some in Paris – among them Thomas Tellefsen, a pupil and friend of Chopin – and some at the Leipzig conservatory (established 1843), notably Halfdan Kjerulf, Edvard Grieg and Johan Svendsen, all of whom later developed a strongly national Norwegian idiom in their compositions. From the 1840s there was a steady increase in the number of professional musicians and musical organizations, and a great movement in the founding of male choirs, beginning among students and spreading to artisans, clerks and labourers. Every notable Norwegian composer of the period wrote for male choir. Later in the century mixed choirs also flourished and there were large choral festivals; nationalist ideology permeated the choral movement and its music, adding force to the country's slow struggle towards freedom.

Beginning in 1841 the musician and scholar L.M. Lindeman published a number of books of piano or vocal arrangements of traditional Norwegian tunes he had collected. These became a major source for composers. Kjerulf, Grieg and Svendsen arranged and quoted the melodies and dances in their works; they also developed their own idiomatic uses of the music's characteristic tonal, melodic and rhythmic features, and the stylistic traits of the resulting compositions came in turn to be regarded as typically Norwegian. Grieg was inspired by the nationalist enthusiasm of Ole Bull and of the young composer Rikard Nordraak (who composed the Norwegian national anthem, 'Ja, vi elsker dette landet'). Grieg's Norwegian 'colour' appealed not only to Norwegian audiences but to those abroad, helped by the Romantic notion of his music stemming from the exotic and unspoilt country on the border of Europe. Towards the century's end the composer Johan Peter Selmer was noted for making his own use of the Norwegian idiom. Music in Norway was also responding to other influences. Agathe Grøndahl (also a well-known pianist) wrote songs and piano music reminiscent of an earlier Romantic style. Christian Sinding's chamber music and symphonic works, and Gerhard Schjelderup's operas, earned their reputations abroad. By the end of the century improvements in church music were evident, helped by Lindeman's establishment in 1883 of an organ school in Christiania which in 1894 became a fully-fledged conservatory.

Around the time of World War I, while a number of older composers such as Johan Halvorsen were continuing in a Romantic tradition, the younger generation returned from Berlin and Paris with ideas on different kinds of modernism. Some wished to keep contact with the national musical idiom but without slavishly following Grieg's example. This tension between the modern and the national resulted in some interesting music between the wars. Among the leading radicals were Fartein Valen, a lyrical atonalist, and Pauline Hall, who began as a kind of Impressionist; neither ever wrote music that could be called characteristically Norwegian, whereas Ludvig Irgens-Jensen used traditional and modal idioms. David Monrad Johansen, Harald Saeverud, Geirr Tveitt and Klaus Egge also included traditional elements in their works; Eivind Groven collected traditional melodies, mostly Hardanger fiddle tunes, and integrated them into his compositions.

Between the world wars musical life in Norway changed rapidly. Music became part of the curriculum in all schools and a score of school bands and state and municipal orchestras were organized. Recorded music and radio spread the influence of jazz and popular music of Anglo-American origin, partly at the expense of German waltzes and operetta, but also at that of 'classical' concert music. Young composers after World War II rejected Romantic music, and inasmuch as the Nazis had made sinister use of elements of traditional Norwegian culture, 'national' music was not in vogue. Composers went to Paris or Darmstadt to study. Various types of neo-classicism were dominant, and a few composers tried 12-note techniques. From around 1960 influences also came from eastern Europe, particularly Poland. The resulting pluralism persisted through the rest of the century. In the 1950s a revitalization of church music began. Composers central to this were Knut Nystedt and Egil Hovland. Both were also noted for their secular music, and together with the radical Finn Mortensen and the more moderate Johan Kvandal they opened the way for modernist tendencies coming from the rest of Europe and the USA. The Norsk Jazzforbund was founded in

Oslo in 1953. Maj and Gunnar Sønstevold were the leading composers of film music, the latter also a champion of electric instruments and electronic music. Arne Nordheim won acclaim for his multimedia work and music for television and the stage. Edvard Fliflet Braein and Antonio Bibalo were among the most prominent composers of theatre music, both enjoying success abroad.

Around 1970 some modernist composers such as Kåre Kolberg and Alfred Janson embarked on a 'new simplicity', joined by younger composers including Ragnar Søderlind. The teachings of Finn Mortensen brought out different styles in Magne Hegdahl, Olav Anton Thommesen and Lasse Thoresen. Among the younger generation, Håkon Berge (*b* 1954), Cecilie Ore (*b* 1954), Rolf Wallin (*b* 1957), Nils Henrik Asheim (*b* 1960), Asbjørn Schaathun (*b* 1961) and Gisle Kverndokk (*b* 1967) have won recognition abroad.

From the early 1970s the government pursued an active policy on music. A new pedagogical structure was set up, comprising every age from pre-school to adult. Most communities have their own music schools, and each region its conservatory and teachers' college that includes music education. The State Academy of Music was established in 1973. Music education and research at university level have broadened, and music libraries and collections (including those of traditional music) improved. The national government funds the symphony orchestras of Oslo and Bergen and the National Opera (established 1959, based in Oslo), and joins the county governments in supporting a further five orchestras, a few contemporary music ensembles and a score of festivals. Some smaller groups and chamber orchestras are funded by the Norwegian Cultural Council. NorConcert (founded in 1967 as Rikskonsertene) is a state agency responsible for producing and supporting concerts and other musical events all over the country, giving priority to music for young people and producing teaching materials in coordination with concerts. The Norwegian Music Information Centre documents and distributes Norwegian music, including scores and recordings.

See also BERGEN; OSLO; and TRONDHEIM.

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II. Traditional music

Through the centuries economic and political circumstance have fostered close connections and interdependence between Norwegians, the peoples of neighbouring Scandinavia and other European countries adjoining the North Sea. It is no surprise therefore that Norwegian culture in general, and folk music traditions in particular, give evidence of comprehensive cultural connections and integration with other nations of the area. Nevertheless, in some respects Norwegian folk music displays striking uniqueness in rhythm, tonality and structure, the result of diverse local processes of fusion of new musical ideas,

instruments and techniques with older, indigenous musical idioms. This is particularly true for fiddle music identified with traditional courting and athletic dances which, in some areas, survived the influence of the dominant waltz and polka genres of the 18th and 19th centuries. Early vocal music genres and performing styles which have survived over time sufficiently to illuminate important historical connections and developments, have since the 1970s been the object of growing interest and revival.

1. Sources, archives and anthologies. 2. Vocal music. 3. Instruments and instrumental music.

1. SOURCES, ARCHIVES AND ANTHOLOGIES. Apart from some scattered material remnants, early sources are practically non-existent. Little folk music was collected before L.M. Lindeman, encouraged by the national romantic movement, began comprehensive work in 1848. Although he collected primarily with practical uses in mind and published much music in arranged forms, his fieldwork throughout several decades was of a remarkably high standard for his time, and his manuscripts (around 1500 items) remain an important folk music source. Other collections of the epoch were limited to particular local traditions such as that of O.T. Olsen for the northern area and K.D. Stavset for the north-western part of the country. A second wave of collecting began about 1900; O. Sande, Catharinus Elling and Erik Eggen continued to concentrate on vocal music, as Lindeman had done, while O.M. Sandvik also gave attention to the violin music of the eastern valleys. At about the same time several competent Hardanger fiddle players such as Arne Bjørndal, Truls Ørpen and Eivind Groven began collecting and transcribing their own intricate music. Nearly all the important folk music manuscripts are in the University of Oslo library.

The few recordings made before 1945 include a series of gramophone records, principally of Hardanger fiddle music, produced over several decades from 1900, and a few hundred wax cylinders of vocal and fiddle music, made between 1912 and the 1930s by R. Berge, K. Lieström, Sandvik and C. Leden. With the introduction of the tape recorder, collecting was intensified and sound archives were established, first by the Norwegian Broadcasting Corporation (the NRK), then by the Norsk Folkemusikkinstitutt (now the Norsk Folkemusikksamling, University of Oslo, with affiliated archives in Trondheim and Bergen). At Tromsø Museum there is an archive of folk music from northern Norway, including the Lappish districts. Altogether sound archives contain about 750,000 recorded items. In addition a substantial number of recordings are stored in various local archives. A representative collection of ten CD recordings (329 items), based on the NRK archive, is available on Grappa (GRCD 4061–70). Also available is a substantial and increasing number of cassette and CD recordings of authentic folk music by contemporary performers.

Transcriptions of music for the Hardanger fiddle (covering western Norway and adjoining mountain valleys to the east and south) is published in Gurvin and others (1958–81), altogether seven volumes containing around 2000 dance tunes (*slåttar/-er*: song; *slått*: sing). The anthology provides an extensive musical survey of a continuing instrumental tradition in different tuning and metre (6/8, 2/4, 3/4). The edition includes previously published tunes. Transcriptions of instrumental pieces for ordinary violin from the eastern valleys and further north are published in Sandvik and Nyhus. An anthology of four volumes containing about 1900 meticulous transcriptions of dance tunes in duple and triple metre is published by Sevåg and Saeta (1992–7). The volumes also contain general information about local traditions and aspects of style and performance. Sandvik's collection (1960–64) contains religious folksongs based on Danish-Norwegian hymn writers of the 17th and 18th centuries. In a thorough study Gaukstad presents the folksong repertory collected from the district of Valdres, arranging the material according to literary genres and further grouping it into series of musical variants. In his commentary on the 440 musical items he traced musical parallels in other parts of Norway and elsewhere. An increasing number of monographs on the history of local traditions and biographies of outstanding performers (e.g. Buen; E. and J. Kjøk) constitute valuable sources of information. A general introduction to Norwegian and Saami folk music, edited by Aksdal and Nyhus, contains a set of individual studies covering a wide range of topics.

2. VOCAL MUSIC. Compared with other parts of Europe, Norway does not seem to be particularly rich in early genres. Well-documented types are songs related to animal husbandry, lullabies, religious folktunes, medieval ballads and tunes to metrically standardized poetry known as *stev* (see below). Ledang (1967) discusses characteristics of vocal performance style.

The impressive cattle-calls known as *lokk* are seldom heard in their original context; however, a number have been recorded. In its complex form the *lokk* is a composite of shouting, singing and talking, in an order which may have been established by function. In 20th-century versions the performer, generally a woman, may first address the cows by shouting some introductory words in a deep chest voice, e.g. *koma då, båne, å stakkare* ('come now, child, poor thing'), call them by name, using wide vocal leaps, and lastly vocalize melismatically, often as high as *e‴*; the more archaic of these melismas contain many unusual intervals. These calls, whose prototype was possibly once common to cattle-raising people throughout Europe, are of interest both for their style of performance, a marvellous display of melismatic vocal technique and carrying power, and for the possibly apotropaic function of calling the cows by name. Evidence of considerable variation within the general style indicates that the genre also provided rich scope for individual creativity. Studies by Moberg (1955) and Johnson (1986) of the Swedish *lockrop*, a tradition basically similar to the Norwegian *lokk*, contribute significantly to our knowledge about the genre. The *lokk* and melodic calls known as *huving*, *laling*, *gukko* etc., used by herders to communicate over long distances, are genres particularly associated with transhumant pastoralism in the mountains. Lullabies and nursery rhymes, a vanishing tradition, were common all over the country. The simplest melodies are found among the lullabies of some south-western districts. Their range is normally limited to a 4th or 5th with a 3rd as nucleus, but they exhibit great melodic and rhythmic flexibility within the frame of a few common melodic formulae (Greni, 1960).

Religious folktunes form the largest category of vocal music collected in Norway; they reflect the strong religious movements that gripped the country in the 18th and 19th centuries, frequently to the exclusion and detriment of

other forms of musical expression. Differences in style probably indicate chronological periods rather than regional variation. Major or minor melodies from the late 19th century onwards are easily identifiable, although parts of the repertory show clear signs of a traditional re-creative process. Many tunes have retained their 'modal' character and are partly syllabic, partly melismatic. Lindeman made the earliest documentation of melismatic singing; his chief informant, A.E. Vang from Valdres, sang him 86 liturgical hymns to texts by the Danish Protestant hymnist Thomas Kingo. This repertory, and probably the song style as well, could be traced back three generations to a famous church singer of the same parish, almost to the time of Kingo himself. Many of the tunes are also based on melodies in Kingo's *Gradual*, but differ considerably from the model due to their melismatic character and 'free' rhythm. Characteristically duple and triple values are grouped in an irregularly changing pattern which approximates an additive metre, sometimes dependent on, sometimes independent of, the textual structure. Later collections have proved this song style to be a survival, but widely dispersed and vital enough to have been set to religious texts of 19th-century origin. Parallels have been found in the Faeroes, Denmark and Sweden, but the origin of the style has not been determined. Greni (1956) demonstrates how melodies of early Protestant hymnals are transformed by the folk tradition to constitute sets of clearly distinct local variants.

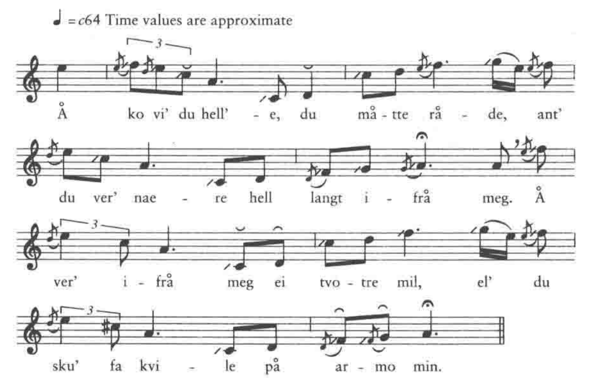
The strong position of religious folktunes until the mid-20th century was partly due to extra-liturgical religious practice in domestic settings. While many of the tunes appeared in early hymnals, there must also have been extensive local composition of melodies for favourite texts. For example, the religious poems of the great Danish hymnist H.A.B. Brorson, published without melodies and of little consequence to Danish religious folksong, evoked an immense response in rural districts of Norway, producing a wealth of settings (with more than 300 registered) many of which are related as variants.

The medieval ballad exists only as a survival. Pan-Scandinavian in character, it is singular in the class of truly epic folksongs. Most traditional ballad tunes were collected in the county of Telemark before 1875 and form an interesting contribution to rural musical heritage. Ballad texts have been a matter of importance to folklorists who conventionally distinguish chivalric and mythical poetry about giants and trolls. The musical material, however, has not so far been thoroughly studied by musicologists. The ballad, historically a dance song (from the Latin *ballare*, to dance), once widespread in western Europe, became extinct a long time before the rise of folk music research. Dance-songs (*folkeviseleik*) in present Norway are choreographed revivals inspired by the living Faeroese tradition and associated with the liberal youth movement.

The *stev* is a type of Norwegian popular poetry known in two forms, the *gammelstev* (old *stev*) and the *nystev* (new *stev*). The former is closely related to the ballad in metre and rhyme but occurs mostly in single stanzas, and has a more rigid four-line structure of 4 + 3 + 4 + 3 accented syllables, which is identical with the 13th-century Icelandic rhyme *ferskeytla*. The collected text material either provides words of wisdom and ethics or appeals to a sense of humour. However, irrespective of poetic content the tunes are all recognizable as variants of those associated with the famous visionary ballad *Draumkvedet*. The *gammelstev* was probably common until about 1800 when superseded by the *nystev* which flourished until the middle of the 20th century, particularly in the Setesdal district where it still thrives. Its textual form is four lines of two nearly identical couplets. Its melodic material includes a variety of pentatonic pitch patterns rarely found in other genres. The material also includes the true 'tumbling strain' as defined by Sachs (*The Wellsprings of Music*, 1962) and melodies based on chains of 3rds. The range varies from a 4th to a 12th (ex.1). The *stev* songs are performed in a seemingly parlando-rubato style with considerable scope for individual variation, but closer scrutiny reveals an asymmetrical rhythmic mode whose basic unit consists of two unequal beats, the shorter followed by the longer. Evidently this comparatively young poetic genre has assimilated musical elements of considerable age and variety. Sandvik's booklet (1952) on melodies from Setesdalen contains a representative collection of *stev* melodies. With the exception of some smaller survey studies, the material has not so far been the object of thorough and systematic musicological analysis (Sevåg, 1987).

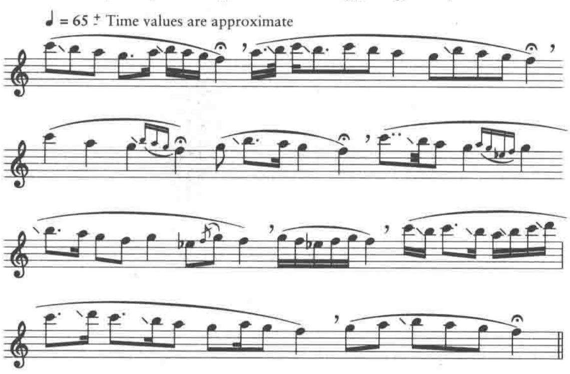
3. Instruments and instrumental music. A great variety of instruments such as rattles, bullroarers, clappers and whistles which had practical or magical functions have been almost totally forgotten. Wind instruments with reeds are generally scarce. Bagpipe music does not exist in folk tradition, but the instrument is mentioned in a couple of historical sources. In a local dictionary of 1646 from Sunnfjord the dialect term *Belg-Pijpe* is translated *Secke Pijpe* (bagpipe) while in 1849 a named person from Valdres was supposed to have played bagpipes at a festival in Christiania (Oslo). Pictorial illustrations of bagpipes cannot be taken as evidence as they might have been borrowed from other cultures. The main single-reed instruments are the *halm-pipe* (an idioglot straw pipe) and the animal horn, with a reed of juniper wood bound on to the narrow end which is cut obliquely. This use of separate single reed predates any possible influence from the modern clarinet, but its distribution suggests that it is not prehistoric, possibly not even medieval. The lips do not touch the reed in performance. The modern clarinet became common in

Ex.1 *Nystev*, rec. L. Greni, transcr. R. Sevåg



Symbols used in the transcriptions:
⁄ before a note = c¼ tone higher
⁄ before a note = c¼ tone lower
⌢ over a note = slightly longer than notated
⌣ over a note = slightly shorter than notated

Ex.2 *Lur-lokk*, trumpet melody; transcr. R.Sevåg (Sevåg, 1973)



many districts after 1800, primarily as a dance instrument, often played with fiddle or drum (Aksdal). Double-reed instruments are even more rare: apart from the dandelion stalk, only the bark oboe has been used, made by winding up a long strip of bark and fitting it with a double reed made from a short, narrow tube of bark, thinned out and pressed together at one end.

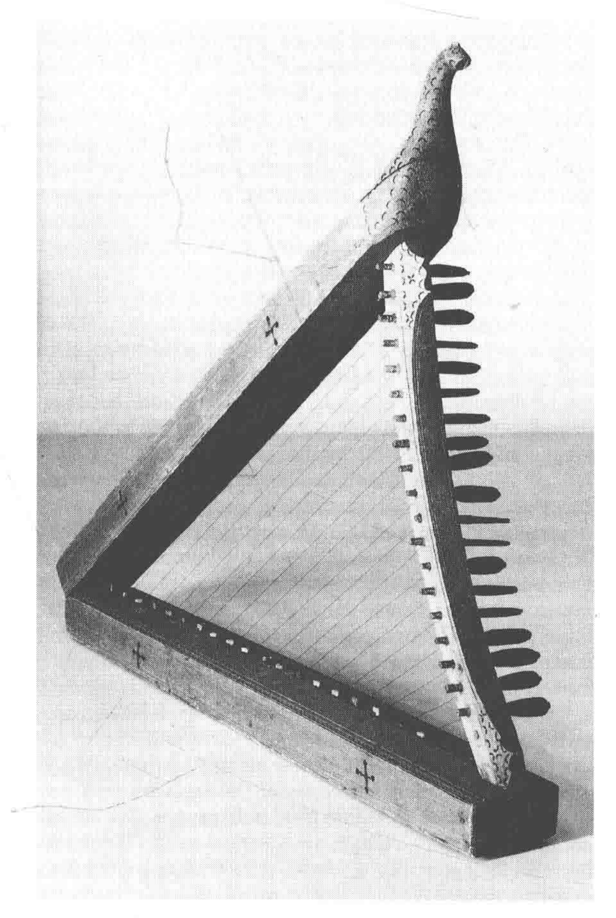
The more varied lip-reed family consists of wooden trumpets (*lurs*) and animal horns; they have had many practical purposes including being played by herdsmen to scare away wild animals and round up cattle, a practice which ended in the late 19th century. Of the several types of *lur*, short ones (30 to 40 cm) are made from a piece of wood hollowed out to give a comparatively wide conical bore; only the fundamental can be sounded. Longer ones (60 to 200 cm) are made by splitting a piece of wood, hollowing out the two halves and fitting them together again. Most longer *lurs* (90 to 150 cm) have a range similar to the bugle's while the longest (150 to 200 cm) were generally played in a very high register, their melodies resembling those played on the large alphorns in other parts of Europe (ex.2). Animal horns with finger-holes appear to have been used in prehistoric times in Scandinavia. As Sevåg (1967, 1972, 1973) has noted, most of the more recent horns have three or four finger-holes and their range is rarely more than a 5th.

Horns made out of wood or animal horn have traditionally been particularly associated with mountain herding and used as alternatives to the vocal *lokk* and *huving* mentioned above.

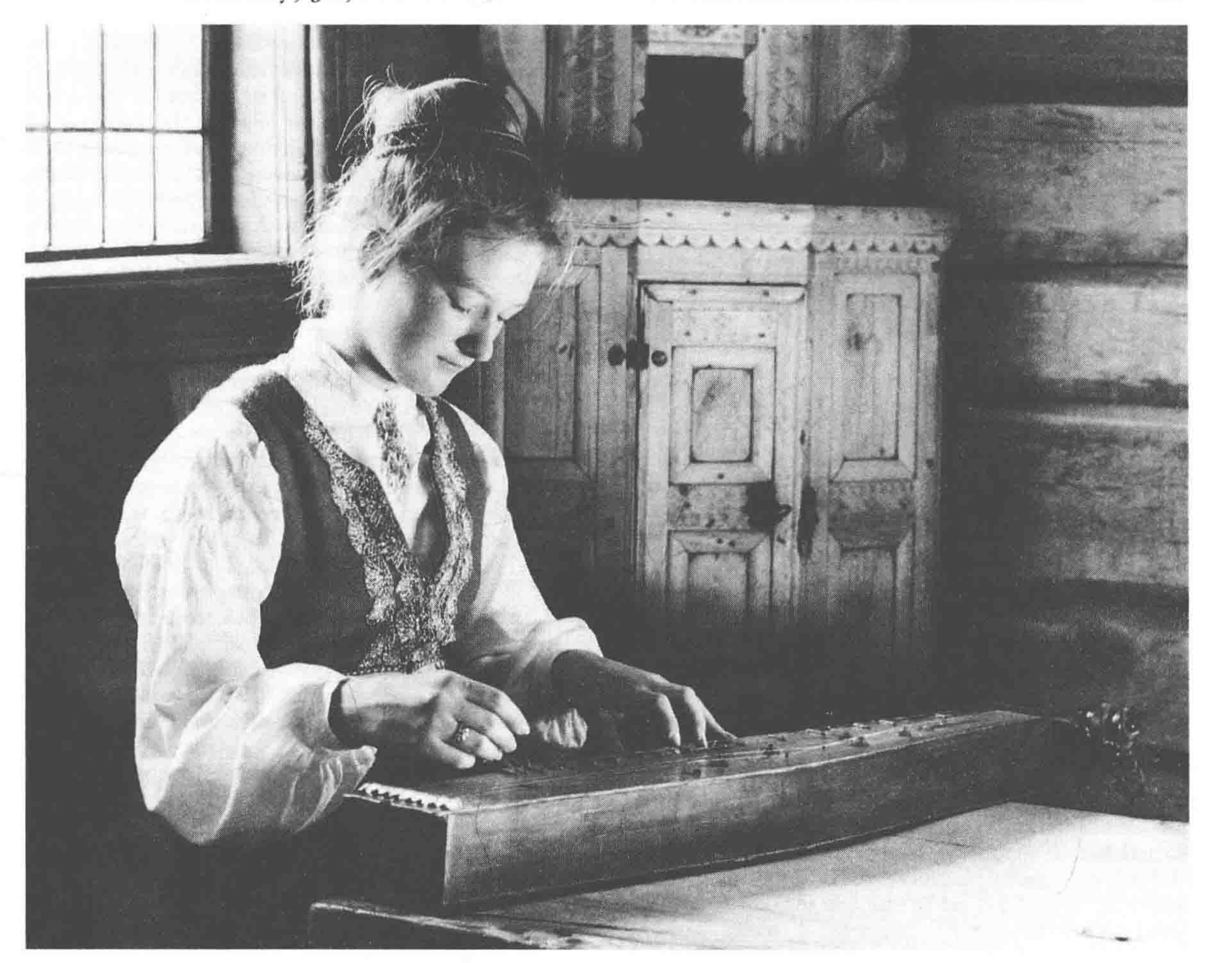
Norwegian flutes are all of the fipple type, ranging from one-note whistles of bark and bone (used by trappers to imitate animals) to fully developed recorders. Some medieval bone flutes with finger-holes survive; similar types were made and used until about 1900. Imported recorders appeared in the countryside probably around 1700 and were imitated locally as long as shepherds used such instruments (i.e. until *c*1930). Although the decorative appearance of the Baroque recorder recurs in almost all the home-made flutes, their folk origin is obvious: all are made in one piece; the finger-holes are of equal size and mostly equidistant; the bore and finger-holes are often burnt after the boring; no two instruments, even by the same maker, are exactly the same length. Despite their apparently extensive use until the 20th century, almost no traditional flute music has been transcribed or recorded. The *seljefløyte* (a long, overblown willow-bark flute without finger-holes) attracted special interest from the 1920s, when Groven suggested that it fundamentally influenced the intervallic and melodic structure of Norwegian folk music as a whole, a scarcely tenable hypothesis which nevertheless initiated and influenced a considerable amount of research.

The jew's harp existed in Norway from the Middle Ages and continued to enjoy respect as a folk instrument until the mid-20th century. Today it is the object of growing interest. It was normally played by men, and the repertory consisted mainly of dance-tunes. Among the few recordings of various local styles, and among living sources, most show a remarkable technique. Patterns of strokes on the vibrating metal tongue, generating legato/portamento effects and complex syncopating rhythms, are generally analogues with typical features of the fiddler's bowing. Ledang (1972) concluded from a study of its acoustics that the jew's harp, usually classified as an idiophone, might as well be classified as a free aerophone.

Evidence of medieval string instruments is scarce. A seven-string lyre from Numedal, probably late medieval, is the only specimen of its kind. A single medieval sculpture on a cornice of Trondheim Cathedral indicates that bowed lyres (*stråkharpa* in Swedish), surviving in eastern Finland and among the Swedish-speaking population of Estonia at the turn of the century, were once widely distributed throughout Scandinavia (Anderson). Of the eight harps preserved in museums, all are crudely made with 12 to 19 strings, and a few date from the period 1681–1776 (fig.1). All performance tradition is



1. Harp with 19 strings from Østerdal, 1776 (Norsk Folkemuseum, Oslo)



2. *Helle Sandvik playing the langeleik in an old Valdres house at the Norsk Folkemuseum, Oslo*

extinct, although literary evidence (*c*1600) suggests that the harp was a folk instrument and was possibly played as such in parts of Norway during the late Middle Ages. Apparently it was last played in Østerdal in the early 19th century.

The *langeleik*, a type of zither, resembles the *Scheitholt* of Praetorius's time, having only one melody string and between three and seven drone strings. It was apparently well established in both town and country districts around 1600, and until the mid-19th century was the most common instrument for domestic rural entertainment. Thereafter it rapidly became obsolete except in Valdres, where an unbroken tradition persists and has enabled thorough documentation of *langeleik* music. The playing technique differs considerably from that of similar instruments outside Norway: the middle three fingers of the left hand stop the melody string, and also rapidly strike (on ascending) and pluck (on descending) the notes between the rhythmic plectrum strokes of the right hand (fig.2). The melodic idiosyncrasies of *langeleik* music may be related to this technique. The tuning of the *langeleik* is interesting: contrary to expectation, the spacing of the frets on early specimens shows no pattern of large and small intervals, and comparison of several examples shows that the scale patterns cannot be reduced to a single formula. In the 1920s, when the problem of scale, mode and neutral tones was the focus of much Norwegian research and discussion, Eggen attempted an evaluation of *langeleik* scales; Sevåg (1974), using a greater number of early instruments, concluded that from a large number of *langeleik* scales a heptatonic scale structure with a relatively fixed framework of tonic, 5th and octave can be abstracted. Other intervals vary as much as 60 cents, but no interval is smaller than a somewhat short three-quarter-tone. This suggests an early idiom of scale and mode which Sevåg termed anhemitonic heptatonism, but the theory needs to be verified by analysis of recorded material, preferably vocal, in which the flow of melody is relatively unrestricted. Despite the long-established dominance of the diatonic system, a small group of recorded folksingers has an authentic archaic singing style which seems to conform in almost every detail to the 'laws' of anhemitonism and variability.

The violin became the main folk instrument in Norway during the 18th century. Historical and material sources, however, indicate that violin-like, and possibly earlier types of bowed instruments, were known in Norway before 1600. Fiddle music, however, developed in two different directions, based on two types of instrument: the normal violin, used throughout most of the country, and the *hardingfele* (HARDANGER FIDDLE), played principally in western Norway from Hardanger to Sunnfjord and in

the central Norwegian valleys. This distribution has remained fairly consistent. While the demand for violins was mainly satisfied by imported instruments, the Hardanger fiddle was built solely by Norwegians, of whom merely a handful were professional after about 1860. It generally differs from the violin in a wealth of ornamental detail, short neck and fingerboard, long f-holes specially cut to cause the two edges to overlap on different planes, and sympathetic strings (fig.3). Fiddles with sympathetic strings, introduced by Hardanger craftsmen about 1700, or possibly half a century earlier, obtained great popularity to both the north and east of Hardanger, accounting for their name. These early instruments and those dating before 1860 are characterized by their outline (generally narrower and more angular than that of Italian violins, and with a comparatively long lower part), by their highly arched belly and back and their straight or slightly tilted neck.

Evidently many of these construction details and other characteristics such as their ornamentation reflect early violin history: when the Hardanger craftsmen, although familiar with the modern violin, based their production on these earlier forms and principles of construction, they were no doubt responding to the traditional demands of the market. Essential features such as the short neck (appropriate to a finger technique which requires only the first position) and the flat fingerboard and bridge (adapted to a style of playing involving a sustained drone and a technique where movements from high to low strings require relatively small vertical modifications of the bowing right arm) suggest that the Hardanger fiddle was a local adaptation to an indigenous musical idiom. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that an archaic instrumental technique survives not only in Setesdal, where the Hardanger fiddle was first introduced around the turn of the century, but even in places such as Østerdalen and Gudbrandsdalen where the modern violin rather than the Hardanger fiddle is played. Thus both fiddle traditions seem to have shared fundamental instrumental techniques and stylistic features associated with dances whose development pre-dates the introduction of the modern violin by at least two or three centuries (Sevåg, 1971; Blom, 1985).

The earlier duple-time dances are called *halling*, *gangar* and *rull*; those in triple time include the *springar*, *springleik*, *pols* and *rundom* (all couple dances). Such definitions in terms of duple and triple time are conventional but limited. 'Triple-time tunes', as well as the *halling*, an athletic men's dance, are found in most districts, whereas the couple dances, *gangar* (also named *halling* in some areas) and *rull* are known only in a few Hardanger fiddle districts. Here the earlier genres outnumber the later, partly owing to the conservative policy of the fiddlers' organizations during the mid-20th century. In some of the eastern valleys where the violin is played, part of this repertory survives. In general, however, folk violinists have extensively modernized both the repertory (including the waltz, polka and *rheinländer*) and the style of playing. The simple drone style has given way to plain bowing of the single melody or else to a partly diaphonic style which combines the drone element with elements of common triadic harmony as in the Røros tradition (Nyhus).

The harmonic and tonal aspects of Hardanger fiddle music are more intriguing and should preferably be examined in terms of the drone style of playing (Hopkins, 1986; Sevåg, 1971). Combined with different tuning patterns, this approach gives each tune or group of tunes a characteristic, favoured tonal and harmonic character. Within a particular piece all four strings are frequently used as variable drones below or above the melody. As a consequence the dominant effect of one particular tonic centre is weakened. Moreover, this movable drone technique is frequently expanded by stopping melody and drone string simultaneously with the first finger, causing surprising harmonic effects.

Both fiddle traditions apply the scordatura principle and groups of *slåttar* within repertories are classified in terms of patterns of tuning. Sources indicate that the retuning of instruments was common during weddings, with each tuning having particular ceremonial significance through functional association with the sequence of ceremonial activities. The two traditions also share modal and harmonic characteristics, while their rhythms abound in small but significant 'irregularities' typical of Norwegian folk music in general. There is, however, a marked structural difference between the two with regard to dance-tunes in 'triple time'. Hardanger fiddle tunes tend to be structurally similar to the *gangar* and *halling* type, in particular the sequencing of repeated and transformed two-bar motifs, e.g. *AA'ABB'ACC'DED'E'EF'*. Violin tunes normally have a symmetrical form based on four-bar phrases in binary form *AA' BB'*, also called two-part song form. Likewise, patterns of bowing are markedly different.

Duple-time dance-tunes, considered to be the oldest surviving dance music genre in Scandinavia, show characteristic and predictable cycles of bowing, which for '6/8 tunes' have been referred to by composers such as Grieg in terms of a frequently changing hemiola pattern. A small group of such tunes with the exceptional tuning *f–d'–a'–e''* (ex.3) is typical by virtue of its most subtle and complex 'syncopation'. The musical accents, following asymmetrical bowing patterns, combine units of two and three quavers into variously composed groups of six, nine or 12 quavers e.g. 2 + 2 + 3 + 2 + 3 eighths, in strong

Ex.3 *Nordafjols, gangar* dance melody, Hardanger fiddle; transcr. S. Nyhus

(a) ♩ = 112 ... etc

(b) ... etc



3. Søren Nomeland in Setesdal costume playing a Hardanger fiddle made in Telemark

contrast to and often syncopated against the fiddler's regular foot-stamping in 3/8 time.

Ex.3 also illustrates the equally unusual tonal and modal character of these tunes. The form, like the rhythm, is based on a number of recurring formulae combined in various, often asymmetrical patterns. The asymmetry which occurs in 'duple-time' tunes is generally considered to be the result of structure and phrasing. Metrical asymmetry is a typical feature of 'triple time' dance tunes found in all areas of the country (except the fjord districts of western Norway). These asymmetries vary and while they cannot be reduced to precise quantitative relationships within a measure, they tend to occur in a 5–7–6 pattern. What is predictable is that any shortened beat is inversely proportional to the lengthening of the subsequent beat, a principle directly related to the metrical structure of accompanying dance movements (Blom, vii, in Gurvin and others, 1958–81). In addition, as a result of the particular practices of local dance traditions, the first beat tends to be shortened in some districts, lengthened in others.

Variety in terms of structure and style often has historic precedent, but owing to the lack of reliable documentation, hypotheses about historical processes can only be speculative. What can be said is that in terms of rhythm and metre, the *springar* of western Norway are structurally identical to the *gangar*, but are significantly lighter and faster. In both, the duration and stress of dance-steps and beats are identical. However, as neither follows regular melodies or rhythmic rules which conform to duple- or triple-time metres, it is misleading to classify them in this way. Other 'spring dances' follow different asymmetrical three-beat structures which affect the composition of their melodic themes. Dance history would seem to indicate that such patterns relate to the assimilation of continental dances possibly as early as the 16th century. It is thus considered likely that the *springar* of the western fjords (in common with the *gangar* and *halling*) is an older form which enjoyed widespread popularity in the past.

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ARVID O. VOLLSNES (I), REIDAR SEVÅG/JAN-PETTER BLOM (II)

Norwegian Musicological Society. *See* NORSK MUSIKKFORSKERLAG.

Norwich. City in England. Traces of human habitation from 2000 BCE have been found at Norwich, nearby Caistor St Edmund was an important British settlement in the early Roman period, and the Danes sacked the Saxon burgh early in the 11th century; but the only remaining evidence of the practice of music in early times has been found at Bergh Apton, 11 km south-east of the city; it is a 7th-century lyre unearthed from a grave, and a reconstruction is displayed in the Castle Museum. Norwich rose to become one of the kingdom's major cities, but since Elizabethan times has been only a provincial centre.

1. Sacred music. 2. Bells. 3. Waits. 4. Orchestral concerts. 5. Choral and operatic societies. 6. Festivals. 7. The University of East Anglia.

1. SACRED MUSIC. The East Anglian see was transferred in 1095 from Thetford to Norwich, where a Benedictine priory with 60 monks was established a year later, the cathedral being consecrated as its church in 1101. The Norwich Customary, dating from the mid-12th century but reflecting earlier liturgical and ritual practice derived from Fécamp and developed over the years, makes many references to singing. It was regulated by a precentor, and boys took part in services on certain feasts.

Documents record payments to an organist, one Adam, in 1333, and to lay singers from that period onwards. From the 14th century there is also evidence of the existence of capable organ builders and menders in Norwich. For a special function in 1381 both the great and the choir organs were placed in the Lady Chapel, and a screen was erected between 1446 and 1472 with a rood-loft and organ. Organs damaged by fire in 1469 and 1510 were repaired or replaced. A new organ installed for Queen Elizabeth's visit in 1578 was damaged when lightning struck the cathedral in 1601, and its 1607 replacement was destroyed when the cathedral was looted in 1643. At the Restoration Richard Plumm of Bury, possibly re-using parts of the earlier instrument, constructed an organ that was replaced by a new three-manual one by Harris in 1689. Byfield built the next organ in 1759. It was renovated by Bishop in 1833, and then replaced in 1899 with a Norman & Beard instrument. After its partial destruction by fire in 1938, Norman & Beard rebuilt it in 1940–41; the case, designed by Stephen Dykes, was constructed in 1950. In 1969 significant tonal changes were made to the organ, and a cymbalstern was added to the west side of the case. The cathedral also possesses a Sneztler organ; it was restored in 1955, but has not been maintained in playing condition.

At the dissolution of the monasteries in 1538 Norwich was refounded as a secular cathedral; its establishment included eight minor canons, six lay clerks and eight choirboys. The latter were to be trained by a master of the choristers who was originally required to serve as organist too. Osbert Parsley (1511–85), a composer of church music and instrumental pieces, appears to have served as a chorister before the dissolution and as a lay clerk afterwards. Thomas Morley, who had probably been a cathedral choirboy, was master of the choristers from 1583 to 1587 before leaving to further his career in London. William Cobbold (1560–1639), who harmonized five tunes in Thomas East's *Whole Book of Psalms* (1592) and composed *With wreathes of rose and laurel* for *The Triumphes of Oriana*, became cathedral organist in 1595. Richard Carlton, who wrote some church music, of which only fragments remain, and a collection of consciously backward-looking madrigals as well as also contributing to *The Triumphes of Oriana*, was a minor canon and master of the choristers in the late Elizabethan and early Jacobean periods. The more significant cathedral organists in the 17th century were Richard Gibbs, Richard Ayleward, formerly a chorister at Winchester, Thomas Pleasants and James Cooper, who had been a lay clerk since 1679.

Signs of change may be seen when in 1720 Humphrey Cotton (1693–1749) became organist, for he was less exclusively concerned with cathedral music than his predecessors, and more interested in music in the city of Norwich. Thomas Garland (1731–1808), who had been born in the cathedral close and studied under Maurice Greene, showed signs of continuing in the same direction, particularly in the earlier part of his 59-year tenure at the cathedral (from 1749 to 1808). Garland arranged a number of charity services and other events, mainly with

performances of Handel's music, in the last quarter of the 18th century.

By then the fine Perpendicular church of St Peter Mancroft, near the commercial and civic centre, had also started playing an important role in Norwich music. In 1707 an earlier organ was replaced by one built by Renatus Harris. Though repaired and enlarged by G.P. England in 1802, it was replaced by a three-manual organ by W. Hedgeland in 1875. As this proved unsatisfactory, a four-manual instrument by Hele of Plymouth was installed in 1912. In 1984 Peter Collins provided St Peter Mancroft with a handsome instrument, especially suited to Baroque music, that is placed on a cantilevered gallery at the west end of the church.

It was at St Peter Mancroft that Humphry Cotton gained his initial experience, as did both Edward Miller (1735–1807), composer and organist and antiquarian of Doncaster, and John 'Christmas' Beckwith. The son and grandson of cathedral lay clerks, Beckwith continued his studies of music in Oxford under William Hayes, who appears to have widened his horizons. Ozias Linley, sixth son of the composer of stage works, came to Norwich for a minor canonry in 1790 and wrote a number of anthems. Beckwith became a major influence in the growth of the charity concert movement in Norwich while serving in succession to his father after 1794 as organist at St Peter Mancroft. In 1808 he moved on to the cathedral, but died barely a year later. He was succeeded first by his son, then by Zechariah Buck (1798–1879).

Organist from 1819 to 1877, Buck had to respond to the halving of the number of minor canons under the 1840 Cathedrals Act; the number of lay clerks gradually fell too, which probably accounts for the decision to use two boy altos from 1863 to the end of the century. Though Buck was a poor performer and a negligible composer, he had several pupils, such as A.H. Mann and A.R. Gaul, who went on to distinguished careers. He gained a reputation as a trainer of boy choristers, whom he taught to sing in a florid style.

On Buck's retirement, a new policy seems to have been initiated at the cathedral. Despite local protests the claims of Edward Bunnett were passed over, though this former chorister was a prolific composer of undemanding church music and an accomplished performer, who combined his duties at St Peter Mancroft with the post of city organist. The chapter, after making two unsatisfactory appointments, found a suitable candidate in Dr Frank Bates (1856–1936). As well as maintaining high standards at the cathedral and overseeing the rebuilding of the organ in 1899, Bates recognized that his mission extended beyond the cathedral close to include the encouragement of choral and orchestral music-making in the city and county. Heathcote Statham, organist from 1928 to 1966 and the composer of much well-crafted church and organ music, followed Bates's example in the interpretation of his role. Brian Runnett, a brilliant recitalist, combined his duties at the cathedral with teaching at the University of East Anglia for three years until his death in a road accident in 1970. Michael Nicholas, organist from 1971 to 1988, founded the Norwich Festival of Contemporary Church Music in 1981.

Sarah Glover, born in Norwich in 1786, attracted attention through her work with the choir of St Laurence's church, of which her father was rector, and devoted her life to elaborating and teaching a sol-fa system, later developed by others into Tonic Sol-fa, in order to encourage the congregational singing of metrical psalms in parts. The deconsecrated city-centre church of St Peter Hungate, which became a museum of ecclesiastical art in 1936, houses a collection of instruments used in church bands and an instrument developed to help teach Sarah Glover's sol-fa system.

From the Reformation onwards Norwich was a leading centre of Puritanism and Dissent. It was the first home of the Separatists under Robert Browne, who was imprisoned by the bishop in 1583. The earliest collection of Baptist church music, Edward Trivett's *Hymns and Spiritual Songs*, was published there in about 1772. John Taylor, minister of the Victorian Octagon Chapel, published *A Collection of Tunes* for use there in about 1750.

2. Bells. Bellringing (and in the late medieval period bell-casting) has flourished in Norwich, a cathedral city with some 50 churches. The Norman Clocher, in the western part of the cathedral close, survived the dissolution by less than half a century, but the cathedral retains five bells apparently dating from 1469 and possibly made from metal salvaged after the fire six years earlier. Most of the parish churches also possess bells, of which the oldest is the 14th-century bell at St Laurence's. St Peter Mancroft's ring of 12 bells is particularly admired. Hung at the top of the tower of the 1938 City Hall, the Gillett & Johnston bell is a civic tribute to Norwich traditions in campanology.

3. Waits. For some centuries the town waits provided musical entertainment in Norwich, taking a prominent part in civic ceremonies. The earliest document referring to the waits is dated 1288, and collars and badges (now displayed in the Guildhall) testify to their corporate existence in 1535. Until 1570 the waits took part in mystery plays and regularly played outside the Guildhall on Sunday evenings. In 1572 their stock of instruments comprised two trumpets, four sackbuts, three hautboys and five recorders. In 1589 five or six of the Norwich waits accompanied Drake on his Lisbon expedition, and only two survived. In 1599 William Kemp, after praising the waits for their skill on viols and violins, as well as wind instruments, remarked that every one of them could serve as a singer in any cathedral, and some of them probably were lay clerks, or at least assisted as music copyists. In the 18th century, when they are said to have lived in the Old Music House in King Street, they continued to give public concerts and played at assemblies and on civic occasions until disbanded in 1789. Samuel Cooke, the blind organist of St Peter Mancroft from 1748 to 1780, was a city wait for 40 years.

4. Orchestral concerts. In the early 18th century instrumental concerts were given for a time in the Guildhall and, for a longer period, in the great rooms of various inns. In the second half of the 18th century the architect and entrepreneur Thomas Ivory built the centrally located Assembly House (1754) and Theatre Royal (1758), which were occasionally used for recitals and concerts. There was also the 'room' held by Bosoly (or Bosoley), Francis Christian senior and his son (who were fashionable dancing-masters). The younger Christian opened a new room near St Michael-at-Plea in 1770, sometimes called the 'music room'. Concerts were held too in several of the city's pleasure gardens in the 18th

and 19th centuries. In 1776–7 James Bunn built a structure called the Pantheon (holding about 1000 people) in which concerts were held. In 1800, after Bunn's death, the Ranelagh gardens put up a building sometimes used for concerts which was also called the Pantheon and may have incorporated materials from Bunn's building. There were subscription concerts through much of this period, and they reached a zenith of activity around 1789.

Exactly how the precociously gifted William Crotch (1775–1847) was influenced by the musical life of Norwich during his early years remains unclear. His environment offered music for him to absorb, and Norwich was the scene of his childhood triumphs. His future lay, however, in Cambridge and London.

The Hall Concerts (*c*1789–1834) were an annual series of amateur music meetings probably held at first in St Andrew's Hall and later in a room above St Ethelbert's Gateway, hence the alternative name of Gateway or Gatehouse Concerts. In 1816 the Hall Concert organizers purchased and fitted up a music room in St Andrew's Bridge Street; Chambers (1829) said that there were about 40 performers, both amateur and professional. They were superseded by the Norwich Philharmonic Society, founded by Frank Noverre in 1839. The new society was partly professional. The first concert was given on 5 March 1841 in Noverre's rooms, with 15 strings, wind and piano. From 1901, when Princess Victoria became patroness, the concerts were given in St Andrew's Hall. In 1929 the Choral Society became part of the Philharmonic. At the beginning of World War II the chorus numbered 180, and the orchestra about 75, including 12 to 20 London professionals engaged for the concerts. Commissioned works included Moeran's *Nocturne* (1935) and Hadley's *La belle dame sans merci* (1936) and *Mariana* (1938). After the war concerts were resumed.

A small group of string players brought together by Cyril Pearce in 1925 grew into the Norwich Chamber Orchestra, so named in 1928; emphasis was on the works of Bach. Later organizations include the Norwich String Orchestra (which gave the first performance of Britten's *Simple Symphony*, under the composer, in 1934), the Norwich Mozart Orchestra (founded 1962) and the Academy of St Thomas (founded 1973).

The Norfolk and Norwich Music Club, founded in 1950, promotes chamber concerts. These are usually given in the Assembly House, which reopened as an arts centre in 1950 and was restored again after fire damage in 1995. The club has a tradition of commissioning new works. Since 1990 the King of Hearts, in a restored 16th-century merchant's house in Fye Bridge Street, has become a favourite venue for small-scale concerts, especially of early music.

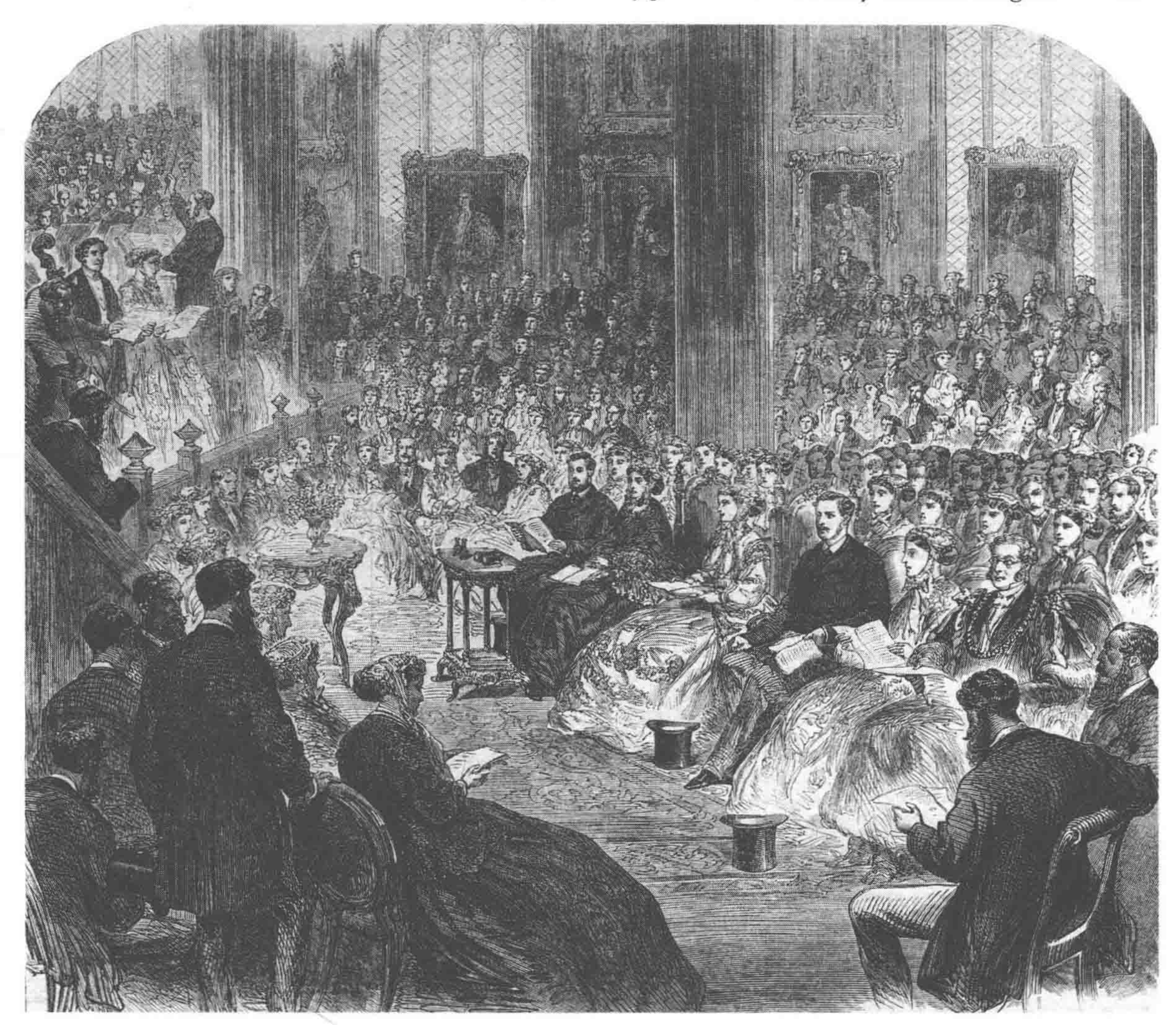
5. Choral and operatic societies. Music on the water was a particular feature of 18th-century Norwich (see Chambers, 1829, pp.1273–4). From about 1795 an Anacreontic Society was active, performing glees, catches etc; this lasted into the 19th century. A choral society was founded in 1824, with Edward Taylor (son of John) as its first conductor, to form a local nucleus for the festival and also to give regular concerts. It was dissolved and re-formed in 1837 and again in 1844: the numbers had risen from 149 in 1824 to 256 in 1845. The concerts, however, became more and more unrewarding financially, and in 1875 the society was disbanded. A smaller group, the Gatehouse Choir, remained in existence as a descendant of the earlier Hall Concerts, and in 1902 this became the nucleus of a new Norwich Choral Society, founded by Frank Bates who was its conductor for 26 years. In 1929 it merged with the Norwich Philharmonic Society.

Other choral societies include the Norwich Madrigal Society (founded 1838, disbanded about 1860), the Glee and Catch Club (in existence in the mid-19th century), the Anglia Singers, the St Cecilia Society, the Norwich Singers, the Broadland Singers (founded in 1958) and the Keswick Hall Choir.

Earlier musical theatre performances in Norwich include what seems to have been the first provincial performance of Purcell's *Dioclesian* (January 1700) and the first ever performance in English of *Die Zauberflöte* (1829). An amateur operatic union gave concert performances of Italian operas in early Victorian times. The Norfolk and Norwich Amateur Operatic Society maintains a tradition of Gilbert and Sullivan performances; the Norfolk Opera Players (founded 1963) have a wider repertory, including operas by Nicolai, Offenbach and Martinů. The Theatre Royal, a 1935 replacement for the 1826 theatre on the site of Ivory's original playhouse, regularly hosts productions by Glyndebourne Touring Opera, the ENO and other companies. In 1997 Norske Opera's staging of Wagner's *Ring* was given in the theatre.

6. Festivals. Soon after the new Norfolk and Norwich hospital opened in 1772 an annual service and concert for its benefit were inaugurated at the cathedral; the music was usually by Handel. In 1788 and 1790 three-day music festivals were given with morning concerts in St Peter Mancroft and evening concerts in St Andrew's Hall; Gertrud Mara and Michael Kelly were among the singers (Kelly's *Memoirs* give the wrong date). At least six further festivals were held early in the 19th century. In 1824 the grander Norfolk and Norwich Triennial Musical Festival was founded, chiefly on the initiative of R.M. Bacon, music critic and the editor of the *Quarterly Musical Magazine and Review*, with assistance from Edward Taylor, originally a Norwich ironmonger who later pursued a successful career as a bass singer, teacher and music journalist in London and returned to Norwich for later festivals. In 1837 he became professor of music at Gresham College. Festivals were given (triennially except as stated) in 1824–48, 1852, 1854–1911, 1924–30, 1936, 1947 and 1958–76; the principal conductors were George Smart (1824–36), Julius Benedict (1845–78), Alberto Randegger (1881–1905) and Henry Wood (1908–30). The festival was almost invariably a financial success, but never more so than the first time (1824) when it produced a sum of £2411.

Almost from the start the Norwich Triennial Festival was notably progressive in its choice of works, and it was responsible for a whole series of premières and commissioned works, both British and foreign. Hummel's Mass in E♭ had its first English performance there in 1827, as did Spohr's *Last Judgment* in 1830 (one of several works translated and adapted to Protestant tastes by Taylor) and his *Calvary* in 1839. Feelings ran high at the 1852 festival, when two new English oratorios were heard: *Israel Restored* by William Bexfield, a local man and a pupil of Buck, and *Jerusalem*, a work in revolutionary style by Henry Hugo Pierson. Each work had its partisans, and the rivalry was intense. Another Pierson work, the unfinished oratorio *Hezekiah*, was performed in 1869.



Members of the royal family attending a concert in St Andrew's Hall during the Norwich Festival, 1866: engraving from the 'Illustrated London News' (November 1866)

The festival, which became annual in 1989 and now also promotes other concerts by visiting orchestras, has maintained a reputation for presenting new works. Among them have been Goring Thomas's *The Sun Worshippers* (1881), Parry's *L'allegro* (1890), Stanford's *Phaudrig Crohoore* (1896), Elgar's *Sea Pictures* (1899), Bridge's *Enter Spring* (1927), Bliss's *Morning Heroes* (1930), Vaughan Williams's *Job* (concert version, 1930) and *Five Tudor Portraits* (1936), Britten's *Our Hunting Fathers* (also 1936), Thea Musgrave's *The Five Ages of Man* (1964) and Tavener's *Let's begin again* (1995). In 1994 the first peformance was given of the Viola Concerto by Diana Burrell, one of the most significant composers to have emerged from Norwich.

7. The University of East Anglia. The university, which was founded in Norwich in 1964, has offered since 1965 a BA in music, the course including both practical and academic study. There is also a wide range of opportunities for postgraduate work in music and musicology. The Music Centre (opened in 1973) has a recording studio with synthesizers and computers for the composition and performance of electro-acoustic music. Britten acted as honorary musical adviser when the courses were originally devised. The first director of music, Philip Ledger, was succeeded in 1974 by Peter Aston, who was himself succeeded by David Chadd in 1998. There is a large University Choir and a University Orchestra; both regularly give concerts in the city, as well as an array of student choirs, groups and ensembles. A number of students sing as choral scholars at the cathedral, where an organ scholarship has also been created.

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NICHOLAS TEMPERLEY (with DAVID CHARLTON and TREVOR FAWCETT)/CHRISTOPHER SMITH

Norwich sol-fa ladder. A chart showing the initials of the sol-fa syllables arranged vertically (see illustration). It was devised by Sarah Glover between 1812 and 1835 for teaching her 'Norwich sol-fa method'. It became the basis of John Curwen's 'modulator', from which it differs in that Glover placed the symbol for her tonic midway in the octave, which she regarded as two conjunct tetrachords: *S*, *L*, *T*, *D* and *D*, *R*, *M*, *F*. She also introduced the syllables *bah* and *ne* (shown as B and N on the ladder) to represent the 6th and 7th of the minor scale. The columns at the sides of the main column show the related keys of the subdominant and dominant respectively.

See also TONIC SOL-FA.

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BERNARR RAINBOW

Nose flute. Any kind of flute, tubular or vessel, side- or end-blown, which is sounded by nasal breath. Such flutes have a very wide distribution, but are particularly common in the Pacific Islands and South-east Asia. Sachs suggested that the origin of nose flutes lies in the association of nasal breath with magic and religious rites. In Oceania the nose flute is pre-eminently an instrument of Polynesia and Micronesia. It is only rarely reported for mainland New Guinea but is present in the offshore D'Entrecasteaux group to the south-west and in the Bismarck Archipelago to the north-west. Southwards in Melanesia it is prominent only in areas adjacent to western Polynesia as in New Caledonia and the Loyalty Islands and in Fiji. In Micronesia it was formerly widespread in



Sarah Glover and her Norwich sol-fa ladder: engraving from 'The Teacher's Manual' by John Curwen (1875/R)

the Caroline Islands where it was present in Belau, Yap, Truk, Satowal, Nomoi, Pohnpei and Mokil. In Polynesia it was present almost everywhere except New Zealand.

For illustration *see* FLUTE, §I, fig.2*h*.

MERVYN MCLEAN

Noseman, Jacob. *See* NOZEMAN, JACOB.

Noske, Frits (Rudolf) (*b* The Hague, 13 Dec 1920; *d* Airolo, 15 Sept 1993). Dutch musicologist. Brother of the violinist Willem Hendrik Noske (1918–95). He studied the cello and theory at the Royal Conservatory at The Hague and the Amsterdam Conservatory (1939–45), as well as composition with Henk Badings and Hendrik Andriessen. He studied musicology at the University of Amsterdam with Bernet Kempers and Smits van Waesberghe (1945–9), followed by a year at the Sorbonne under Masson. He then taught history of music at the Conservatory of Amsterdam. In 1954 he took the doctorate at the University of Amsterdam with a dissertation on the French song from Berlioz to Duparc. He was librarian of the Music Library at Amsterdam (Public Library and Toonkunst-Bibliotheek) from 1951 until 1954, when he was appointed its director, a post he held until 1968. From 1965 to 1968 Noske was associate professor in musicology at the University of Leiden; in 1968 he succeeded Bernet Kempers as full professor at the University of Amsterdam until his retirement (1983). From 1965 he lectured widely as a guest professor at Berlin, Vienna, Warsaw, London, Parma and several American and Australian universities.

In his thesis Noske showed a wide-ranging knowledge, not only of the 19th-century French song, but also of French literature. He prepared editions of music of the early Dutch Baroque, on which he also wrote several

articles. Other areas of special interest to him were Mozart's Italian operas and Italian opera of the 19th century, musical drama, and the application of structuralism and semiotics to musical analysis. He was second secretary of the Koninklijke Nederlandse Toonkunstenaars Vereniging (1953–5) and general secretary (1955–9) and vice-president (1959–65) of the IAML.

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ELLINOR BIJVOET/PAUL VAN REIJEN

Noskowski, Zygmunt (*b* Warsaw, 2 May 1846; *d* Warsaw, 23 July 1909). Polish composer, conductor and teacher. He studied at the Warsaw Music Institute (1864–7), where his teachers included Apolinary Kątski (violin) and Stanisław Moniuszko (harmony), and in Berlin (1872–5) with F. Kiel (composition) and R.F. Wuersta (orchestration). During the years in Berlin he composed songs, pieces for string quartet and the Symphony in A (1875). This symphony (his graduation piece) later gained first prize (with distinction) in the Carillon international competition for composers in Brussels (1893). From autumn 1875 until the end of 1880 he was based in Konstanz, where he was director of the Bodan singing society and music school. He returned to Warsaw in January 1881 and from that time contributed to the development of musical life in the city. He was director of the Warsaw Music Society (1881–1902), for which he was active as a teacher and organized concerts. He also attempted to organize a regular symphony orchestra, but its existence was disrupted by a constant lack of funds. In 1888 he became professor of composition at the Music Institute, in which capacity he taught a generation of Polish composers. From 1905 to 1908 he was director and conductor of the Warsaw PO, and from 1907 was also director of the opera. He occasionally directed choirs. Throughout his life he wrote music criticism for the daily press and for journals. In his concert reviews he also drew attention to more general musical problems.

Noskowski was one of the most important Polish composers of the second half of the 19th century. He composed all types of music, including popular works intended for a wide public and pieces for children. His large output was uneven in quality, and much of it is remembered only for its historical significance. The main characteristic of his style is an emphasis on contrapuntal techniques. This can be seen even in the opera *Livia Quintilla*, in which the dense polyphonic textures of the orchestra dominate the vocal parts. The most significant music is found in the orchestral and chamber works. Noskowski's musical language is conservative: his harmony goes little beyond that which is characteristic of the first half of the 19th century. His symphonic and chamber works are built on Classical cyclic forms, although the finale of the last symphony consists of five contrasting sections based on transformations of the same theme, thus showing some influence of the symphonic poems of Liszt. The resemblance is, however, rather superficial. Noskowski made extensive use of folk melodies, but these did not inspire him to undertake harmonic explorations. *Step* ('The Steppe') was the first symphonic poem in Polish music; it has colourful instrumentation and some illustrative elements.

WORKS

STAGE

Livia Quintilla (prol, 2, L. German, after S. Rzętkowski), Lemberg, Count Frederic Skarbek, 15 Feb 1898, vs *PL-Wtm*
Święto ognia, czyli noc świętojańska [The Rite of Fire, or St John's Night] (ballet, 3), Warsaw, 1902, frags. *Wtm*

Wyrok [The Judgment] (2, Noskowski, after A. Urbański: *Dramat jednej nocy*), Warsaw, Wielki, 15 Nov 1906, vs *Wtm*
Zemsta za mur graniczny [Revenge for the Boundary Wall] (4, Noskowski, after A. Fredro: *Zemsta*), 1908, Warsaw, Wielki, 10 April 1926, vs *Wtm*; orchd A. Gużewski, 1911
Several operettas, vaudevilles and 'folk pictures'

OTHER WORKS

Vocal: Short sacred choral works; 11 secular cants.; choral songs; *c*150 solo songs; many arrs., incl. folksongs
Orch: Sym., A, perf. Berlin, 1875, *PL-Wtm*; [Lake] Morskie Oko, ov., op.19, perf. 1875 (Breslau, before 1888); Sym., c ('Elegiac'), 1879, *Wtm*; Variations on an original theme, e, before 1883, *Wtm*; Step [The Steppe], sym. poem, op.66, perf. 1896 (Warsaw, *c*1900); Z życia narodu [From the Life of the Nation], sym. variations on Chopin's Prelude in A, op.28/7, 1901, *Wtm*; Sym., F ('Od wiosny do wiosny' [From Spring to Spring]), perf. Warsaw, 1904, *Wtm*; marches, other short pieces
Chbr: Sonata, A, vn, pf, before 1875, *Wtm*; Pf Qt, d, op.8 (Leipzig, 1880); 4 str qts: d, op.9, 1880 (Leipzig, 1885); E, 1883, *Wtm*; e, perf. 1884, *Wtm*; Każdy po swojemu [Each in his own manner], humorous qt, *Wtm*; other works for vn, pf
Pf: Suite polonaise, op.28, *c*1880 (Breslau, 1890); Fantazja góralska [Mountain Fantasy], pf 4 hands, op.17, 1885 (Leipzig, 1888); krakowiaks, polonaises, other dances and miniatures

WRITINGS

with M. Zawirski: *Wykład praktyczny harmonii jako kurs przygotowawczy do nauki kontrapunktu* [A practical lecture on harmony as a preparatory course for the study of counterpoint] (Warsaw, 1903)
Kontrapunkt, kanony, wariacje i fuga: wykład praktyczny [Counterpoint, canon, variations and fugue: a practical lecture] (Warsaw, 1907)
Methods for violin and piano

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A. Kaczmarek: 'Nieznany utwór Zygmunta Noskowskiego' [An unknown work by Noskowski], *Muzyka*, xii/4 (1967), 81–3, [cant. in honour of Juliusz Słowacki]
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ZOFIA CHECHLIŃSKA

Nota. A term used by Johannes de Grocheio and in several French lais, apparently describing lai form. *See* LAI, §1(iii).

Nota cambiata [changing note] (It.: 'changed note'; Fr. *note de rechange*; Ger. *Wechselnote*). A type of NON-HARMONIC NOTE. The term was introduced by Angelo Berardi (*Miscellanea musicale*, 1689) for an accented passing note, but after the publication of Fux's *Gradus ad Parnassum* (1725) it came to mean an unaccented non-harmonic note quitted by leap of a 3rd downwards; when used on its own, the noun CAMBIATA has a different (though related) meaning.

Both the 'Berardian cambiata' and the 'Fuxian cambiata' are regular features of Palestrina's musical style, the latter offering the only examples in his music of dissonances resolved by leap (ex.1). More recently the term 'nota cambiata' has been extended to include similar configurations used in the 15th and 16th centuries, as in

Ex.1 Palestrina: *Adjuro vos, Liber IV Motettorum*



ex.2, and to other figures in which two notes following a dissonance have been interchanged ('note cambiate') so

Ex.2 Du Fay: *Missa Sancti Jacobi*, Kyrie



Ex.3



that the dissonance is likewise quitted by leap of a 3rd, as in ex.3.

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WILLIAM DRABKIN

Nota procellaris (Lat.). A type of ornament, possibly vibrato. *See* ORNAMENTS, §1.

Notari, Angelo (*b* Padua, 14 Jan 1566; *d* London, Dec 1663). Italian composer. Although his horoscope (*GB-Lbl* Sloane 1707) gives 14 January 1566 as his date of birth, the engraved portrait on the frontispiece of his *Prime musiche nuove* (dedication signed 24 November 1613) gives 'Di Anni 40'. Presumably the engraving had been executed from a portrait painted some years before. Whether or not he was related to the madrigalist Giovanni Paolo Nodari (some of whose madrigals are in *GB-Lbl* Eg.3665), is not known. Before leaving Italy for England he was a member of the Venetian Accademia degli Sprovisti (with the nickname 'Il Negligente') and had contributed a piece to his fellow-Paduan Nicolò Legname's book of canzonets (1608).

Arriving in England, he entered the household of Prince Henry in 1610 or 1611; by 1618 he was in the service of Prince Charles. He seems to have acted as a spy for Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador, between 1621 and 1623, and on Christmas Day 1622 he sang at Mass in the ambassador's chapel. He continued to serve Prince Charles when he became king in 1625 and remained nominally one of the 'Lutes and Voices' of Charles II, in whose service he died. He may for a time about 1642 have belonged to the household of Lady (Mary) Herbert,

wife of Sir Richard Herbert, and may have travelled on the Continent during the Commonwealth.

His *Prime musiche nuove* was engraved by William Hole and published in London in 1613, or soon after. It contains settings of Italian poems in a variety of styles: monody (e.g. *Ahi, che s'acresce in me*), romanesca variations (*Piangono al pianger mio*), canzonetta (*Girate, occhi*), chamber duet (*Intenerite voi*), and divisions on Rore's madrigal *Ben qui si mostra*. A preface in English refers to the *trillo* – 'a kinde of sweetnes in your voice' – the symbol for which he gives as 'the letter "t" ether with one or two notes'. Undoubtedly this book was an important vehicle for the introduction of the more advanced Italian styles into England, even though the monodic pieces are on the whole less successful than the chamber duets and canzonettas. Notari also seems to have been the compiler of a manuscript of Italian monodies and other pieces (*Lbl* Add.31440), as well as parts of *Och* 878–80 (both dating from soon after 1643). These contain works by Monteverdi and various monodists, and possibly pieces by Notari himself. His portrait is reproduced in A.M. Hind: *Engraving in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, ii (Cambridge, 1964), pl.211.

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IAN SPINK

Nota sensibile (It.). *See* LEADING NOTE.

Notation. A visual analogue of musical sound, either as a record of sound heard or imagined, or as a set of visual instructions for performers.

This article includes a discussion of notation in society (§II), subdivided into its primary types, which are considered with reference to various notational systems. Other specialized aspects of notation are considered in separate entries: BRAILLE NOTATION; CHEIRONOMY; EKPHONETIC NOTATION; PITCH NOMENCLATURE; SHAPE-NOTE HYMNODY; SOLMIZATION; TABLATURE; and TONIC SOL-FA. For non-Western notational systems *see*, in particular, CHINA, §§II, IV; INDONESIA; and JAPAN, §III. Other related entries on technical subjects include CONDUCTING; IMPROVISATION; MODE; PSYCHOLOGY OF MUSIC; SCALE; and TUNING.

Whereas Western notation is considered as such in §III, a discussion of musical documents as sources – their physical make-up and production, their format, the layout and presentation of the music, the ordering of their contents – will be found in SOURCES, MS; SOURCES OF INSTRUMENTAL ENSEMBLE MUSIC TO 1630; SOURCES OF KEYBOARD MUSIC TO 1660; and SOURCES OF LUTE MUSIC; in these entries reference is made to notations, and the descriptions of individual sources contain statements on notational types. *See also* ACCIDENTAL; CLEF; CONTINUO; NOTE VALUES; ORNAMENTS; PROPORTIONAL NOTATION; REST; SCORE; STAFF; and definitions of individual notational terms.

I. General. II. Notational systems. III. History of Western notation.

I. General

1. Introduction. 2. Chronology.

1. INTRODUCTION. The concept of notation may be regarded as including formalized systems of signalling between musicians, and systems of memorizing and teaching music with spoken syllables, words or phrases; the latter are sometimes called 'oral notations'. The origins of written notations can often be seen to lie in them; further, they are the natural musical communication systems of non-literate societies and non-literate classes of society. The continent of Africa south of the Sahara, for example, except for the white communities, uses no written notations, but many of its indigenous peoples communicate about music through speech in the form of syllables, word patterns, the numbers of xylophone keys, the names of strings and other technical vocabulary. Even in 11th-century Europe instrumentalists had no notation, and church musicians communicated mainly through syllables and hand signs rather than through the reading of a score in rehearsal or performance.

Written notation is a phenomenon of literate social classes. In all societies it has developed only after the formation of a script for language, and it has generally used elements of that script. Some cultures are particularly notation-prone in this sense: China, Korea, Japan and Europe have each accumulated a large number of notational systems to serve different purposes. Others, until the late 19th century, have developed very few, notably the countries of the Middle East (except Turkey), South and South-east Asia.

The use of notation and the form it takes are the result of the social and cultural context in which it has been developed. It is socially significant that, while in Western Europe it was vocal music that first acquired a written notation, in Greece, Mesopotamia and Pharaonic Egypt it seems to have been instrumental music. In the latter two cultures, and in later East Asian instrumental notations, the script of language was used as part of the notation; in the former, as in the chant notations of Byzantium and Eastern Europe, of Tibet, Mongolia and Japan, non-linguistic symbols were used and script was required only for sung texts. Furthermore some notations are designed to give all necessary information, others give only a small part of what would be needed by the non-adept. In the latter, the remaining information is withheld either because it is already learnt and therefore unnecessary, or because there is a desire to keep it secret.

Broadly speaking, there are two motivations behind the use of notation: the need for a memory aid and the need to communicate. As a memory aid, it enables the performer to encompass a far greater repertory than he or she could otherwise retain and realize. It may assist the performer's memory in music that is already basically known but not necessarily remembered perfectly; it may provide a framework for improvisation; or it may enable the reading of music at sight (this last concept is a predominantly Western one). A written notation provides the means to sketch and draft musical ideas during the composing process. As a means of communication, it preserves music over a long period; it facilitates performance by those not in contact with the composer; it equips

the conductor with a set of spatial symbols by which to obtain certain responses during performance; it presents music as a 'text' for study and analysis, and offers the student the means of bringing it to life in his or her mind when no performance is possible; and it serves the theorist as a medium by which to demonstrate musical or acoustical laws.

2. CHRONOLOGY. In trying to see all notations in a single chronological sweep it must be borne in mind that these developments can be seen only in their surviving remnants. A notation preserved as a musical source of a given date may be unrepresentative; a theoretical description of a notation may be ambiguous or inaccurate; a literary allusion to notational practice may take poetic licence or even be fictional. Interpretation of what survives is the first of the difficulties. Filling in the gaps between the survivals is the second, particularly when this involves not merely decades or centuries but millennia.

The earliest recognized form of writing by any civilization was the system used by the Mesopotamian civilizations of the Sumerians, Babylonians, Assyrians and others in the Middle East. Its pictographic origins date from at least the middle of the 4th millennium BCE and its developed syllabic-logographic cuneiform system survived into the Hellenistic period and down to the 1st century CE. The hieroglyphic writing of the ancient Egyptians, a mixture of ideographs (pictures representing not merely the objects depicted but also ideas associated with those objects) and phonetic symbols, survived to about 400 CE. It is in connection with these hieroglyphs, carved on the walls of temples and tombs, that the first visual representations of musical sounds may have survived (*see* CHEIRONOMY, §2 and illustrations): certain of the carvings from the Pharaonic period contain scenes of music-making that show what appears to be a system of arm, hand and finger signs by which instructors signalled details of melody and rhythm to performers (Hickmann, *RBM*, x, 1956, p.1 and *MGG1*). Moreover, some of the hieroglyphic signs themselves, from the Old Kingdom (*c*2686–2181 BCE) and New Kingdom (1567–1085 BCE), have been interpreted as specific written musical instructions. Cheironomy may also have existed among the Jews by the 2nd millennium BCE, and it is probable that some of the signs in the system of biblical accents developed by the Masoretic scholars of Tiberias during the 9th century CE and the early 10th were originally based on the cheironomic hand signs used to assist the singer in his chanting (see CHEIRONOMY, §4; EKPHONETIC NOTATION, §2; JEWISH MUSIC, §III, 2(ii)).

From ancient MESOPOTAMIA, there is clear evidence of a system of phonetic notation, that is, descriptive musical instructions that may be viewed as skeletal notations for string instruments. This system is preserved in about 80 Akkadian cuneiform tablets and fragments dating from between 1800 and 500 BCE, during which period the system was used consistently. This 'notation' is based on a technical Akkadian (and to a lesser extent Sumerian) music terminology that gives individual names to nine musical strings or 'notes' and to 14 basic terms describing intervals of the 4th and 5th that were used in tuning string instruments (according to seven heptatonic diatonic scales) and terms for 3rds and 6ths that appear to have been used to fine tune (or temper in some way) the seven notes generated for each scale. The combination of string names and interval terms is used to describe the tuning procedure and the generation of the seven scales, and forms a skeletal phonetic notation or a kind of phonetic instrumental tablature. This system was used in both northern and southern Mesopotamia and has also been found at the ancient site of Ugarit (Ras Shamra, Syria). Tablets from the latter site dating from about 1400 BCE include hymn texts written in the Hurrian language followed by the standard Akkadian musical instructions for intervals and scale. Unusually, these tablets have number signs after the interval names; this 'notational' system is open to various interpretations, but it seems likely to have been intended for the instrumentalist accompanying the singing.

The earliest known alphabetical system of notation (i.e. a system in which each sign represents a single sound, each sound being designated by one sign) is that of Ugarit, which is preserved on clay tablets using unique cuneiform signs to represent 30 letters; it appears to have evolved from cuneiform syllabaries of the mid-2nd millennium BCE in Syria-Palestine. The later North-Semitic alphabet of 22 letters, which developed towards the end of the 2nd millennium BCE, was the origin of, among others, the Hebrew and Greek alphabets, both of which emerged in the early centuries of the 1st millennium BCE. The first musical notation known to harness the alphabet, with its built-in ordering, to the representation of pitch was the older of the two Greek systems, the so-called 'instrumental' notation, which used a mixture of Greek letters and other symbols to represent a continuous diatonic series of notes over three octaves. Each letter or sign appears also rotated on to its side and also in mirror image to represent the diatonic note raised by a quarter-tone and semitone respectively. This notation must have come into existence some time before 500 BCE, whereas the 'vocal' notation, using the Ionic alphabet, cannot be much earlier than the 5th century BCE (*see* GREECE, §I, 7 and ALYPIUS).

An essentially ideographic system of writing existed in China probably by early in the 2nd millennium BCE, with each 'character' of the script representing a single monosyllabic word. The earliest reference to the use of monosyllables to represent musical pitches dates from the 4th century BCE; and the first detailed discussion, dating from the 2nd century BCE, shows the five monosyllables (and hence written characters) *gong*, *shang*, *jue*, *zhi* and *yu* denoting the notes of the Chinese pentatonic scale. These monosyllables are in effect solmization syllables in that they designate the five points on the pentatonic scale, movable to any fixed pitch. On the other hand, in the 3rd century BCE the earliest surviving account was given of the fixed-pitch system of the 12 *lü*, each pitch of which had its own name: the starting-pitch was called *huangzhong* ('yellow bell'), the 5th above it *linzhong* ('forest bell'), the 5th above that (i.e. the 2nd) *taicou* ('great frame') etc. Each pitch was thus represented in script by a pair of characters (*see* CHINA, §II).

Reference has already been made to the addition of accents to Hebrew biblical texts. The use of such accents for the cantillation of texts is called EKPHONETIC NOTATION. A developed system of nine accents, indicated by the placing and grouping of dots, existed for Hebrew texts in the 6th century CE. This system was developed to a high degree of sophistication in the ensuing centuries. Other traditions that use ekphonetic notations include the liturgical monophonic repertories of the Syrian, Armenian and Byzantine Churches.

The earliest clear examples of instrumental tablature date from the 6th and 8th centuries CE. The first is an elaborate set of technical instructions for the Chinese zither, the *qin*, directing how to play the piece entitled *Youlan*. The system, known as *wenzi pu*, remained in existence until the 10th century. A tablature notation for the Japanese lute, the *biwa*, dates from 768 and derives from the Chinese court tradition.

The earliest surviving neumatic notations for Western plainchant date from the 9th century: notably the stroke (accent) neumes of St Gallen in Switzerland, in which finely drawn lines, curves and hooks represent the rise and fall of the melodic line graphically; and the point neumes of Palaeo-Frankish, Messine (or Lorraine) and Aquitanian sources. From this century also dates the earliest survival of Byzantine ekphonetic notation. It may have been not long after this that neumatic notation first came into use in Tibet for the singing of Buddhist chant, possibly by influence from the ekphonetic system of the Syrian Church transmitted by the Nestorians (*see* SYRIAN CHURCH MUSIC, §6; TIBETAN MUSIC, §II, 4; BUDDHIST MUSIC, §2).

In the 9th century dasian notation, which in its rotation of notational signs has a peculiar similarity to Greek 'instrumental' notation, was used to notate the earliest surviving Western polyphony: the so-called 'parallel' and 'free' organum of *Musica enchiriadis*. There were also the first traces of an alphabetical notation for Arabic theory – not used in musical practice – though its earliest survivals date only from the 13th century.

The Chinese *gongche* notation seems to have originated in the Central Asian kingdom of Kuqa before the 6th century CE, but only reappears in extant sources from the Song dynasty (960–1279). While at first it was, perhaps, a form of tablature for the double reed pipe *bili*, in later centuries it was used as a more general *solfeggio* type of notation for both vocal and instrumental music. The 10th century saw the change to the new *jianzipu* tablature for the Chinese *qin*: a highly compact notation in which information about right-hand plucking and left-hand positioning, duration and embellishment is packed into a single complex symbol (see §II, 6 and 8 below; *see also* CHINA, §IV, 4(ii)(a) and QIN, especially fig.2).

From the 10th century to the 12th survive the earliest partbooks for Japanese court wind and string instruments. These are primarily tablatures, but *koto* zither notation is also one of the earliest number notations (see below, §5; *see also* JAPAN, §III, 3).

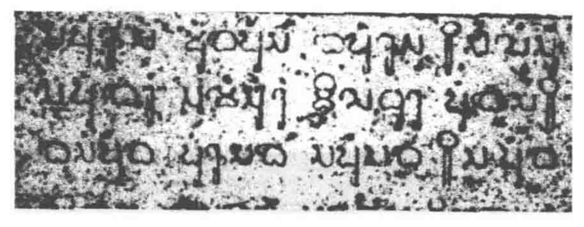
The 11th century saw in western Europe the innovations associated with Guido of Arezzo: the staff, the Guidonian hand (a type of cheironomy) and solmization syllables; in eastern Europe the earliest neumes in Byzantine and Slavonic manuscripts; and in the Middle East the use of ekphonetic notations in Georgian and Armenian manuscripts. The 12th century saw the beginnings of *sumifu* neumatic notation in the Japanese secular epic, in which teardrop-shaped lines placed to the left of written text signify stereotyped melodic patterns; and the 13th century the beginning of *goin-hakase* for Buddhist chant, in which the angle at which a short line is placed indicates the pitch of the note to be sung, and *gomafu* notation (related to *sumifu*) for Japanese noh drama (see §II, 7 and fig.13 below; *see also* JAPAN, §III, 2).

South Asian solmization syllables date back to at least the 4th and 5th centuries CE. In the *Nāṭyaśāstra* seven pitches are represented by the syllables *sa ri ga ma pa dha ni*, which are said to be shorthand for the Sanskrit *ṣaḍja ṛṣabha gāndhāra madhyama pañcama dhaivata* and *niṣāda*. Widdess (1996, p.393), however, asserts that the short forms are oral in origin and not abbreviations. Although these pitches are named in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* the earliest known South Asian notation dates from the 7th–8th century CE and is found on a rock inscription at Kudumiyamalai in Tamil Nadu (fig.1). Syllables used as mnemonics for drum-patterns are also described in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, and particularly in the 13th-century *Saṅgīta-ratnākara*.

Meanwhile, Western notation was undergoing fundamental changes, with the formation of square notation in the 12th century, the development of the rhythmic modes and the evolution of the mensural system with its highly complex rhythmic possibilities. Contemporary with the peak of this development, in the mid-15th century, was the formation, in Korea, of the only alphabet among all the East Asian civilizations. Following soon on that was the importation and adaptation of Chinese notations for Korean use: the *yulchapo*, which took over the abbreviated names of the Chinese *lü* but pronounced them in Korean; the *kŏmun'go* tablature for the six-string zither, which adopted the compact Chinese *jianzipu* but incorporated Korean letters into it (see §II, 8 and fig.16 below); the *kongch'ŏk po*, which adapted the Chinese *gongche* notation for ritual melodies; and the 'five-note abbreviated notation' *oŭmyakpo* which corresponds to the ancient Chinese solmization system but uses a central degree of the scale *kung* (the lowest of the five Chinese degrees) and ranges outward from that using numbers and prefixes: *sangil* ('above one') for the note immediately above it, *hasam* ('below three') for the third note below it, and so on. With these went the invention of a Korean mensural notation, *chŏngganbo*: a grid system, in which each space corresponds to one time unit and into which a pitch symbol from one of the pitch notations could be placed as required (*see also* KOREA, §2).

During the 15th and 16th centuries the first Western instrumental tablatures developed (though they may possibly have begun in the 13th century), the earliest being for keyboard instruments and the lute family. The 16th century saw the gradual breakdown of the proportional mensural system of values into a fixed-value system in which each note value contained two of the next value down. At the same time, unmeasured square notation was still used for plainchant, and for monophonic secular music in Germany, as was neumatic notation – the 'Reformed' notation – in Byzantine and Russian sources.

It was probably in the 16th century (though possibly earlier) that Balinese solmization syllables for gamelan compositions in the *pelog* system came to be written down in Balinese script as a notation. Only at the end of



1. Small portion of the Kudumiyamalai inscription, Tamil Nadu, 7th–8th centuries CE

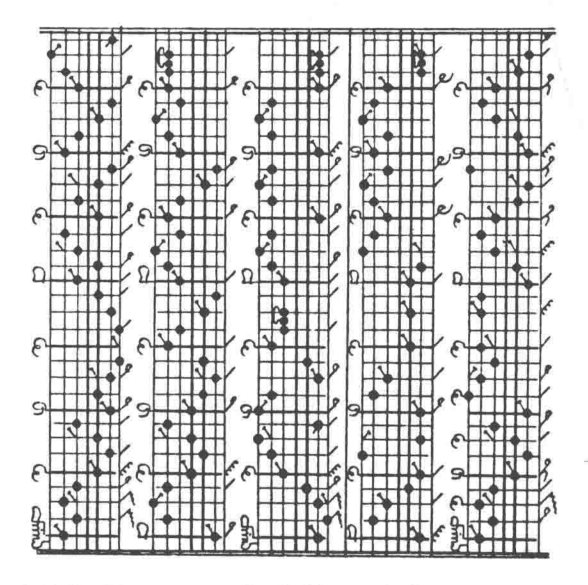
the 19th century did the *nut andha* ('ladder notation') of Central Java used in the Yogyakarta *kraton* manuscripts come into use: a grid system, with dots not unlike the Western staff (though vertical rather than horizontal; fig.2). Another system, *nut ranté* ('chain notation') using six horizontal lines, with dots above or below the lines representing pitches and connected with 'chains', came into use only a few years before that; at the same time a number notation for pitches, *nut angka*, also known as *kepatihan*, was introduced.

The 19th and 20th centuries saw in Western notation a formalization of the orchestral score, an increasing use of non-Italian verbal indications as auxiliary signs to staff notation, and a more detailed specification of all parameters of sound in an attempt to prescribe every detail of performance. This has brought with it proposals for the reform of notation, in particular two: Klavarskribo and Equitone. Compositional indeterminacy imposed new demands upon staff notation that at first were answered by 'space–time notation' and later by specially designed systems. Both representational and technical notations have also been devised for electronic music.

Many East Asian notations came under the influence of staff notation during the 19th century, and new ones arose using Arabic numbers (mostly based on the Galin-Paris-Chevé method see below, §II, 5) and recently developed solmization-syllable systems. Just as the writing of microtonal music by Western composers in the 20th century placed strain upon the rigid pitch representation of staff notation and caused the introduction of quarter-tone and sixth-tone accidentals and signs for microtonal inflection, so too the need to transcribe non-Western music has strained the capacity of staff notation. Two new methods have been developed: that of the MELOGRAPH, an invention by Charles Seeger that traces a pitch–time graph immediately above a volume–time graph; and a device by Karl Dahlback that produces two similar graphs by means of a cathode-ray tube.

Taking a historical perspective, between about 500 BCE and the 10th century CE most of the world's principal alphabetical and ideographic notations (many of the latter probably arising out of solmization-syllable systems) were established. Some of the ideographic notations were instrumental tablatures (see §II, 5 below), all of them from East Asia; Western tablatures developed later. Towards the end of this period was another in which accents were used as notational signs: this is concentrated particularly in the period from the 5th century to the 11th CE, although the origins of some systems may be earlier. Most of the world's neumatic systems seem to have developed in the surprisingly narrow period between the 9th century and the 12th: neumes in Western Europe, in Byzantium and Eastern Europe, in Japan and probably also in Tibet. Number notations are far later developments: apart from the use of numbers in Chinese *qin* tablature of the 10th century and Japanese *koto* tablature by the 12th, they arose in Korea in the 15th century, in Western tablatures in the 16th and thereafter with increasing popularity in the 19th and 20th centuries.

For general bibliography see end of §II.



2. *Table of Javanese nut andha ('ladder notation')*

II. Notational systems

1. Materials: general. 2. Letters of the alphabet. 3. Syllables. 4. Syllables and vowel acoustics. 5. Words. 6. Numbers. 7. Graphic signs. 8. Hybrid systems.

1. MATERIALS: GENERAL. A musical notation requires, in essence, two things: an assemblage of 'signs' and a convention as to how those signs relate to one another. A written musical notation requires further a spatial arrangement of the signs on the writing surface that makes a 'system' of the assemblage; it is this system that forms an analogue with the system of musical sound, thus enabling the signs to 'signify' individual elements of it.

Only rarely has music fashioned its own sign systems. It has generally been content to take over systems in use for other purposes (such as the representation of arithmetical values, of speech inflection or of the sounds of natural language). In so doing it has often discarded part of the system and modified the shapes of the signs to suit its purpose. Such signs, the 'materials' of notation, can be broadly classified into two categories: the phonic and the graphic. Phonic signs include letters, syllable-signs and word-signs (signs that convey both the meaning of the word and its sound in speech – known as 'logo-syllabic signs'). Certain systems of numerals also come into this category: systems that assign names to at least the lower range of numbers. Graphic signs include geometric shapes, lines, dots, curves, grids and the like.

Phonic signs are by their nature already representational of sounds outside music. They can be 'spoken' as well as written, which increases their communicative power. But they have an all-important additional quality: either they have meaning (like word signs and numbers) or they belong to some system of ordering (like letters and in some cases syllables). These are the properties that were implied above in speaking of the adoption for other purposes of systems already in use.

2. LETTERS OF THE ALPHABET. For the requirements of an alphabetical notation, it is not in fact the phonic – or perhaps 'phonemic', since each letter at least in principle signifies a single sound of language – quality of a letter that is important but rather its position within a conventional order: an alphabet. The ordering of letters in an alphabet offers a ready-made base for notation, as it can be directly related to the intrinsic acoustical order of musical sound. It thus becomes an analogue of musical

order: an item in the musical order is specified by reference to its place on the analogous system.

As stated above (§I, 2), the earliest-known alphabetic writing dates to the middle of the 2nd millennium BCE. The first known to have an established order of letters is the Hebrew alphabet, traceable back at least to the 6th century BCE. This order corresponds to the acrostics in the Bible (*Lamentations*, *Proverbs*, *Psalms*). Until the 17th century alphabetic writing existed in only a small area of the world: the Middle East, the Mediterranean countries, Eastern and Western Europe, South Asia and Korea. The earliest alphabets – Hebrew, Phoenician, Aramaic and North Semitic – all developed between 1000 and 500 BCE. From these developed the Greek, Latin, Cyrillic and early Indian alphabets. As to order of letters, the Greek alphabet is close to the Hebrew, the Latin close to the Greek.

One of the advantages of an alphabet for music notation is that it consists of single rather than compound signs – signs that are distinctive and at the same time compact. Another is that it contains a convenient number of signs (alphabets range from about 20 to 50 letters, most having between 20 and 30) to represent a chromatic double octave or a diatonic triple octave; fewer can be selected to represent a single octave in a repeating scheme or the frets on a stopped-string instrument. Moreover, the letters of alphabets are generally assigned names (the fourth letter of the Hebrew alphabet being called *daleth*, the Greek *delta*, the Latin and modern Western European *de* and so forth), so that the notation can be spoken as well as written.

The alphabet was used for pitch notation in ancient Greece, and then around the 10th century in western Europe before being formalized in shape and absorbed into staff notation as clefs (C, F, G) and accidentals ('b', 'h'). The alphabetic system is implicit still in staff notation, since in most European countries the placing of notes on the staff is translated into spoken letter-names (except in France, where they are translated into fixed solmization syllables; see PITCH NOMENCLATURE). The Western system is a repeating one, since the letters refer only to pitch classes, not to specific pitches; therefore the 19th-century German philosopher and scientist Hermann von Helmholtz developed a scheme of dashes to indicate pitch register (the dashes deriving from Greek notation but the letters coming from the Latin alphabet): *A*,,, *B*,,, *C*,–*B*,, *C*–*B*, *c*–*b*, *c*′ (middle C)–*b*′, *c*″–*b*″, *c*‴–*b*‴ etc. The alphabet has also been used to denote keys, finger positions or frets in many Western tablature systems.

There are many examples of verbal abbreviation in Western notations: the letter *p*, for example, is used as an instruction to play softly (*piano*) and, in a rather elaborate formalized fashion (as an alternative to 'Ped.'), below the staves, to indicate application of the sustaining pedal of the piano. 'Significative letters' were used in conjunction with some early Western neumatic notations to indicate duration (*c* to stand for *cito* or *celeriter*, 'quickly', i.e. 'short' value) and direction of movement (*l* to stand for *levare*, *s* for *sursum*, both meaning 'upward').

In all these non-alphabetic uses of letters, the notation can be described as 'secondary': that is, the letters signify words that in turn signify musical elements, rather than signifying musical elements directly. However, such is the force of tradition that formalized letters often cease to be recognizable: by this means a pedal mark has become a graphic sign that refers directly to the pianist's foot movement. The same is true even for alphabetic uses of letters: the treble and bass clefs are now scarcely recognizable as formalized letters 'G' and 'F', and have become instead graphic signs for the two fixed pitches *g*′ and *f* with a range of special technical connotations associated.

(a)	ding	dong	dèng	dung	dang
(b)	ulu	taling-tedung	taling	suku	bisah

3. Balinese slendro scale

3. SYLLABLES. As with letters, syllable notations fall into two categories: those that operate by reference to an established order of syllables, and thus relate directly to a musical order ('primary' notations), and those that use syllabic abbreviations of words, and operate by reference to meaning or name ('secondary' notations). Cutting across this categorization is the orthographic one: that some of these syllable systems are expressible as single symbols (ideograms or 'characters') while others have to be spelt out in letters.

A classic case of the first ('primary') category is the set of Japanese syllables *i*, *ro*, *ha*, *ni*, *ho*, *he*, *to*. These are the initial seven syllables of an established order of some 48 Japanese characters closely analogous to the order of an alphabet – that is, it is a conventional order rather than an intrinsic one. In Western music terminology in Japan, these first seven function exactly like the Western letters A, B, C, D, E, F, G, with repetition for each octave in the same way. Thus a C major scale is represented as *ha–ni–ho–he–to–i–ro–ha*, each having a single character to represent it in written form. (A more extensive set from this series was used in 17th-century *shamisen* tablature to represent successive finger positions from the open bass string to the highest position on the treble string.) A simpler example is the set of syllables for the Balinese five-note *slendro* scale, a set that rotates through five vowel sounds: *ding–dong–dèng–dung–dang*. It is almost an alphabetical system using only vowels, save for the fact that Balinese literary script uses characters rather than letters and therefore has no alphabet. The characters for these five notes are shown in fig.3 (*see also* INDONESIA, §II, 1(ii)(b), Table 1).

Similar to this is the set of Chinese syllables for the pentatonic scale: *gong–shang–jue–zhi–yu* (see fig.4*a*, with the parallel set of Korean syllables using the same Chinese characters, fig.4*b*).

(a)	kung	shang	chüeh	chih	yü
	宮	商	角	徵	羽
(b)	kung	sang	kak	chih	u

4. Chinese characters of the pentatonic scale with (a) Chinese and (b) Korean syllables

The Chinese *gongche* notation is a more complex system of the same type. It consists of ten characters, or ideograms, each representing a syllable that stands for a note on a largely diatonic scale extending over a 9th.

合	四	一	上	勾	尺	工	凡	六	五
he	si	yi	shang	gou	che	gong	fan	liu	wu
c	*d*	*e*	*f*	*f*♯	*g*	*a*	*b*	*c′*	*d′*

5. Chinese gongche notation

Fig.5 shows these syllables and their characters, with *he* arbitrarily set to the pitch *c*. Octave positions are sometimes shown by the addition of an affix or small mark. A chromatic scale could be produced from this by the use of the prefixes *gao-* ('high') to raise a note, or *xia-* ('low') to lower it, by a semitone; but after the 11th century *gao-* ceased to be used.

Korean musicians in the 15th century adopted the ten basic characters, applying their own pronunciation: *hap*, *sa*, *il*, *sang*, *ku*, *ch'ŏk*, *kong*, *pŏm*, *yuk* and *o*. The Korean notation is called *kongch'ŏkpo* and it does not use affixes or marks, allowing *sa* to denote *d* or *d*♭, and similarly with *il*, *kong* and *pŏm*. It is noteworthy that four of the characters in *gongche* notation are numerals (*si* is four, *yi* is one, *liu* is six and *wu* is five); thus the notation is partly numerical.

The South Asian system of syllabic solmization is usually written down in Devanagiri script in north India, or Tamil or Telugu script in the south (fig.6). Although notation is generally considered to be of little importance in what are predominantly oral traditions, it is widely used as an aid to memory or as a learning tool. This is particularly true of Karnatak music, which relies to a much greater extent on a body of compositions than does Hindustani music. The syllables themselves may describe the duration of a pitch through the use of a short or long vowel: usually a short vowel stands for a pitch of one *mātrā* ('beat') or less and a long vowel for two beats or more. Symbols modifying the pitches vary from system to system but common devices include a short vertical line above the syllable denoting a sharpened pitch, or a short horizontal line below the syllable showing a flattened pitch. The syllables are arranged on a framework which shows the rhythmic cycle (*tāla*), one line of notation being equal to one cycle of the *tāla* (fig.7).

(a)	सा	रे	ग	म	प	ध	नी
	sa	ri	ga	ma	pa	dha	ni
(b)	ஸ	ரி	க	ம	ப	த	நி

6. South Asian syllabic solmization: (a) Devanagiri script; (b) Tamil (Telugu) script

Rather different, but not unlike the Indian solmization syllables, are the Western medieval *ut*, *re*, *mi*, *fa*, *sol*, *la*. They are indeed syllables in written form, being the initial syllables of the first six lines of a seven-line hymn to St John, the text of which is attested from about 800 and would have been well known in the 11th century when Guido of Arezzo created a solmization system from them. The syllables were by chance distinctive, and operated by reference to a textual order. But their referential character was much strengthened by the fact that the first six lines of the hymn's melody began successively on the degrees of the scale *c–a*, and they thus operated by reference also to an established external musical order – though whether the melody existed before the solmization system, or whether it was designed as a supporting aid, is not known.

राग नंद (आनन्दी)

चीज.

स्थायोः—मोरे घर आवो श्याम रैन रहे कौन धाम ।

अंतराः—रटत रटत रतियां मोहे बीतीं, जपत रही मैं तुमरो नाम ॥

स्वरांकन

ताल–एकताल मध्यलय

स्थायी.

गम घप | रे – | सा सा | ग – | म ग | प प
मोऽ ऽऽ | रे ऽ | घ र | आ ऽ | वो श्या | ऽ म
• | ३ | ४ | × | • | २

ग म | प ध | नि प | ध मे | प सा | ग म
रै ऽ | न र | हे ऽ | कौ ऽ | न धा | ऽ म
० | ३ | ४ | × | • | २

अन्तरा.

प प | सां सां | सां सां | निसां रेंसां | नि प | ग म
र ट | त र | ट त | रऽ तिऽ | यां ऽ | ऽ ऽ
× | ० | २ | • | ३ | ४

ध प | रे सा | नि सा | ग म | प ध | नि प
मो हे | बी तीं | ज प | त र | ही ऽ | मैं ऽ
× | ० | २ | ० | ३ | ४

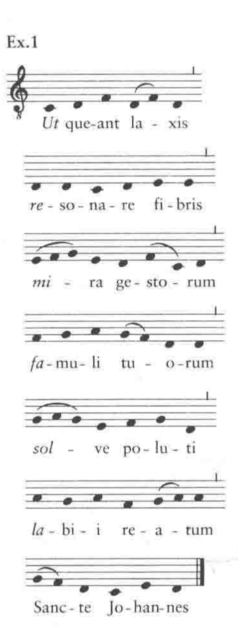
प ध | मे प | ग म
तु म | रो ना | ऽ म
× | ० | २

7. Page from a modern Indian collection of vocal compositions with notation (Ramanlal Mehta, 'Agra gharana')

The derivation is shown in ex.1. Out of this succession of notes was created the 'natural hexachord', which was flanked by a 'soft hexachord' of the same succession transposed a 5th lower and a 'hard hexachord' transposed a 5th higher, the three forming together the underlying musical system known as *musica recta*. This total system was transposable to other relative pitch levels, and isolated hexachords of 'alien' pitch levels could be introduced, each hexachord having the identical set of syllables (*see* SOLMIZATION, §I, 1; HEXACHORD; MUSICA FICTA; and GUIDO OF AREZZO).

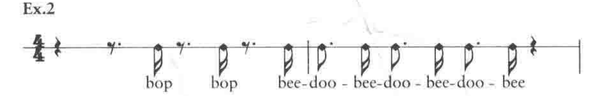
Javanese *titilaras kepatihan* ('cipher notation') whose seven syllables, *ji*, *ro*, *lu*, *pat*, *ma*, *nem* and *pi*, are abbreviations for the numbers 1 to 7: *siji*, *loro*, *telu*, *papat*, *lima*, *nĕm* and *pitu*. In addition to their referential power and their capacity (as abbreviations) to refer to the meanings of words, syllables have a further quality: onomatopoeia. The degree of openness or closedness of the vowel sound, the presence or absence of initial and terminal consonants, and the character of any such consonants (dental, labial, nasal etc.) is frequently used to reflect tone-colour, attack or rhythmic value. A simple case is 'scat singing' in jazz, where *doo* is used for a stressed and sustained note, *bee* for a short unstressed note and *bop* for a staccato note, stressed but often off the beat. Thus the pattern *bop bop bee-doo-bee-doo-bee-doo-bee* can be sung to the rhythmic pattern shown in ex.2 by a scat singer almost as if it were a rhythmic

Ex.1



solmization; it can also be used as a verbal communication of the rhythmic pattern and is thus halfway to being a notation of a rudimentary and imprecise kind.

Ex.2



Onomatopoeic syllables are used by Ewe drummers in Ghana. Two strokes of the butts of the hands in succession at the centre of the drumhead are represented by the syllables *ga-da*, the softer sounds of the hands brushing across the centre of the drum by *ka-tsa*, and the use of splayed fingers to produce a combination of round drum tone and sharpness of attack by *ga-tsya*. But the relationship between drum sounds and syllables goes beyond representation: it is an identity – the drums are themselves thought of as producing the syllables, and when syllables are spoken to the drums they are spoken at the same pitches as the drums. Oral drum notations are widespread in South Asia and are described at length elsewhere in the dictionary (*see* INDIA, §III, 6(iii)(a)–(b); MRDANGAM, §1; and TABLA, §3).

4. SYLLABLES AND VOWEL ACOUSTICS. Whereas the syllabic systems discussed above (§II, 3) represent specific pitch classes, scale degrees or performance techniques, other syllable systems, less formalized but highly regular, tend to use vowels and consonants in accordance with their acoustic phonetic features to reflect iconically relative pitch, duration, resonance, loudness and so on. The relations between such syllables and musical features are thus far from arbitrary.

Vowels, in particular, are often used in accordance with what phoneticians call their intrinsic pitch, intensity and duration (see Hughes, 1989). For example, the vowels *i*, *e*, *a*, *o*, *u* in their approximate Spanish or Japanese pronunciations are often perceived as constituting a descending pitch sequence (reflecting their 'second formant' pitches). Many cultures exploit this intrinsic pitch ordering of vowels in teaching instrumental music. Thus the fixed melodic repertory of the Japanese *nōkan* flute is taught by singing mnemonics such as *ohyarai houhouhi*, in which successive vowel pairs reveal melodic direction with over 90% accuracy: the sequences *ohya*, *rai*, *uho* and *uhi* all represent melodic ascents, with *uhi* signifying the largest leap because its two vowels are at opposite ends of the pitch spectrum; *iho* and *hou* represent melodic descents (*see* JAPAN, §III, 4). In several such systems in Japan (where scholars call them *shōga*) and Korea (*yukpo* or *kum*), exceptions to this relationship between vowels and melodic direction often result from the competing acoustics of intrinsic duration and intensity, whereby *a* is favoured for comparatively long, loud or metrically important notes, while *i* and *u* are used for weak or short notes, with *e* and *o* in between.

Consonants also play a role. In the sequence *teren* for Japanese *shamisen* lute, *t* indicates a normal, resonant down-pluck; *r* signifies a gentler sound (never the initial note of a phrase), either an up-pluck or a left-hand pizzicato; and *n* shows that the second sound is longer than the first. In many drum mnemonics throughout the world, a final *k* – a stopped sound – represents a damped stroke, while a final nasal or vowel shows that the sound is left to resonate and decay naturally.

Such systems could be called 'acoustic-iconic systems'. Their oral origins are reflected in the lack of any indigenous explanations for their patterning; their iconic symbolic power (teachers emphasize their importance) lies precisely in their acoustic naturalness. Today, however, such systems are often written down. In many Japanese and Korean written notation systems (which tend to be different for each instrument), each line of tablature or pitch notation is accompanied by a line of acoustic-iconic syllables (see below, fig.16*b*). The fact that this may happen even when this line adds no information to the tablature, as in *shamisen bunka-fu* notation, confirms the traditional importance of such syllables in transmission.

5. WORDS. Words have assumed a place in Western staff notation only during the last 350 years or so. They have done so with the rise of the score and of the desire of composers to specify the instrumental forces for their music; and this has happened simultaneously with the desire also to specify tempo, mood, character and detailed matters of tone production and attack (*see* TEMPO AND EXPRESSION MARKS). Thus, for tempo, words such as *largo* and *allegro* were introduced, and a set of modifiers was applied to them to express shades of meaning: *molto*, *assai*, *non troppo*, *-etto* and so on. Such words, together with others expressing mood and character – such as *andante*, *scherzo* and *scherzando*, *dolente* – generally appear at the beginnings of sections or whole movements (even serving as titles). It is no coincidence that their introduction occurred in that part of the Baroque period during which the doctrine of the Affections (*Affektenlehre*) was the predominant aesthetic, and that a great expansion of the range of terms, and of the languages from which they were drawn, took place during the Romantic era. Other words, such as *rallentando*, *ritenuto* and *stringendo* for tempo, and *pizzicato*, *leggiero* and *flautando* for attack and tone production, control temporary changes and localized features, and thus appear in the course of the musical notation.

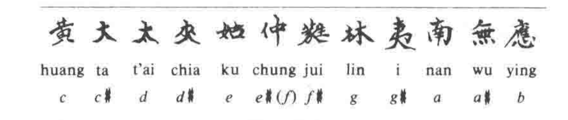
The most striking aspect of the Western use of words is its consistently auxiliary nature. Words are almost never

on the staff, but above or below it, or in the margin. They were not integral to the system when Western staff notation was being formulated during the late Middle Ages, when even the part-names tenor and contratenor were not always supplied and when a name was almost never given to the top voice. They have since become indispensable to staff notation, but have retained their auxiliary position, so that a music copyist will enter the note symbols representing pitch and rhythm before finding the most convenient places to add the verbal elements of the notation so that they can easily be read. This situation is not merely the result of historical circumstance. There is the more pragmatic ground that Western words are written alphabetically and thus have two disadvantages for notational use: they occupy a lot of space, and (more important) they take time to read and understand.

These disadvantages are not present in most East Asian writing systems, where characters represent syllables or words. The classical Chinese language is in essence made up of monosyllabic words that do not change or acquire prefixes or suffixes under different grammatical conditions as they do in most Western languages; the most that they do is become incorporated into compounds of monosyllables (e.g. *nü-ren* means 'female' + 'person', thus 'woman'). So when, in the Chinese fixed-pitch system of the 12 *lü*, the names of individual pitches are written down, each pitch is represented by a pair of ideograms. Moreover, when the note names *huangzhong* ('yellow bell', pitch *c*), *linzhong* ('forest bell', *g*), *yingzhong* ('answering bell', *b*) and *jiazhong* ('pressed bell', *d*♯) are written down, the second ideogram is always the same. In fact, when the names of all the chromatic pitches are written down their first ideograms are distinctive (i.e. they do not require the second ideogram to distinguish them from others): '*yellow* bell' (*c*), '*greatest* tube' (*c*♯), '*great* frame' (*d*), '*pressed* bell' (*d*♯), '*old* purified' (*e*), '*mean* tube' (*e*♯ or *f*), '*luxuriant* vegetation' (*f*♯), '*forest* bell' (*g*), '*equalizing* rule' (*g*♯), '*southern* tube' (*a*), '*not* determined' (*a*♯) and '*answering* bell' (*b*). Thus in notation the names are abbreviated to their first words, as shown in fig.8; *see also* CHINA, §II, 4, Table 2.

Words are often used as 'labels' or memory aids for standard melodic formulae. The so-called neumatic notation of Japanese *karifu* relies on words beneath the graphic symbols to indicate a large amount of the melodic inflection. The same is true of Tibetan Buddhist notation, whose neumes have written above them verbal instructions as to vocal production, directional movement and ornamentation. In oral traditions, groups of words and whole phrases are used as mnemonics for standard patterns. Ex.3 shows an African instance: the sentence 'b'o tan ma tun ro'ko Baba ma j'iyan tan' ('else I must go back for more, Father, don't finish the yam') is broken up into syllables in the piece of music for a pair of hourglass drums and a small kettledrum, from the Yoruba in Nigeria.

6. NUMBERS. Numbers would seem to be the most readily adaptable of all materials for notational purposes. They provide a reference system that can control any or all parameters of musical sound, as the pioneers of integral serialism demonstrated. In particular, pitch can be controlled by assigning numbers to the notes of a scale, to the keys of a keyboard, to the finger positions or frets of a string instrument, or to the holes or valves of a wind instrument (or



8. Chinese fixed-pitch system of the 12 lü

the fingers of its players), and pitches can be represented in this way individually or relative to each other by the measurement of interval in a melody or chord. Duration lends itself most naturally to numerical representation because the hierarchy of beats in musical metre involves subdivision of a large time unit or multiplication and addition of small units and is thus intrinsically arithmetical. Any other parameter, such as loudness, attack or tone-colour, can in theory be measured as a scale of values and then be represented by those values as numbers (e.g. 1 for extremely soft, 5 for moderate and 10 for extremely loud, with the intervening numbers for gradations between these), but such systems have tended to be restricted to the coding of music for computers.

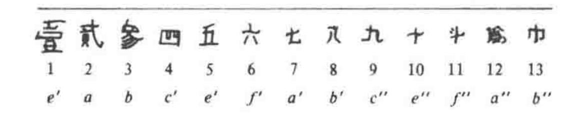
In practice, the measurement of pitch by numbers (other than for scientific purposes) has been very rare, and is a predominantly modern phenomenon. Perhaps the most important was the GALIN-PARIS-CHEVÉ METHOD from the mid-19th century. The numbers 1–7 represented pitches, with a dot below for lower octave and above for upper. The numbers were purely visual: they were spoken as *ut*, *re* and so on. This system was adopted in modified form in China, Japan and other countries. The abbreviated number system of the Javanese *kepatihan* notation has already been discussed as a syllabic notation (§3 above). Notational systems for the Japanese *koto* use the numbers 1–13 in Japanese characters (though the characters for 11–13 are not true numbers). But these are secondary systems in the sense that the numbers refer to the 13 strings on the instrument rather than directly to the pitches that they produce: the pitches will depend upon the scale to which the instrument has been tuned. Fig.9 shows the 13 characters and their Arabic numeral equivalents, together with the notes that they represent in the most common tuning (*hirajōshi*); because of the pentatonic scale in use the number of any note is five away from that of its octave. A similar system exists for the 25-string Chinese *se*, using the Chinese numbers 1–25. An even more extended number notation for pitch (not fixed-pitch) is the pitch representation of the Ford-Columbia computer input language for music. There, the numbers 1–49 designate leger lines and staff lines and their intervening spaces: thus 1 is the tenth leger line below the staff, 2 the space above that, and so on. The entire set of numbers is dependent on the clef governing the staff. One type of modern Japanese *shamisen* notation

Ex.3

1: b'o tan tun b'o tan tun

2: ma ro 'ko ma ro 'ko

3: b'o tan ma tun ro 'ko Ba - ba ma j'i-yan tan
else I must go back for more, Father, don't finish the yam



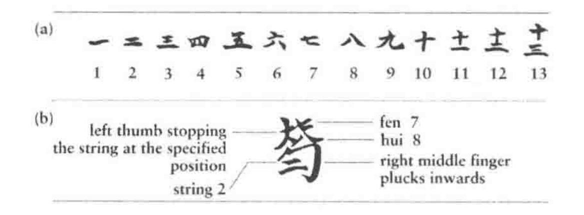
9. Numeric notation for the Japanese koto in hirajōshi tuning

uses three kinds of numeral: Arabic numerals form a direct pitch notation using 1–7 for an ascending scale in the central octave and the same numbers with a dot to the left and the right respectively to represent the notes of the lower and higher octaves: Roman numerals I–III to the right of these numbers show the three strings of the instrument; and Japanese characters for the numbers 1–3 indicate which finger is to be used.

Probably the earliest, and at the same time the most complex, number notation is the *jianzi pu* for the Chinese QIN. Like the notation for the Japanese KOTO, its numbers refer directly to the means of production and only indirectly to the sound produced. The strings of the *qin* can be stopped at studs which serve as frets, or at points between them. Numbers are used to indicate all three of these: 1–7 for strings, 1–13 for the studs (*hui*, in ascending order), and 1–10 as a guide to the distance between two studs (*fen*). The three (often only two, because there is not always a *fen* number) are gathered together into a complex note symbol, with the string number in the lower half and the other two in the upper half, together with other symbols to indicate the stopping finger, the plucking finger and certain technical details. Fig.10*a* shows the Chinese numerals, and Fig.10*b* shows a single note symbol made up of five elements, of which three are numbers and the remaining two special symbols.

Western notations use Arabic numerals in keyboard tablatures and Italian lute tablature of the Renaissance. They are also used in staff notation to indicate metre and to show unusual rhythmic groupings. Thus time signatures have a denominator that represents a level of note value (on a scale from semibreve = 1 to minim = 2, crotchet = 4, quaver = 8, semiquaver = 16 etc.: these numbers are used in American and German parlance to describe the levels of value, with semiquaver being '16th-note' and 'Sechzehntel') and a numerator that indicates the number of units of that level in a bar. A triplet in a duple metrical context is indicated by a number 3 within a slur mark, and in Chopin's music, for example, this is extended to groupings of 11, 21 and so on.

7. GRAPHIC SIGNS. The act of writing a succession of notational syllables is graphic because it traces a path across the writing surface. That path is the analogue of the passage of music through time. The direction of the path tends to follow the prevailing direction of writing for the language of the country concerned. The Chinese,



10. Jianzi pu number notation for the Chinese qin

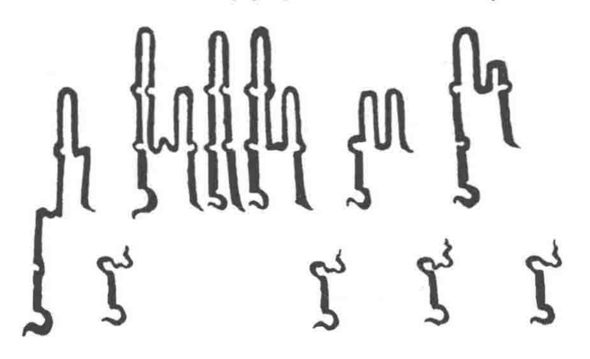
Korean and (to some extent) Japanese languages have been written from top to bottom, in columns beginning at the right-hand side of the page: consequently most Chinese and Korean notations have been written in columns in the same way, and so have Japanese instrumental notations. On the other hand, Japanese neumes (*karifu*, *meyasu*) are written horizontally from right to left. Tibetan, Javanese, Balinese, Greek and Latin are all written horizontally from left to right. Consequently Tibetan neumes and Javanese and Balinese ideographic notations all read in that direction, as do Western neumes, alphabetical and staff notations, and tablatures.

This path across the writing surface may be more precisely defined by the spacing out of notational symbols so that each space represents a beat of the prevailing metre. Thus in Chinese *gongche* notation the ideograms representing pitches are equidistant down their columns; and when there is a gap in the column of ideograms the previous pitch is assumed to continue to sound for a second beat. Alternatively, beats may be marked by a graphic symbol. One such is a dot – as in Japanese *gagaku* notation, which uses small dots for the basic beat and large dots for every fourth or eighth beat – defining two levels of metre (such dots often indicate the sound of percussion). Another such symbol is a line drawn at right angles to the path – as in Korean 'mensural' *chŏnggan* notation (which encloses its symbols in a grid with thin and thick horizontal lines to show their places within two levels of metre), in modern Japanese Ikuta-school *koto* notation (which uses short and long horizontal lines to show the same), or in the bar-lines of Western staff notation. Such graphic marks have the economic advantage that the spaces allocated for beats need not be equal in size: metrical units containing several symbols can be given more space than units with few or none.

So far, the path discussed has been one-dimensional. But it is also possible to define a broad path across the writing surface and to treat the width of the path as a second dimension. This dimension can be made the analogue of some other parameter of music: in particular, of a technical aspect of an instrument – the string or course of a zither or lute, for example, or the keys of a metallophone – or of pitch (as in diastematic neumatic notations) or volume (as in some electronic scores).

A system of notation recently discovered in Mongolia and used in Nomun Khan monasteries in the 18th and 19th centuries is thought to describe melodic pitches arranged according to the tuning of the half-tube zither (*yatga*). This notation takes the form of lines tracing the broad tonal contours of the melody rather than a series of discrete notes and should probably be regarded as signifying the ten strings of the *yatga* running horizontally across the surface of the page (fig.11). Much more research is needed into this system, however, before definite conclusions can be drawn about what precisely it represents. A simple way of using the second dimension for pitch in vocal music without need for new signs is to 'height' the syllables of text themselves, as in dasian notation; however, this does not work for music with any degree of melisma.

Western staff notation is another form of the same procedure. The dots, however, are made void or full and supplied with stems and flags or beams to represent grouped durations in such a way that the horizontal dimension between two bar-lines can be treated flexibly. In other words, the exact proportional use of space to



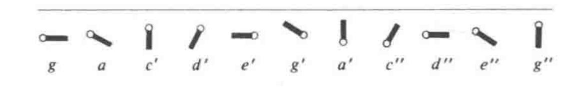
11. Notation for the yatga, used in Mongolian Nomun Khan monasteries

time is obviated by the application of duration symbols to the dots. Such duration symbols are themselves graphic signs; moreover, their beaming into groups conveys other information such as accentuation, phrasing, differences of dynamic level and the application of syllables.

Such graphic signs as these last belong to a reference system – in this case a system representing duration and comprising only five elements: a stem, a flag, a dot and two kinds of note head; if the void head can be regarded as an 'absent' head then they constitute four signs, each of which operates in a binary way (fig.12) as present (+) or absent (–) in appropriate positions. Similar graphic reference systems are the signs of Japanese *goin-hakase* notation and its later modifications, *karifu* and *meyasu*, and also the 'teardrop' notation, *gomafu*, and its later development *bokufu*. In the first three, a notched-stick shape is rotated through eight positions corresponding to eight pitches of a pentatonic scale, thus spanning a 10th (fig.13). They are linked to form a graphic trace extending leftwards from the text syllable. The trace is not, however, an exact representation of pitch since the notation relies on the names of standard melodic formulae written beneath. In *gomafu* and *bokufu* marks are put to the left or right of syllables to indicate such standard formulae.

A comparable system is that of so-called dasian notation from the 9th century. The materials for this constitute a spatial matrix with pitch as the vertical axis and time as the horizontal, and the Greek *prosōdia daseia* in two transformations: first modified into four distinct forms to designate the four pitches of the tetrachord; and then with each form reversed, inverted, and reversed and inverted to represent the higher pair of tetrachords, with the first two also shown facing downwards giving 18 signs in all (fig.14; *see also* ORGANUM, §2).

A rather special case of a notation that is graphic and operates on binary principles is BRAILLE NOTATION for



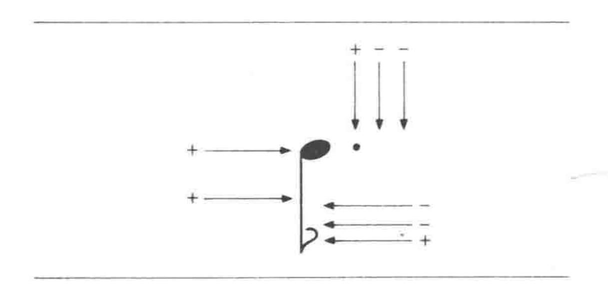
13. Graphic reference system of the Japanese goin-hakase, karifu and meyasu notations

the blind. The basic material is a display of six dots arranged in a matrix two (across) by three (down). These dots are raised from the surface of the paper by embossing, so that they can be felt. Each dot is either present (embossed) or absent. The pattern of the upper four dots designates pitch and the pattern of the lowest two designates duration. There are special patterns for octave register, accidentals and other notational devices.

Other graphic signs do not belong to such a system. They represent movement and shape in music, and thus display elements in relation to each other. They cannot specify individual musical elements, as can referential notations. Notations that rely on graphic relationship have only relative pitch significance, even when they have taken over an existing sign system, such as the accentual signs of the 5th-century Syriac writers (nine principal signs denoting main and subsidiary pauses, interrogative accents and so on, and made up of dots in different placings and groupings), or those of the 9th-century Tibetan scribes, or the classical Greek prosodic accent signs from which Byzantine EKPHONETIC NOTATION evolved, or the signs of the Roman grammarians from which Western neumes are sometimes alleged to have developed. That is because, without the imposition of a grid system, distance is difficult for the eye to judge, for both reader and writer. The line of text to which a melody was to be sung could be used as a pitch demarcation, with dots above and beneath syllables signifying higher and lower pitches, as in some Vedic chant books.

Neumes are stylized contour shapes. Their rises and falls and level lines represent rises and falls and level passages in a melodic line. Neumes thus differ from ekphonetic notations (though the dividing-line is sometimes difficult to draw) in that they are not concerned with inflection of voice between high, medium and low, but with groups of sung pitches rising and falling over a quite narrow range: a neume may represent a pattern of intervals whether it lies high or low in the voice's compass. Each neume is thus self-contained; the pitch relationships between a neume and its neighbours are not necessarily graphically shown, though in the 'heighted' neumes that appear in Western European sources from about the 10th century some attempt is made to show this.

The neumes of Tibetan Buddhist notation are made up of curves and undulations of varying amplitudes that

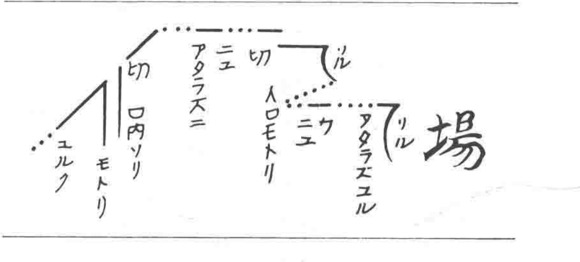


12. Binary variation in Western staff notation

graves (left-facing) finales (right-facing) superiores (inverted left-facing)

excellentes (inverted right-facing) residui (reclining, down-facing)

14. Dasian notation



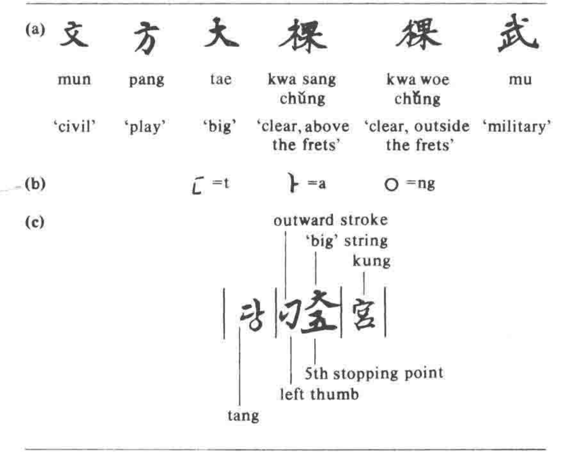
15. *Japanese karifu notation*

represent directional movement of the voice, together with crosses or circles representing the sound of drums or cymbals (*see* TIBETAN MUSIC, §II, 4).

8. HYBRID SYSTEMS. Many notations are hybrid in that they use more than one type of material. Japanese *karifu*, for example, has already been discussed above (§§5 and 7): the notation is generally called 'neumatic', but is equally a verbal notation in that Japanese characters under the graphic neume shapes give essential information about melodic turns of phrase (fig.15). Tibetan Buddhist chant notation has also been discussed in these two contexts, since verbal instructions as to vocal production and other aspects of performance appear above the line of neumes. The *jianzipu* notation for the Chinese *qin* has also been shown to contain special symbols as well as numbers. In the following discussion, three notations will serve to illustrate the interaction of materials.

Occasionally two materials interact in a tautologous way – that is, they call for the same musical result but by different visual means. But most interactions are in some way complementary.

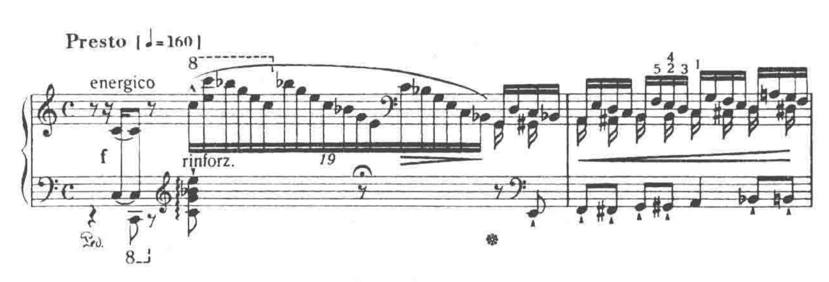
A notation that combines tautologous and complementary uses of different materials is the notation for the *kŏmun'go* or Korean zither. The notation is known as *hapchabo* and dates from the 15th century. It is an adaptation of Chinese *jianzipu*, but whereas the Chinese notation uses numbers for the designation of both string and stopping-point, the Korean notation assigns names to its six strings (see fig.16*a*) and uses the string name in conjunction with a number for the stopping-point. Added to the left of this name and number is a graphic symbol indicating the left-hand stopping finger, and where necessary symbols for direction of stroke, ornaments and so on. The central part of the notation is thus a complementary hybrid of word, number and graphic signs. This compound symbol is placed in the middle of three columns. In the right-hand column appears the central scale degree *kung* from the Korean *oŭmyakpo* 'five-note abbreviated notation', and in the left-hand column appear a group of Korean letters that signify one of the Korean solmization syllables from series such as



16. *Hapchabo notation for the Korean kŏmun'go (zither)*

tŏng, *tung*, *tang*, *tong* and *ting*, or *rŏ*, *ru*, *ra*, *ro* and *ri* (see fig.16*b*). All these notational elements, with double tautology as to pitch, point to B♭ stopped with the left thumb and plucked with an outward stroke (fig.16*c*).

The most fully hybrid of all notations is the staff notation of the West. It uses all the types of material discussed above. Fig.17, the beginning of the Prelude from Liszt's first book of *Etudes d'exécution transcendante*, contains examples of letter notation in (1) the clefs, which are formalized letters G and F; (2) the accidentals, which are formalizations of 'b' (♭) and 'h' (♯, ♮); and (3) the dynamic marking *f*, which is an abbreviated verbal notation. It also contains syllabic notations, both of them abbreviations for words: (1) the pedal application *Ped.*, so formalized as almost to be a pure graphic symbol; and (2) the technical instruction *rinforz.*, for *rinforzando*. It also contains two examples of full verbal notation: (1) the general designation 'Presto' for the tempo and character of the Prelude as a whole; and (2) the localized technical instruction *energico*. It has several examples of numerical notation: (1) the tempo specification, which supplements the tempo aspect of the verbal instruction 'Presto'; (2) the indication of octave transposition; (3) the fingering in bar 2, which is a technical notation; and (4) the indication '19' for rhythmic grouping. But its main constituents are graphic notations: (1) the staves, bar-lines and brace; (2) the note symbols and rests; (3) the time signature '**C**', which derives from the medieval half-circle designating duple division of breve and semibreve (and thus is not in origin a verbal abbreviation of 'common time', though it has acquired this status in more recent times); (4) the phrase mark, which is partly a graphic duplication of



17. *Western staff notation (Liszt, Prelude from 'Etudes d'exécution transcendante', i; Budapest: Editio Musica, Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1970)*

pitch and partly an indication of phrase articulation that duplicates the beaming of note symbols; (5) the pause sign; (6) the pedal release sign; (7) the *staccatissimo* signs; and finally two suggestively graphic signs, (8) the spread-chord indication in bar 1, and (9) the decrescendo and crescendo signs.

From this it can be seen that staff notation is a complex multiple hybrid system with very low redundancy, partly technical and tablature-like, partly representational.

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III. History of Western notation

1. Plainchant.

(i) Introduction. The earliest forms of plainchant notation, probably dating from the 9th century onwards, relied on signs generally known as 'neumes'. Such neumatic notation is clearly of great historical importance, for it stands at the beginning of the development that led to the notational forms in use today. Yet the time, place and circumstances in which neumes were first used are all disputed. Ever since medieval plainchant was revived in the 19th century the rhythmic interpretation of the melodies has been controversial, and the debate continues still. To a lesser extent the precise significance of certain signs (e.g. the *oriscus*, *quilisma* and liquescent neumes) and the possible use of chromatic notes in a basically diatonic system are also the subject of argument. All these areas of uncertainty stem from the fact that the notation represents only a few aspects of what was sung. So not only must modern scholars and performers interpret the signs committed to parchment by medieval scribes, they also have to elucidate the conditions that determined what should be represented in musical notation (and also what need not be notated).

The foundations for the systematic investigation of chant notations were laid principally by the monks of Solesmes, as part of the restoration of medieval chant for modern liturgical use. The facsimiles published in the Solesmes series Paléographie musicale (particularly 1st ser., ii–iii, 1891–2) and in Bannister's *Monumenti vaticani* (1913/*R*) are still of immense value. The volumes of Paléographie musicale are usually accompanied by notational studies, beside which the works of Wagner (1905, 2/1912) and Suñol (1925) are the most comprehensive. Subsequent detailed studies of many regional types of chant notation are cited below. Stäblein (1975) and Corbin (1977) are modern surveys of the whole area, and Hourlier (1960) is a useful set of facsimiles with commentary.

Although the different styles of chant notation show agreement on the basic principles, they vary considerably from area to area and period to period; this variety reflects the circumstances (ecclesiastical-political, geographical, liturgical, educational) in which notation was used, and can, therefore, illuminate the history of ecclesiastical music in striking ways.

The following survey describes the principal characteristics of neumatic notation, before addressing the problem of its origins. The main regional styles of neumes are distinguished, in four historical phases: the period before the introduction of the staff; the staff notations of the 11th and 12th centuries; the less numerous forms of the 13th century onwards; and the notation of printed chant books. For each of the first three epochs a separate table of neume signs has been constructed (Tables 1, 2 and 3).

(ii) Principal characteristics. In general Latin usage the word *neuma* meant 'gesture, sign, movement of the hand'; in a musical sense it denoted a melodic element, often an untexted melisma. From the end of the 10th century,

TABLE 1: Neumes of the 10th–11th centuries

name	modern	French	St Gallen	North Spain	Toledo	Catalan	Bologna	Palaeo-Frankish	Breton	Messine	Aquitanian	Nonantolan
virga												
punctum												
pes												
clivis (flexa)												
torculus												
porrectus												
scandicus												
climacus												
strophici												
trigon												
oriscus												
pressus												
pes stratus												
salicus												
quilisma												
epiphonus												
cephalicus												
ancus												
axis												

TABLE 2: Neumes of the 11th–12th centuries

name	modern	square (Paris)	(West) German	Messine-German	Esztergom	Prague	Wrocław
virga							
punctum							
pes							
clivis (flexa)							
torculus							
porrectus							
scandicus							
climacus							
epiphonus							
cephalicus							

however, the term was also used for the graphic signs used to represent melodies, typically designating a sign or group of signs attached to one particular syllable of text (see Atkinson, 1995; see also Wagner, 1905, 2/1912, p.15).

From this period onwards also survive tables that name the signs ('nomina notarum' or 'nomina neumarum'), with some variance of nomenclature depending on local traditions (see Huglo, 1954; Bautier-Regnier, 1964; Odenkirchen, 1993; Bernhard, 1997). Modern usage generally follows the practice of the *tabula brevis* found in a number of German sources. Several of the names appear to be of Greek origin or at least to affect a Greek derivation. The most common are as follows (see Tables 1, 2, and 3 for their melodic significance: step upwards, downwards etc.): *virga* (Lat.: 'rod', 'staff'); *punctum* (Lat.: 'point', 'dot'); *tractulus* (from Lat. *trahere*: 'to draw out'); *pes* (Lat.: 'foot') – also known as *podatus* (probably pseudo-Gk.); *clivis* (from Gk. *klinō*: 'I bend', via Lat. *clivus*: 'slope') – also known as the *flexa* (Lat.: 'curve'); *torculus* (Lat.: 'screw of a wine-press'); *porrectus* (Lat.: 'stretched out'); *scandicus* (from Lat. *scandere*: 'to ascend'); *climacus* (from Gk. *klimax*: 'ladder'); *trigon* (from Gk. *trigōnos*, Lat. *trigonus*: 'triangular'); *oriscus* (possibly from Gk. *horos*: 'limit', or *ōriskos*: 'little hill'); *salicus* (from Lat. *salire*: 'to leap'); *quilisma* (from Gk. *kyliō*: 'I roll', *kylisma*: 'a rolling').

The signs are usually classified as simple, compound, special (sometimes called 'ornamental') and liquescent. The simple neumes (most of those in Tables 1–3) consist of up to three notes and can be extended or combined to make compound neumes of four to six or even more notes. Some signs, which may be modified forms of the conventional neumes or additional letters, appear to indicate special features of performing practice (articulation, ornaments, agogic nuances etc.), but the manner of their performance is often unclear today.

A further distinction touches upon the different styles of writing neumes. In some areas signs representing two or more notes in a single stroke were preferred, while in others discrete dots or short strokes for each separate note were favoured. An example of (predominantly) stroke notation is early German notation, especially the sophisticated version practised at St Gallen. (Because of

TABLE 3: Neumes of the 13th–15th centuries

name	modern	Milan	Tuscany	Benevento	Cistercian	Klosterneu-burg	Esztergom	Prague
virga								
punctum								
pes								
clivis (flexa)								
torculus								
porrectus								
scandicus								
climacus								
epiphonus								
cephalicus								
axis								

the hypothesis that sees the origin of stroke neumes in the accents of classical prosody, German and French notations and all types more or less closely related to them are often referred to as 'accent neumes'; this term will be avoided here.) Aquitaine is the best example of an area where a notation consisting primarily of points was used. Most areas, however, mixed extended strokes and dots, and the distinction has often been over-emphasized to buttress arguments concerning the origins of neumes (see below, §1(iii)).

The *virga* and *punctum* each represent a single note. In stroke notations the *virga* was used for notes of relatively higher pitch, the *punctum* for relatively lower ones. Many other notational styles make only restricted use of the *virga*. Sometimes the *punctum* was drawn in elongated form, called the 'punctum planum' in older literature and the 'tractulus' in recent writings. Some manuscripts use both *punctum* and *tractulus* and appear to distinguish rhythmically between the two, the former being shorter, the latter longer. In the important early manuscripts from the Laon/Reims area (containing Messine neumes) the *punctum* takes the form of a small hook or barb, called the 'uncinus' in recent writings. In representing passages of simple recitation on a single note some sources prefer the *virga*, others the *punctum*.

The significance of most of the simple and compound neumes is more or less clear, but many of the special neumes are difficult to interpret; manuscripts vary to the extent in which they use these signs. The *oriscus* seldom appears alone over a syllable, but rather as part of a group of signs, or combined in special signs: *virga strata* (*virga+oriscus*; also known as *gutturalis* or *franculus*); *pes stratus* (*pes+oriscus*), *pes quassus* (*oriscus+virga*), *salicus* (*punctum+oriscus+virga*), *pressus maior* and *minor* (*virga+oriscus+punctum* and *oriscus+punctum* respectively, the final *punctum* being a lower note). Although in many contexts the *oriscus* seems to signify the repetition of the previous note, it has also been suggested that the neume may represent a non-diatonic note, or some agogic or articulatory peculiarity. The *quilisma* sign usually appears between two notes a major or minor 3rd apart, but it has also been interpreted as indicating a peculiarity of delivery, for example, a chromatic glissando, a turn or a rhythmic nuance. While the last note of the *trigon* is relatively lower, the relationship of the first two is unclear; they may represent

the same pitch, a semitone ascent or a non-diatonic interval. Some sources use *strophici*, which may signify a special type of articulation.

The signs known as 'liquescent' neumes are linked to liquid and sonant consonants and diphthongs in the text at a syllable change; they appear to involve a form of half vocalization of the note in question, passing from one syllable to the next. Two notes in ascending order, where the second is liquescent, are indicated by the *epiphonus*, and two notes in descending order with liquescence by the *cephalicus*.

Although many chant notations are recognizable at a glance, at least in a general way, their systematic investigation depends on the isolation of each sign in a particular notation and of all constituent elements within every neume, and the painstaking comparison of one source with another in the way these elements are used. Basic structural features include the direction of the script (*axis*) in ascending and descending strokes or groups of notes (diagonal, vertical etc.; see Tables 1, 2 and 3), and the way in which individual notes are combined in strokes or groups of signs. These are to be distinguished from calligraphic features such as the manner in which curved strokes or note-heads are drawn, or the degree of thickness of elements within a sign. The structural and the calligraphic features of a script vary according to time and place independently of each other.

Corbin (1977) introduced the concept of 'contact neumes', meaning a neume foreign to the area and predominant type of notation of a particular source: the neume may have been adopted by the notator of a manuscript as a result of contact with the foreign type. Corbin also used the term for a notation whose signs were derived from two or more earlier types; such a notation is here called 'mixed' or 'hybrid'.

(iii) Origins and earliest examples. Precisely when and where neumes were first used in the medieval West is not known. Isidore of Seville, writing in the middle of the 7th century, stated in his *Etymologiae* that melodies could not be written down (*GerbertS*, i, 20), and no concrete evidence exists from anywhere in the West for the use of notation before the Carolingian era. Necessity being the mother of invention, the reigns of the Frankish kings Pippin the Short (751–68) and Charlemagne (768–814) are thought to be the most likely period when a pressing need for plainchant notation could first have arisen. At this time the Franks made strenuous efforts to remodel their liturgical practices along Roman lines and, during the reign of Charlemagne, initiated a wide-ranging programme of educational reform, which might have included music writing. A positive view in this regard is taken, for example, by Levy (1987 etc.) who interprets passages in several 8th-century documents as referring to notation. For example, the decrees of the Council of Clovesho in England (747) refer to '[cantilenae] iuxta exemplar quod videlicet scriptum de Romana habemus ecclesia' ('[chants] according to the written exemplar, that which we have from the Roman Church'; A.W. Haddan and W. Stubbs: *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents Relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, Oxford, 1869–71, iii, 137); however it is not clear whether the written exemplar contained only chant texts or notation for them as well (see Hiley, 1993, p.297 for a negative view). Furthermore, Charlemagne's *Admonitio generalis* (789) decrees 'Et ut scolae legentium puerorum fiant psalmos notas cantus compotum grammaticum per singula monasteria vel episcopia et libros catholicos bene emendate' ('. . . that schools cultivate reading by the boys: psalms, notes [*notas*], chant [*cantus*], the computus, grammar, in each monastery or bishop's school, and accurate versions of catholic books . . .'; MGH, *Capitularia regum francorum*, i, 1881, p.60); although the two words 'notas cantus' might be taken together to mean '[notational] signs of the chants', they more probably refer to two quite separate activities: 'writing, singing' (see Haas, 1996, p.152). None of the extant writings of the various scholars and advisors associated with Charlemagne's court mentions music notation and the earliest definite references to neumes are by Aurelian of Réôme (*c*850; CSM, xxi, 1975, chap.19). By the end of the 9th century Hucbald already knew of several different styles of notation (*GerbertS*, i, 117); his statement is confirmed by surviving examples.

The dating of the earliest examples is fraught with uncertainty and relies in large measure on palaeographical estimates of the date when the accompanying literary text was written. Three dozen or more specimens from the 9th century have been proposed; Table 4 is a list of many of them, a few of which are no doubt dated optimistically early. Most examples are single items in books that were never intended to contain more: several are notations of the *Exultet* chant in a sacramentary, or of the Genealogy of Matthew or Luke in an evangeliary. Often it is difficult in such cases to decide whether the neumes were added at a later date.

The earliest surviving complete chant books with notation – the graduals *F-CHRm* 47, *LA* 239 and *CH-SGs* 359 – date from the end of the 9th century or the beginning of the 10th; *F-LA* 266 is a fragment of a cantatorium slightly older than *LA* 239. *VAL* 407 may have been copied at the same scriptorium as the gradual *CHRm* 47. (The sacramentary-gradual *AN* 91, possibly from Angers and notated with Breton neumes – see PalMus, 1st ser., i, 1889, pl.XXII and p.148 – has also occasionally been dated to the 9th century, but is more probably of the 10th.) Ten palimpsest leaves of what appears to have been a notated 9th-century gradual survive in *D-Mbs* Clm 14735. The existence of several 9th-century books containing the texts of Mass chants – unnotated graduals in other words – from important centres such as Corbie, Nivelles and Senlis (ed. R.-J. Hesbert: *Antiphonale missarum sextuplex*, Brussels, 1935) suggests that before the late 9th century such books were not normally provided with notation. On the other hand, two notated fragments dating from the late 9th century have survived from what appear to have been Office antiphoners, one with Breton neumes and one with German. These predate the earliest surviving complete notated antiphoners by a century. The possibility that Charlemagne promoted a notated archetype of the chant repertory, as argued by Levy, thus seems somewhat unlikely on chronological grounds. Although several centres were clearly versed in the practice of music notation well before the end of the 9th century (e.g. Regensburg in the first half of the century, Laon in the second, and St Amand), there is little sign of a concerted effort to establish complete notated repertories for Mass or Office during the 'first Carolingian renaissance'.

While Palaeo-Frankish, French and German, Breton, Laon and Spanish neumes are represented on Table 4,

TABLE 4: 9th-century examples of neumes

Source	*Provenance*	*Notation*	*(Main contents) notated pieces*	*Facsimiles*
D-DÜl D.1	Werden	Pal.	(sacramentary) Mass Proper chants	Jammers (1952) and (1953); Stäblein (1975), 107
F-Pn lat.2291	St Amand	Pal.	(sacramentary) Gk. *Gloria*	Handschin (1950), p.73; Jammers, *Tafeln* (1965), 129
F-VAL 148 (141)	St Amand	Pal.	Aurelian of Réôme: *Musica disciplina*	Jammers, *Tafeln* (1965), 131
F-VAL 150 (143)	St Amand	Pal.	(Lat. and Fr. *Cantica virginis Eulaliae*) practice penstrokes	—
F-VAL 337 (359, 325)	St Amand	Pal.	(*Musica enchiriadis*) 'Noannoeanne'	—
F-VAL 407 (389)	Brittany	Breton	gradual (bifolio)	—
GB-Ob Auct.F.4.26	Brittany	Breton	Office antiphoner (1 fol.)	Jammers, *Tafeln* (1965), 141
NL-Lu 25	Brittany	Breton	Office antiphoner (3 fols.)	PalMus, 1st ser., ii, pl.80
US-NYp 115	Landévennec	Breton	(gospels ['Harkness Gospels']) *Eli eli* from passion	Huglo (1986)
F-AUT S4 (5)	Flavigny	Fr.	(gospels) Genealogy	Jammers, *Tafeln* (1965), 107; Corbin (1977), pl.3
F-AUT S28 (24)	Autun	Fr.	(Cassian) sequence melodies	Stäblein (1961), 9
F-Pa 227	Vierzon	Fr.	(pontifical) *Exultet*	Corbin (1977), pl.5
F-Pn lat.11958	Corbie	Fr.	(gospels) Genealogy	*Grove6*, vii, 546
F-Psg 1190	Senlis	Fr.	(gospels) Genealogy	Bernard (1965), pl.ix
I-Rvat Reg.lat.215	Fleury	Fr.	(grammar and history) Gk. and Lat. *Gloria* and *Credo*	Bannister (1913), ii, pl.10
F-TOm 184; *Pn* lat.9430	Tours	Fr.	(sacramentary) *Exultet*	PalMus, 1st ser., iii, pl.181; Suñol (Fr. trans., 2/1935), pl.49
D-LEm Rep.I.93	?nr. Trier	Fr./Ger.	chant	Jammers, *Studien*, 1965, pp.4–5; *Tafeln* (1965), 11; Stäblein (1975), 111
F-SEL 1 (1093)	N. Italy	Fr./Ger.	(Mass lectionary) lessons	Corbin (1977), pl.2
I-Rvat Ottob.lat.313	?Tours	Fr./Ger.	(sacramentary) *Exultet*	Bannister (1913), i, p.2*; Corbin (1977), pl.1
A-Wn 958	N.E. France	Fr./Ger.	(sacramentary) preface	Beer (1913), pls.43–4
D-Bsb theol.lat.2 58	Lorsch	Ger.	(psalter) *Carmina Boethii*	Jammers, *Studien*, 1965, p.2; *Tafeln*, 1965, p.79
D-HEu Pal.lat.52	?Weissenburg	Ger.	Otfrid: *Evangelienharmonie* (Old High German)	Jammers, *Tafeln*, 1965, p.81
D-Mbs Clm 9543	Regensburg	Ger.	(Ambrose) alleluia prosula Psalle *modulamina*	Jammers, *Tafeln*, 1965, p.73; Möller, 1985–7
D-Mbs Clm 14314	Regensburg	Ger.	(Jerome) antiphon *O pietatis Deus*	Möller (1985–7)
D-Mbs Clm 29164/I	Regensburg	Ger.	(sacramentary fragment) *Exultet*	Gamber (1973), pl.3
D-Rp Cim.2	Regensburg	Ger.	(gospels) lesson	Gamber (1980), pl.11
I-Nn IV.G.68	St Gallen	Ger.	sacred and secular Lat. songs	Jammers (1967), 136
I-Rvat Pal.lat.485	Lorsch	Ger.	(misc. liturg.) *Exultet*	—
CH-SGs 242	S. Germany	Ger.	Sedulius: *Carmen paschale*	Steffens (1903), pl.49
A-Wn ser.nova 3645	S. Germany	Ger.	Office antiphoner (4 fols.)	Stäblein (1975), 183
E-Mn 10001	Toledo	Spanish	Liber misticus (fragment)	Brou (1952), pl.II
Toledo, Museo de San Vicente Fr.2	Toledo	Spanish	Liber misticus (fragment)	Suñol (Fr. trans. 2/1935), pl.95a–b
F-Pn lat.8093	Spain	Spanish	(Florilegium) hymn *O mors omnivorax*	—
F-LA 9	Laon	Laon	gradual (bifolio)	Hourlier (1988)
F-LA 107	Laon	Laon	antiphon *Isti sunt angelica solidati*	—
F-LA 121	Laon	Laon	gradual (bifolio)	Hourlier (1988)
F-LA 266	Laon	Laon	cantatorium (bifolio)	Hourlier (1988); Jeffery (1982)

there are no surviving examples of 9th-century notation from Aquitaine, Italy or England.

No single explanation of the origins of neumatic notation has gained wholehearted acceptance. The prosodic accents of Alexandrine grammarians (see Laum, 1920 and 1928) have frequently been cited as the 'ancestors' of the neumes (Coussemaker, 1852; Pothier, 1880; Mocquereau in PalMus, 1st ser., i, 1889; Suñol, 1925; Cardine, 1968). According to this theory the acute accent gave rise to the *virga*, the grave accent to the *punctum* and the circumflex to the *clivis* or *flexa*. Yet, with the exception of Palaeo-Frankish neumes, the grave accent is hardly recognizable in most notations. Only one medieval treatise explains neumes in terms of accents, the anonymous *Quid est cantus?* (?11th century; *I-Rvat* Pal.lat.235; see Wagner, 1905, 2/1912, p.355), which contains such phrases as 'De accentibus toni oritur nota quae dicitur neuma . . . Ex accentibus vero toni demonstratur in acuto et gravi et circumflexo'. Atkinson (1995) has convincingly argued that the author of the treatise had Palaeo-Frankish notation in mind. Nevertheless, while the prosodic accents were certainly known in Carolingian times, they can have suggested hardly more than some rudimentary elements of a system for music notation.

The notation of the earliest graduals mentioned above, from Brittany, Laon and St Gallen, is far from rudimentary; indeed, it is of a sophistication and complexity matched by few later chant books. According to one theory these complex signs are a representation of the gestures (Gk. *neuma*: 'gesture') made by the cantor while directing a performance, in other words, they derive from the practice of CHEIRONOMY (Huglo, *RdM*, 1963). The difficulties of this theory have been exposed by Hucke (1979). Cheironomy as practised in other (mostly non-Western) music cultures involves hand signs that denote exact pitches, something plainchant neumes manifestly have no intention of doing. To reconstruct a lost cheironomic practice from surviving notational signs and then to hypothesize that the signs derive from the cheironomy is inherently unsatisfactory, though the possibility should not be dismissed out of hand.

Floros (1970) proposed a wholesale adoption of Byzantine notational practice by Rome in the second half of the 7th century, claiming far-reaching correspondences between Palaeo-Byzantine notation of the Chartres type and Latin neumatic notation, including liquescent and special neumes and significative letters. But Floros's reconstruction of the early stages of Byzantine notation has been challenged (Haas, 1975), and the theory seems implausible on chronological grounds. Not until the 11th century was it customary to notate every syllable of Byzantine melodies; from the 9th century to the 11th notation was used only for particular points in the melody. And the Byzantine system developed in a quite different direction, as an interval notation, specifying intervals by signs as in a code, not representing them spatially on the page. (For further discussion of Byzantine notation *see* BYZANTINE CHANT, §3; on the development of the connection between vertical space on the page and a sense of higher and lower pitch in music see Duchez, 1979, and Sullivan, 1994.) However, the possibility that the concept of chant notation and some of its basic elements had a place in the interchanges between Carolingian and Byzantine church musicians of the late 8th century and the early 9th should not be dismissed completely. (The system of eight modes is ascribable to these contacts.) The names of some neumes – of which, however, no records exist before the 12th century – appear to be Greek or pseudo-Greek.

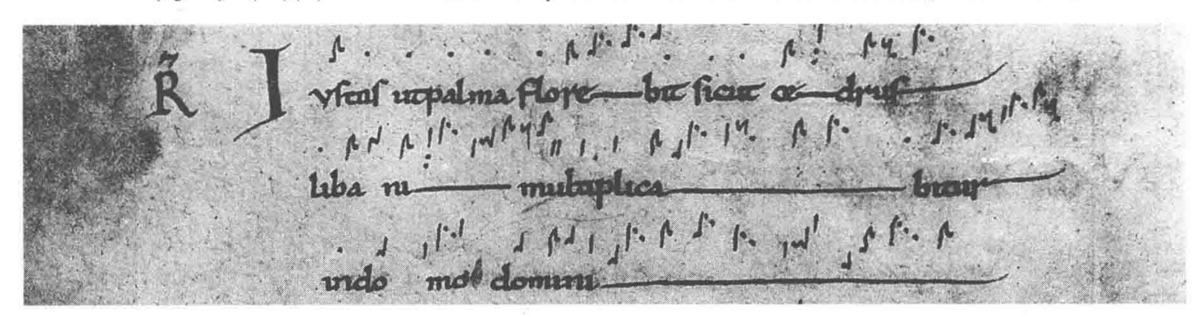
As Treitler (1982, 1984, 1992) has repeatedly stressed, neumes must not be viewed as imperfect forerunners of staff notation. Had it been desired to represent exact pitches, the means to do so would have been found. (Exactly this was indeed accomplished by Hucbald, with a letter notation adapted from Boethius, and the authors of the *Enchiriadis* group of treatises, with dasian signs.) Neumes remind their reader of the essential features of a melody that has already been learnt. The singer retains in his or her memory the store of typical melodic gestures implied by the genre and mode of the piece. The neumes guide the adaptation of those turns of phrase to the liturgical text in question. (See Hucke, 1988, and, for rare evidence of the system 'under construction', Rankin, 1984.)

The point at which this written reinforcement of the singer's memory became necessary, and where the first steps were taken in the development of notation is uncertain. Levy (1987) has favoured a relatively early date and has argued for two distinct stages in the creation of a written 'Carolingian archetype', two archetypes in fact. A first attempt would have been made in Palaeo-Frankish neumes, a system that appears to have achieved only modest dissemination; the second would have been made with French-German notation.

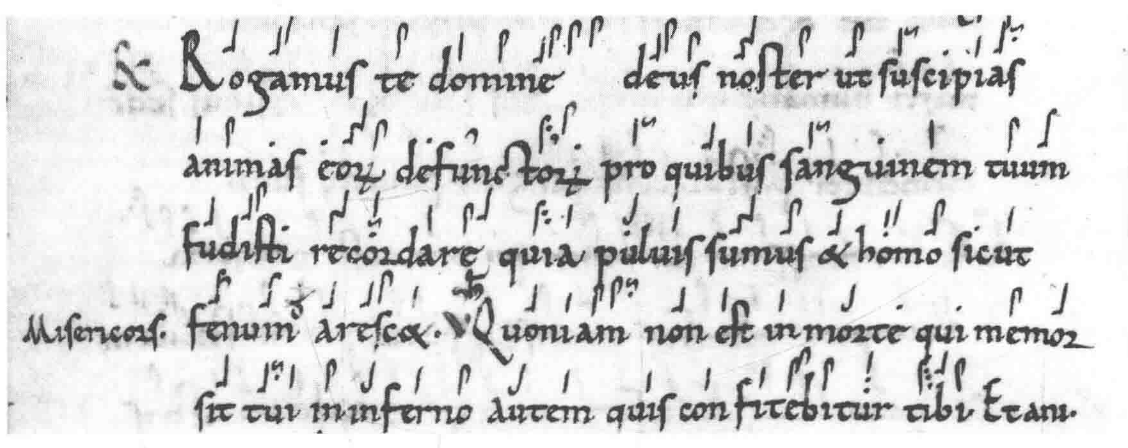
Others have argued for a later date, at least for the notation of whole chant books (van der Werf, 1983; Hiley, 1993, p.371). The wide variety of notational styles and the small but persistent differences between versions of melodies in different areas suggest the independent writing down of the repertory from memory at different times and places, after the various notational styles were already established. The fact that the whole process had to be repeated after the introduction of staff notation, again with different results in different areas, also suggests that the dissemination of an archetype was neither expected nor practicable.

Several scholars, including Stäblein (1975, diagram on p.27), have hypothesized genealogical relationships among the different neume families. The more ancient neumatic notation is believed to be, the greater the room for speculation about the organic development of the different styles. Jammers, for example, associated the point notation of Aquitanian sources with Gallican chant, and regarded stroke neumes as typically Roman. Handschin (1950, pp.81ff) distinguished between pre-Carolingian practice and a '"gregorianische" Neumensippe'. The sources known at present do not, however, seem to offer conclusive evidence to support such hypotheses.

Many questions, therefore, remain concerning the origins and early development of the neumatic notations. Under what circumstances could several different but equally mature types have developed by the end of the 9th century and yet more by the 11th? Is what they have in common the result of development from a common ancestor or did they evolve independently from a rather informally transmitted 'idea' of a written *aide-mémoire* for the singing-master? Is the appearance of fully notated graduals (with Mass chants) no sooner than the end of the 9th century deceptive (are earlier ones lost?), and why



18. French neumes: gradual, early 11th century, from St Denis (F-Pm 384, f.10r)



19. English neumes: Office of the Dead, early 11th century, from St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury (GB-Ob Bodley 572, f.27v)

are the earliest fully notated antiphoners (with Office chants) no older than the end of the 10th century?

(iv) Early notations, 9th–11th centuries.

(a) French and German notation, including St Gallen and England. Despite differences in the direction of the script (from vertical in France and England to strongly inclined in south Germany) many basic similarities link the stroke notations used throughout France north of the Loire (except for Brittany and the archdiocese of Reims) and Germany.

French neumes (fig.18) were used within the area contained roughly by the four provinces of Lyons: the archbishoprics of Lyons, Rouen, Tours and Sens (Corbin, 1957). Numerous important manuscripts from such centres as St Denis, St Vaast, Dijon, Nevers, Cluny and Lyons use this notation. In the late 11th century the notation was also taken to south Italy and Sicily in the wake of the Norman conquest of those regions. The neumes typically ascend vertically and descend diagonally (the angle varies from place to place). However, this vertical direction is by no means a hard-and-fast rule in French notation, and in some sources (e.g. *F-SOM* 252 from St Omer: facs. in PalMus, 1st ser., iii, 1892, pl.184; and *Pa* 1169 from Autun: facs. in ibid., pl.183) the difference from German practice seems very slight. Other general differences from German practice are the angled form of both *pes* and *clivis*, and, from the 11th century, a tendency to add a hook or head to the upper left of the *virga* and *pes* and a foot to end of the *clivis*; occasional exceptions to these basic characteristics may, however, be found. The *quilisma* usually has three hooks; a few manuscripts, notably *F-MOf* H.159 from Dijon (on this source, see also §1(iv)(a)), use a descending *quilisma* as well. The *trigon* is rarely encountered. (For facs. see PalMus, 1st ser., iii, 1892, pls.181–93; Bannister, 1913, pls.10–20, 39–40, 43–9; Suñol, 1925, Fr. trans., 2/1935, pp.230–44; Jammers, *Tafeln*, 1965, pls.23–6, 28; Stäblein, 1975, pls.3–5; Corbin, 1977, pls.1–5, 21–6, 28–9, 40–41.)

The same general type was used in England (fig.19; see Rankin, 1987), especially in Winchester, and was imported thence to Scandinavia. The direction of the English neumes is even more markedly vertical than most French sources, for example, in the *climacus* where the initial *virga* is slightly rounded at the top and the succeeding *puncta* descend vertically. The rounded *clivis* is also more characteristic of English than French sources. (For facs. see PalMus, 1st ser., iii, 1892, pls.178–80; Bannister, 1913, pls.41*b*–42; Suñol, 1925, Fr. trans., 2/1935, pp.283–97; Stäblein, 1975, pls.6–9; Corbin, 1977, pls.30–31.)

A small number of 11th-century manuscripts, mostly from Normandy, use a special form of *punctum* like a small hook (it resembles the *uncinus* of Messine notation, though it is not related to the latter) for the lower note of the semitone steps (B, E and the A below B♭). An equivalent form is sometimes found in Aquitanian neumes (where it is usually regarded as a type of *virga*). After the adoption of staff notation the sign still persisted, although strictly speaking superfluous, and was used even into the 13th century. Examples of it are found in England as well as Normandy (see Corbin, 1977, pl.22; Hiley, 1993, p.424). The Aquitanian form spread as far as Portugal (Corbin, 1952).

German neumatic notations have often been referred to en bloc as 'St Gallen' neumes (since the time when St

Gallen was believed to have received its chant directly from Rome: by implication its notation was also considered to stand at the root of the German tradition). But St Gallen is only one eminent member within a more or less clearly differentiated group. The territory of German neumatic notation includes the whole German-speaking area, and, from the 11th century onwards, some parts of north Italy (Bobbio, Moggio, the Aosta valley, Aquileia), Besançon and Remiremont, Bohemia, Hungary, Poland and parts of Scandinavia. The direction of this notation is diagonal both ascending and descending; the style of script is flexible, perfected down to the tiniest details. Both *punctum* and *virga* are used for syllabic notes and the normal form of the *pes* is rounded. The notation is rich in special neumes. (For facs. see PalMus, 1st ser., iii, 1892, pls.110–12, 114, 116–17; Bannister, 1913, pls.2–9; Suñol, 1925, Fr. trans., 2/1935, pp.298–304; Jammers, *Tafeln*, 1965, pls.6, 9–12; Stäblein, 1975, pl.58; Corbin, 1977, pls.8–9, 11–12; Möller, 1990.)

The best-documented form of this script is the notation of St Gallen itself (fig.20). A number of sources have been published in facsimile and subjected to intensive study (*CH-SGs* 339, 359, 390–91, *E* 121 and *D-BAs* 6). The extraordinarily rich repertory of signs includes modified forms of the basic neumes together with additional *episemata* and significative letters to represent agogic nuances and other features. (For facs. see PalMus, 1st ser., iii, 1892, pls.108, 113, 115; Suñol, 1925, Fr. trans., 2/1935, pp.298–304; Jammers, *Tafeln*, 1965, pls.7–8; PalMus, 2nd ser., i, 2/1970; Stäblein, 1975, pls.59–60; Corbin, 1977, pls.6–7.)

Numerous similar notations can be found in sources dating from the 11th century in adjacent areas as well. Rarely, however, was more than a part of the full arsenal of signs employed, and the meaning of a few signs sometimes appears to have been modified (Engels, 1994).

Many regional types within the German group have not been analysed in the same depth as St Gallen notation. One of the most important is the Echternach type, documented from the 10th century onwards (facs. of *D-DS* 1946; ed. Staub and others, 1982; Möller, 1988); its characteristic feature is the *pressus minor* resembling a question mark.

(b) The Spanish peninsula. Neumes that in many ways are similar to the main French-German type were used in Spain before the Christian reconquest. There are, however, a number of distinctive signs: the *scandicus* proceeds upwards as a single line with loops; the *pes*, instead of making a simple angle, may swing upwards with a loop; and the *torculus* and *porrectus* also contain loops. This basic Spanish type was divided between two geographical areas. In northern Spain a roughly upright orientation (like that of French notation) prevailed, whereas the neumes in sources from Toledo (fig.21) are inclined drastically to the right, as it were impelling the line of music forwards. Since practically all the melodies for which these notations were chiefly used, those of the Mozarabic rite, have not survived in diastematic notation, some details of Spanish notation are not fully understood. Its age is also to some extent disputed, the possibility having been raised that it may antedate the 9th-century Frankish examples (Huglo, 1985). Thus estimates of the date of the León antiphoner (facs. in *Antifonario visigótico*, ed. L. Brou and J. Vives, 1953–9) vary from the 9th century to the 11th (see Mundó, 1965).

Spanish neumes were also used for some 'Gregorian' chant manuscripts, written after the Roman rite was brought into Spain in the 11th century (e.g. *Antiphonale silense*, ed. I. Fernández de la Cuesta, 1985). But the chief vehicle for the import of 'Gregorian' chant was Aquitanian notation.

In north-east Spain, in the area roughly corresponding to modern Catalonia, another type of notation similar to French became established, usually known as 'Catalan' notation.

(For discussion see esp. Suñol, 1925, Fr. trans., 2/1935, pp.311–82; also Bannister, 1913, pls.25–6; Jammers, *Tafeln*, 1965, pls.42–3; Stäblein, 1975, pls.86–8; Corbin, 1977, pls.37–9.)

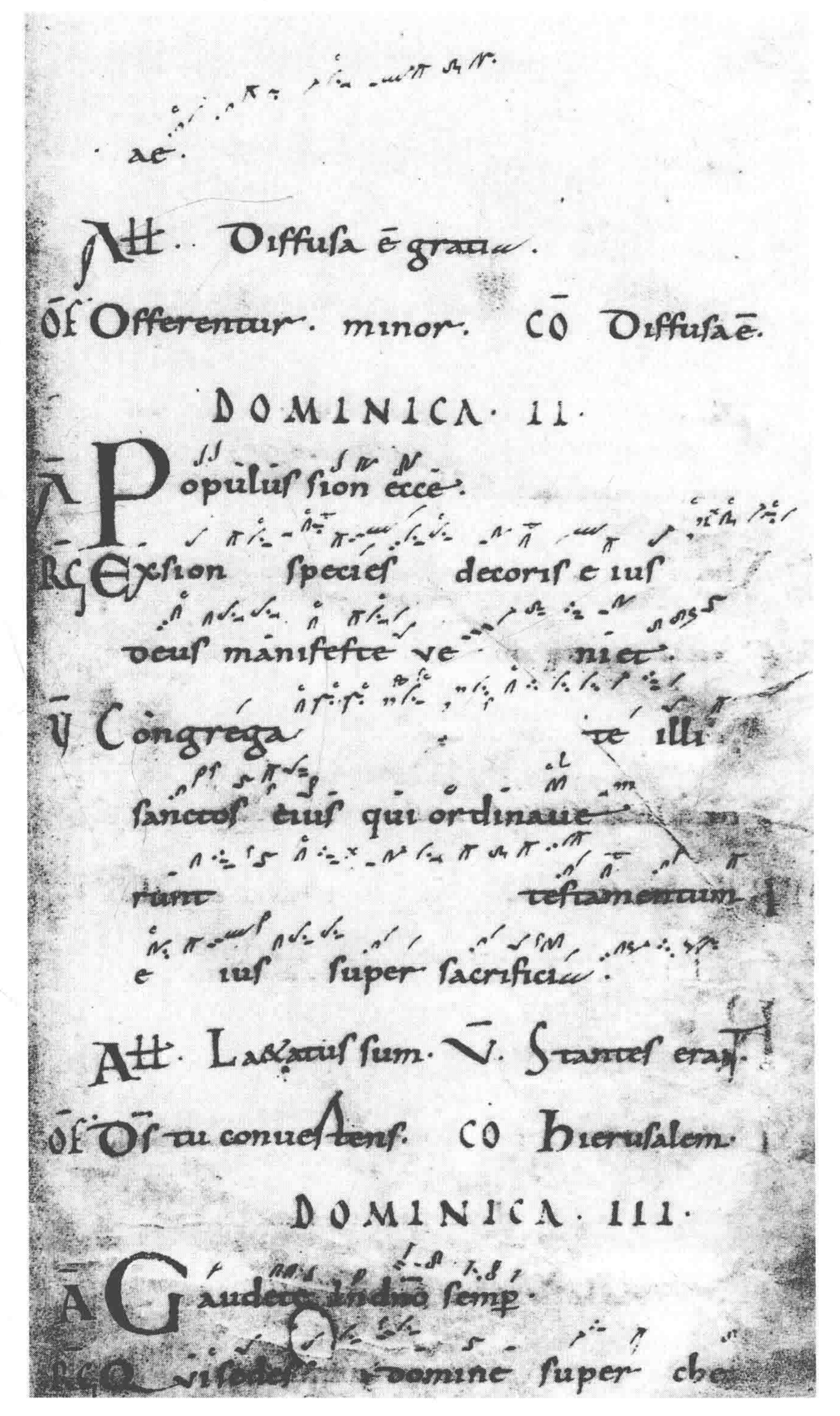
(c) Italian notations. Many different stroke notations were used in north Italy (e.g. those of Asti, Vercelli, Novara, Civate, Mantua, Reggio d'Emilia and Verona), most of which await detailed investigation (on that of Brescia see Barezzani, 1981). They have in common the use of long chain-neumes and vigorous pen strokes. Some scripts have signs also found in a few French sources (angled *pes*, conjunct *climacus*), and the direction of the script also occasionally resembles French practice.

Special subtypes include the notation of Novalesa (fig.22). Its neumes include auxiliary forms with loops and rings, and a broad curve for the *clivis*; the script ascends vertically (see Suñol, 1925, Fr. trans., 2/1935, pp.186–97; Corbin, 1977, pp.165–71 and pl.36).

Bologna notation (fig.23; see also PalMus, 1st ser., xviii, 1969; Kurris, 1971) probably represents the oldest north Italian notation (Hourlier, 1960, pl.30; Corbin, 1977, p.155). It is marked by vigorous diagonal upstrokes, particularly for *resupini*; the script ascends diagonally, descending nearly vertically. Its repertory of signs is large, with numerous variant forms reflecting agogic or melodic features. The presence of both *punctum* and two forms of *tractulus*, horizontal and slanting (*planus/gravis*) for single lower notes, signs with rings, and a peculiar form of *quilisma* are notable.

The most independent type of north Italian notation was that used in the Benedictine abbey of Nonantola near Bologna; there are also sources from Torcello (fig.24) and Verona. A peculiarity of this notation is the way in which the first note of a group or melisma is connected graphically to the corresponding vowel of the text. Notes are represented mostly by individual *virgae* or *puncta* deployed diastematically. In both *climacus* and *scandicus* the *puncta* are arranged vertically, but the curved *virga* at the start of the *climacus* (and related neumes) makes the direction clear. The *quilisma*-note is represented by two dots. The script ascends diagonally and descends vertically (almost going backwards). (For facs. see PalMus, 1st ser., ii, 1891, pls.11–14; Suñol, 1925, Fr. trans., 2/1935, pp.197–9; Jammers, *Tafeln*, 1965, pl.32; Stäblein, 1975, pl.15.)

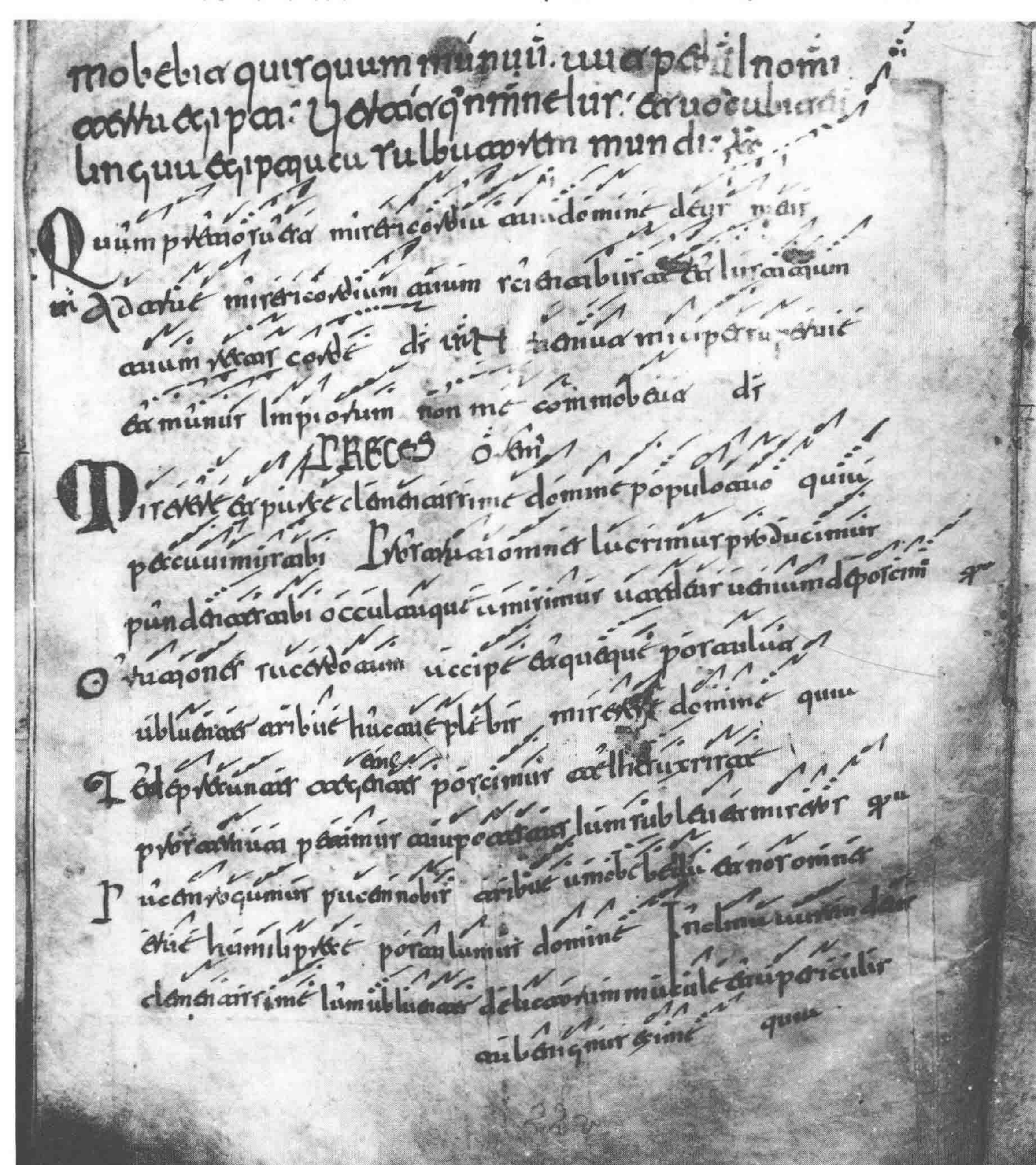
The adiastematic notations used in central Italy have hardly been studied at all (see Baroffio, 1990, note 30). They are not uniform; some are akin to north Italian stroke notations (e.g. *I-Rvat* lat.4770; *CHTd* N.2: facs. in PalMus, 1st ser., xiv, 1931, pls.44–5, see also p.251; *Rc* 1907: facs. in PalMus, 1st ser., ii, 1891, pl.7; *Lc* 606: facs. in PalMus, 1st ser., xiii, 1925/*R*, p.94, fig.10), others already show characteristics of 12th-century staff notations (right-angled *pes*, prolongation of horizontal elements). Beneventan features also appear in some scripts,



20. German neumes: cantatorium, c900, from St Gallen (CH-SGs 359, f.27r)

for example, the right-angled *clivis* and conjunct *scandicus*; their meaning, however, is not yet defined (e.g. *Rvat* lat.10646: facs. in Suñol, 1925, Fr. trans., 2/1935, p.209). Boe (1999) has discovered examples of adiastematic notation from Rome datable as early as around 1000, and also shown that French neumes as used at Bijon were used at the imperial abbey of Farfa in the mid-11th century.

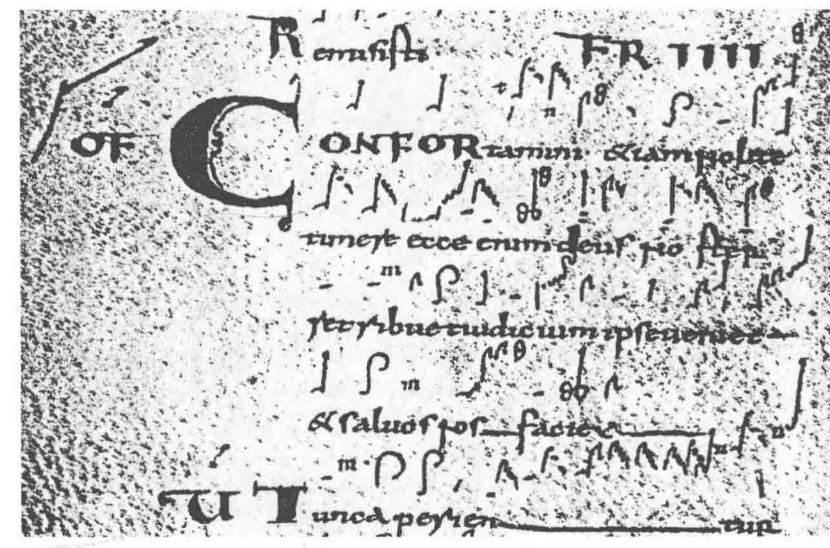
Beneventan notation (fig.25) was used in the area corresponding roughly to the duchy of Benevento and its area of influence (including Benevento, Monte Cassino, Bari and the Dalmatian coast); it thus covered much the same territory as Beneventan literary script. (10th-century sources are listed in Corbin, 1977, p.143.) The repertory of signs is extremely rich (in PalMus, 1st ser., xv, 1937/*R*, Huglo listed 353 different neume forms, among them



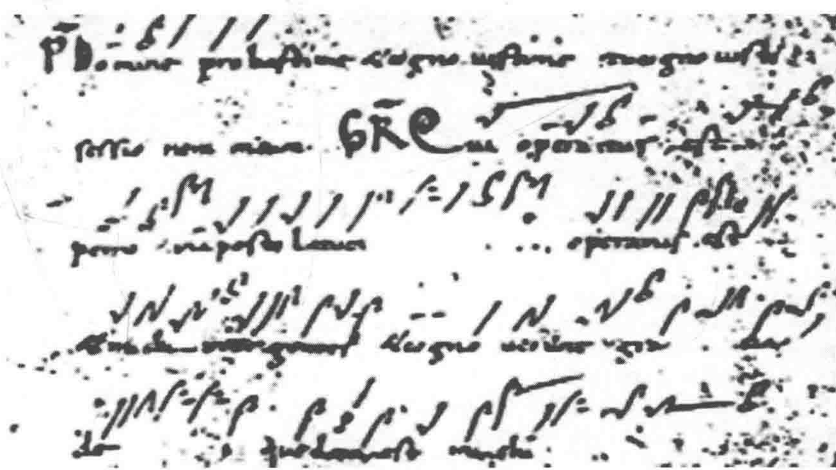
21. Toledan neumes: missal, 10th century, from Toledo (E-Tc 35.5, f.12v)

many varieties of liquescent signs). The *virga* has a graphic stress on the left. There are two types of *punctum*, one horizontal, the other slanting (*planum/grave*). The *clivis* also has two forms, one pointed (when approached from a lower note), the other right-angled (approached from the unison or a higher note). The *scandicus* is conjunct. The meaning of *tractuli* joined by a thin diagonal stroke is unclear ('inflatilia' with two notes, 'gradata' with three). Compound neumes, where long chains of notes are formed without lifting the pen from the parchment, are also prominent. The relative diastematy of this notation later developed towards an increasingly exact pitch-notation (the *custos* was used even before the introduction of the staff). (For facs. see PalMus, 1st ser., xiv, 1931, xv, 1937/*R*, xx, 1983, and xxi, 1992, which are devoted to Beneventan sources.)

(d) Palaeo-Frankish notation. Palaeo-Frankish neumes (fig.26) were first discussed by Handschin (1950) and Jammers (1952; see also, *Tafeln*, 1965, pls.34–6); sources are surveyed by Hourlier and Huglo (1957). Their name is due to Handschin, who regarded them as the forerunner of accent neumes. The connotations of the

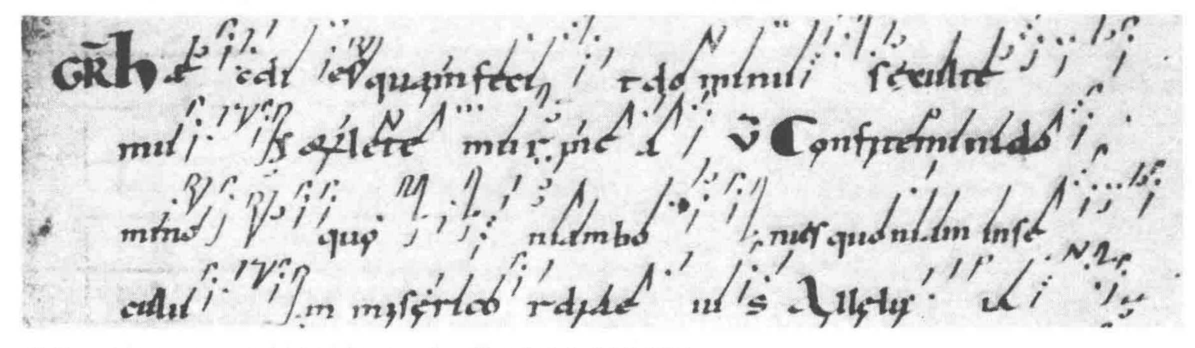


22. *Novalesa neumes: troper, late 11th century, from Novalesa (GB-Ob Douce 222, f.103v)*



23. *Bologna neumes: flyleaf of gradual, late 10th century, from ?Bologna (I-MOd O.I.13, f.B)*

term are, however, problematic, and with hindsight the alternative designation 'St Amand notation' might be more appropriate (see Huglo, 1990, p.239). The notation appears to have been used in a restricted area including several important monasteries of Picardy and Hainault – Corbie, St Bertin, Anchin, Marchiennes – with the abbey of St Amand as its possible centre and an important outpost at Corvey on the Weser. They are last found at St Amand in the 12th century. The chief distinguishing feature of the notation is that the *pes* and *clivis* are represented by a single straight or slightly curved stroke; there is thus no *virga*. The *torculus* tends to be a simple semicircle. There is no distinction between *oriscus* and *quilisma*. In this notation, if anywhere, a strong connection seems to exist to the oratorical accents of the grammarians (Atkinson, 1995). Few sources are available in facsimile, so the degree of variance in neume forms and resemblances to other types of neumes cannot yet be assessed accurately. Since the two- and three-note neumes are sometimes 'split' into *puncta*, this notation has been reckoned among the 'rhythmic' types, perhaps the earliest such, implying that the distinction between slower and



24. *Nonantolan neumes: missal, late 11th century, from Torcello (I-Bu 2679, f.12r)*

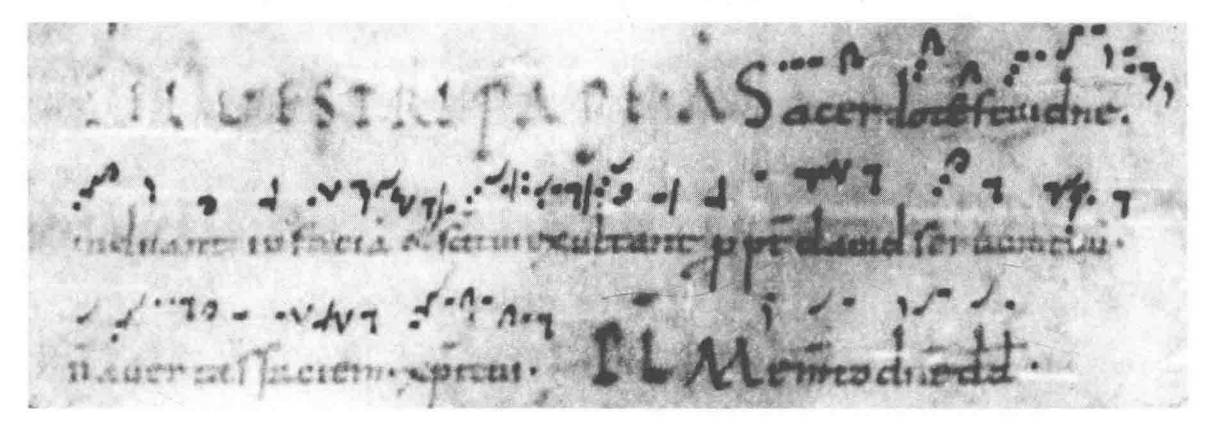


25. Beneventan neumes: missal, 10th–11th century, from Benevento (I-BV 33, f.22v)

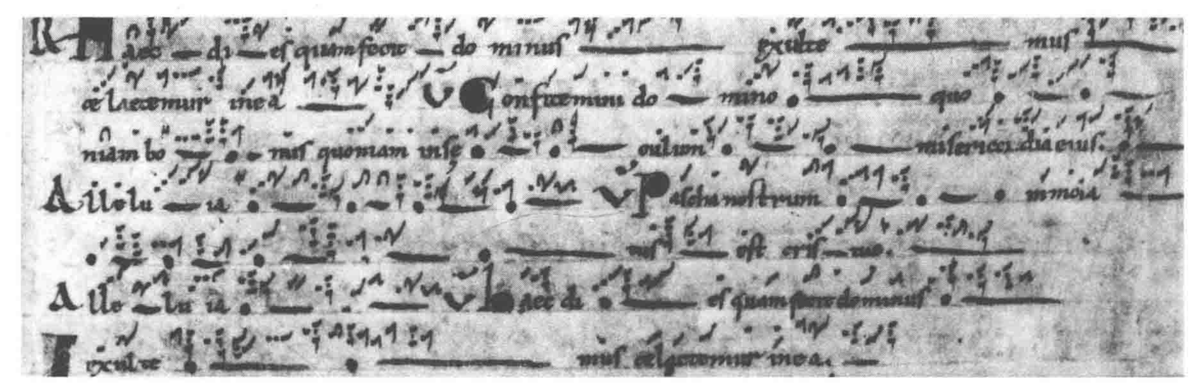
faster delivery was present in the minds of chant scribes from the very beginning. (For a hypothetical line of development, tracing a link between Palaeo-Frankish neumes and the notations of Brittany, Aquitaine and Laon, see Hourlier and Huglo, 1957, p.218.)

(e) Breton notation. Breton notation (fig.27) is found chiefly in north-west France, but also in 10th- and 11th-century sources from Pavia. Huglo's survey (*AcM*, 1963) shows a progressive retreat from the south-west (some features appear in early manuscripts from St Martial at Limoges), the Loire valley, Chartres, Maine, and Normandy south of the Seine. It was superseded by French notation in Angers by the turn of the millennium, but survived in the backwater of Brittany until the mid-12th century. Some 10th-century sources from southern England also use Breton notation (Rankin, 1984). With its obvious antiquity and simplicity, Huglo (op. cit., 82) and Stäblein (1975, p.30) thought it might once have been propagated widely throughout the Carolingian empire. As in Palaeo-Frankish notation (from which it may derive), the same sign is used where in other notations either an *oriscus* or a *quilisma* would be employed. Since the two- and three-note neumes are sometimes 'split' into *puncta*, this notation has been reckoned among the 'rhythmic' types (see Ménager, 1912). One of the principal sources, *F-CHRm* 47 (facs. in PalMus, 1st ser., ix, 1906), may be dated as early as the late 9th century and probably comes from Rennes. (For facs. see Bannister, 1913, pls.60–62; Suñol, 1925, Fr. trans., 2/1935, pp.256–9; Jammers, *Tafeln*, 1965, pls.40–41).

(f) Messine (Lorraine, Laon) notation. Messine notation (fig.28) was used in north-east France, in an area



26. Palaeo-Frankish neumes: missal, 9th century, from north-east France (F-Pn lat.17305, f.15v)



27. Breton neumes: gradual, early 12th century, from Rennes (F-Pn lat.9439, f.107r)

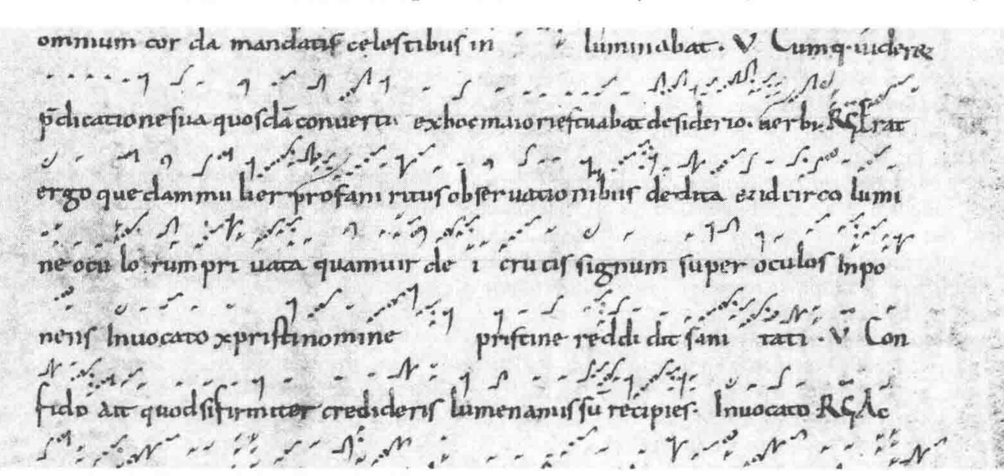
including most of the archbishopric of Reims, bounded in the east by the Vosges, Eifel and Hunsrück. Towards the south and west it was not sharply detached from the area of French neumes. A special variant appeared as early as the 10th century near Lake Como (Sesini, 1932).

The earliest complete source to survive is *F-LA* 239 (facs. in PalMus, 1st ser., x, 1909), written in or near Laon about 930. Its repertory of signs is remarkably rich; each basic sign has variant forms (graphical variants, variants in the inner articulation of the sign, also significative letters). The basic sign for single notes is a small hook (*uncinus*). Characteristic signs include the *clivis* in the form of an Arabic '7' and the *cephalicus* in the form of an Arabic '9'. The direction of the script is diagonal ascending, vertical descending.

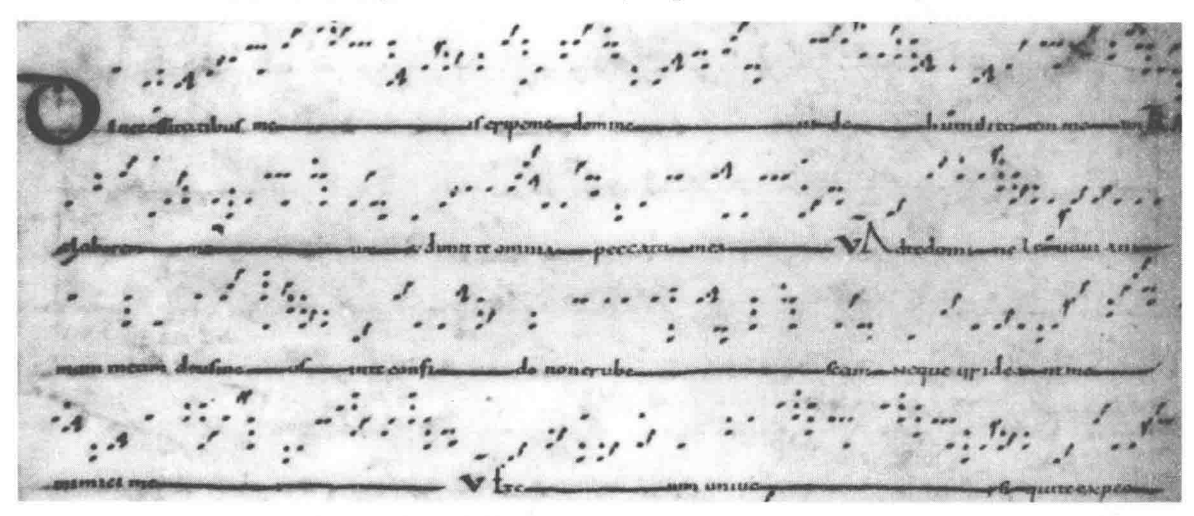
Similarly detailed studies of other manuscripts with Messine notation are not yet available. (Jeffery, 1982, and Hourlier, 1988, both discuss other very early examples; the main survey of sources is Hourlier, 1951. See also Lipphardt, 1955 and 1957; Arbogast, 1959; Cardine, 1968, Eng. trans., 1982; Corbin, 1977, pp.87–94. For facs. see PalMus 1st ser., iii, 1892, pls.154–65; Bannister, 1913, pls.55*b*–59*b*; Suñol, 1925, Fr. trans., 2/1935, p.248–55; Stäblein, 1975, pls.63–4.)

(g) Aquitanian notation. This notation (fig.29) was used over a wide area of south-west France, roughly corresponding to the Frankish province of Aquitania, and consists predominantly of discrete points. A *virga*, in the form of a point with a tail attached, is not found standing alone but as the final note of the *pes* or *scandicus*. The *torculus* is almost the only conjunct neume, formed of *punctum* plus *virga* joined to the final *punctum*. The *quilisma* is distinctive: after the initial *punctum* an almost vertical slash with initial hook is joined to the tail of the final *virga*. The earliest substantial source is the 10th-century miscellany from Limoges *F-Pn* lat.1240, whose principal scribes used Aquitanian notation, although some Breton and northern French neumes are also present.

Even before the end of the millennium scribes would use a dry-point line as a vertical orientation for music notation (the usual lines drawn for entering text would therefore be used alternately for text and music), usually for the 3rd above the final in authentic modes and the final in plagal modes (but F rather than E for mode 4). In some manuscripts a deliberate distinction seems to be made between dot and dash, possibly meaning shorter and longer notes respectively. In other sources the scribe seems simply to alternate the two, especially in descending *climacus* figures. In some sources, particularly *F-Pn* lat.903 (from St Yrieix; partial facs. in PalMus, 1st ser., xiii, 1925/*R*), alternative forms of the *virga* are used. A semicircular *virga* appears for the note on the lower step of a semitone (E, B etc.), a further type, the so-called *virga cornu* ('horned' *virga*), signifies the upper step of the semitone. Not dissimilar in shape to the latter is the *virga strata* (*virga+oriscus*). Even though the vertical placement of the notes is particularly exact in most sources from the mid-11th century onwards, clefs were not used, and



28. Messine neumes: Office of St Amand, 10th–11th century, from Reims (I-Rvat Reg.466, f.102v)



29. Aquitanian neumes: gradual, 11th century, from St Michel-de-Gaillac (F-Pn lat.776, f.37r)

custodes but rarely, so that in the case of non-standard pieces the aid of the *virga* at the semitone is often useful for determining pitch. (The principal analysis of the notation is that of Ferretti in PalMus, xiii, 1925. For facs. see PalMus, 1st ser., ii, 1891, pls.83–103; Bannister, 1913, pls.63–4; Suñol, 1925, Fr. trans., 2/1935, pp.260–82; Jammers, *Tafeln*, 1965, pls.29–30; Stäblein, 1975, pls.31–5; Corbin, 1977, pls.19–20.)

(h) Significative letters. In some early sources letters are placed adjacent to the neumes, intended to clarify their interpretation with regard to pitch, rhythm, agogic nuance or dynamic (see Table 5). They are particularly common in a small group of 10th-century sources from St Gallen, Einsiedeln and Regensburg, and are also found in manuscripts from Laon and Chartres. Smits van Waesberghe (1938–42) counted 4156 letters in *CH-SGs* 359, 12,987 in *SGs* 390–91 (the Hartker Antiphoner) and 32,378 in *E* 121.

The use of significative letters diminished in the 11th century. Significative letters are described by Notker of St Gallen (*d* 912; ed. Froger, 1962; see also MGH, *Scriptores*, ii, 1829, p.103), who attributed their invention to one 'Romanus' (a choice of name no doubt intended to heighten their authority). According to Ekkehard IV of St Gallen (*d* 1036) the 'litterae alphabeti significativae' were added by Romanus to an authentic antiphoner of St Gregory, brought to the abbey from Pope Hadrian I. Consequently they are sometimes known as 'Romanian' or 'Romanus letters'. Some of the letters on Notker's list are commonly used but others are rare in chant sources. Notker's explanations (often rather fanciful) are usually devised as a mnemonic, where the significant letter is emphasized in the actual choice of words in the explanation; thus 'g' indicates 'ut in gutture gradatim garruletur genuine gratulatur'. Notker's explanations are summarized in Table 5, col.2. No corresponding explanation survives for the letters used in *F-LA* 239, but they were elucidated in PalMus, 1st ser., x (1909; see also Billecocq, 1978; and for sources from Chartres, see PalMus, 1st ser., xi, 1912). Some of the more common meanings are explained in Table 5, col.3. The two traditions differ as to the meaning of 'a' and 'f'.

(v) Pitch-specific notations, 11th–12th centuries

(a) Alphabetic notations and dasia signs. The need for pitch-specific signs was greater in theoretical texts, many of which contained music examples, than in the liturgical chant books. Treatises that dispense with music notation, such as *Prologus in tonarium* by Berno of Reichenau (*d* 1008; *GerbertS*, ii, 62–91), cite pitches by means of the note names of classical Greek theory (*proslambanomenos*, *hypatē hypatōn* etc.). Other treatises, however, employ simpler systems based on sets of symbols or letters of the alphabet. The series of signs known as 'dasia' (or 'daseia': see Phillips, 1984, and Hebborn, 1995) was used in the important *Enchiriadis* group of treatises in the 9th century. Hermannus Contractus promoted another set of letters that specified the interval between one note and the next. Of all these, only alphabetic letters seem to have been used to notate whole chant books.

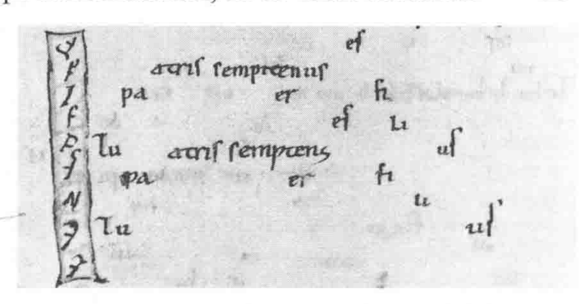
The alphabetization of the individual notes of the scale was thus at first a purely theoretical procedure and was intimately connected with the use of the monochord as a teaching instrument. Boethius (*d c*524), the principal conduit for classical Greek music theory to the Middle Ages, demonstrated several features of the Greek *systēma teleion* (Greater Perfect System) by means of pitches produced on the monochord, and in one instance the notes of the diatonic scale through two octaves are marked off with the letters 'a' to 'p' (*De institutione musica*, iv.17).

Hucbald of St Amand, writing at the end of the 9th century, had already referred to the desirability of combining neumes with pitch-letters (*GerbertS*, i, 117–18; Babb, 1978, p.37; Traub, 1989, pp.62–5), although the actual pitch-letters he chose were not the a–p series but a selection from the 'Alypian' series transmitted by Boethius (*De institutione musica*, iv.3–4; see Babb, 1978, p.9). Hucbald's suggestion was not, however, taken up in this form in practical sources, although those with dual notation, such as the 'tonary' *F-MOf* H.159 (first half of the 11th century, from St Bénigne, Dijon), which also contains French neumes, do put his idea into practice. It is not clear whether the probable *spiritus movens* behind the copying of this manuscript, Guillaume de Dijon, knew

Hucbald's work, or whether he was influenced by the late 10th-century treatise *Dialogus de musica* (see below).

Another series a–p, but this time representing modern *c–c″*, is also reported by Hucbald, and is known from several texts on the construction of organs and bells. The only known practical source utilizing this series is the Winchester manuscript with *voces organales GB-Ccc* 473 (late 10th- to mid-11th centuries), which attaches letters to the neumes of many sequences, making them among the earliest of all directly transcribable pieces (Holschneider, 1968 and 1978).

The dasia signs (fig.30) are known from three important texts of the 9th century and the early 10th, *Musica enchiriadis*, *Scolica enchiriadis* and *Commemoratio brevis de tonis et psalmis modulandis*, together with a number of others (ed. Schmid, 1981). The dasian series starts from a nucleus of four signs, representing the pitches of the four finals of Gregorian chant (D, E, F and G), which are then reversed and inverted to make further sets of four.



30. Dasia signs: 'Musica enchiriadis' (F-Pn lat.7211, f.10v)

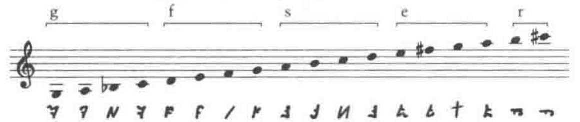
Their intervallic disposition is so explained that the scale in ex.4 results (assigning the nucleus to modern *d–g*).

The practical significance of this scale is unclear (see Phillips, 1984), since repetition at the octave is not consistently possible. (For examples of polyphony with a total range of more than an octave, the full series of dasia signs is abandoned.) Possibly we are meant to understand

TABLE 5: Significative letters

Letter	*St Gallen*	*Laon*	*Chartres*
a	[the chant] rises higher (*altius*) in pitch	increase (in length or emphasis) (*augete*)	—
b	used in conjunction with another letter to mean 'very' (*bene*), i.e. that [the chant] rises or falls 'by a large interval', or that [a note] is to be held 'for a long time'	—	—
c	to be performed rapidly (*cito*) or quickly (*celeriter*)	quickly (*celeriter*)	quickly (*celeriter*)
d	[the chant] sinks lower (*deprimatur*)	—	lower (*deprimatur*)
e or *eq*	[the note] sounds at the same pitch (*equaliter*)	same pitch (*equaliter*)	—
f	to be performed with harsh or percussive attack (*cum fragore seu frendore feriatur*)	highest point of the phrase (*fastigium*)	*fragose*? (see PalMus, 1st ser., xi)
g	to be uttered by degrees in the throat (*in gutture gradatim*)	—	—
h	—	low (*humiliter*)	low (*humiliter*)
i	[the chant] moves downwards (*iusum*) or lower (*inferius*)	—	—
k	signifies nothing to the Latin peoples, but for us Germans (*alemannos*) it stands in place of the Greek '*x*', short for *klenche*, meaning with a ringing tone	—	—
l	rise [in pitch] (*levare*)	rise (*levare*)	rise (*levare*)
m	sing the melody moderately with restraint (*mediocriter*)	moderately (*mediocriter*) (appears to refer to either rhythm or interval)	—
n, *nt*	—	join together (*nectere*)	join together (*nectere*)
nl	—	—	do not ascend (*non leves*)
o	the shape of the letter itself should be in the mouth (*ore*) of the singer	—	—
p	driving forward (*pressionem*), with urgency (*prensionem*)	—	—
q	—	—	*q* as in *equaliter*: same pitch
r	with straight or forthright vibrato-less [tone] (*rectitudinem vel rasuram ... crispationis*)	—	—
s	ascend (*susum vel sursum scandere*)	ascend (*sursum*)	—
t	drag out (*trahere*), or hold (*tenete*)	hold (*tenete*)	hold (*tenete*)
x	wait (*expectare*); there is no Latin word beginning with this letter	—	—

Ex.4 Dasia signs in the 'Enchiriadis' group of treatises (D. Hiley: *Western Plainchant: a Handbook*, 1993, p.393)



tetrachords:
g graves
f finales
s superiores
e excellentes
r residui

that b♭, f♯ and c♯ are available in all octaves, which would support the suggestion that some chants (principally offertories) 'modulate'.

In contrast to early Western notation, the system developed to notate Byzantine chant specified intervals between notes (*see* BYZANTINE CHANT, §3). The same principle was adopted by Hermannus Contractus (*d* 1054), using the following letters: 's' (semitonus) for the semitone; 't' (tonus) for the tone; 'ts' for the minor 3rd; 'tt' for the major 3rd; 'd' (diatessaron) for the perfect 4th; 'D' (diapente) for the perfect 5th; 'Ds' for the minor 6th; 'Dt' for the major 6th; and 'e' (equaliter) for the unison. A dot under the letter indicated descending motion.

The a–p series was adopted for use in *F-MOf* H.159 (fig.31) and a small group of manuscripts from Normandy and Norman England (Corbin, 1954; Santasuosso, 1989). All these sources are associated with GUILLAUME DE DIJON (William of Volpiano), the Italian abbot of St Bénigne, Dijon, who reformed most of the leading monasteries of Normandy in the early 11th century. *MOf* H.159 contains the complete corpus of Mass Proper chants in musical (not liturgical) order notated with both neumes and alphabetic letters in the series a–p (Guidonian A = a, Guidonian a = h, Guidonian aa = p; I = b♮, *i* = b♭; for the Guidonian scale, see below, ex.6). The scribes of this manuscript (see Hansen, 1974) attached special signs for liquescence, *oriscus* and *quilisma* to the letters.

A group of five special signs in *F-MOf* H.159 have occasioned much speculation (ex.5). They occur among the letters where a semitone step in the scale would normally be expected. According to one theory (see Gmelch, 1911) the signs represent quarter-tones or some

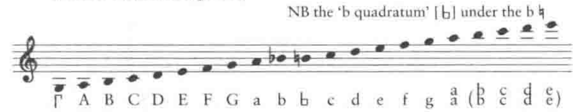
Ex.5 Special signs in *F-MOf* H.159



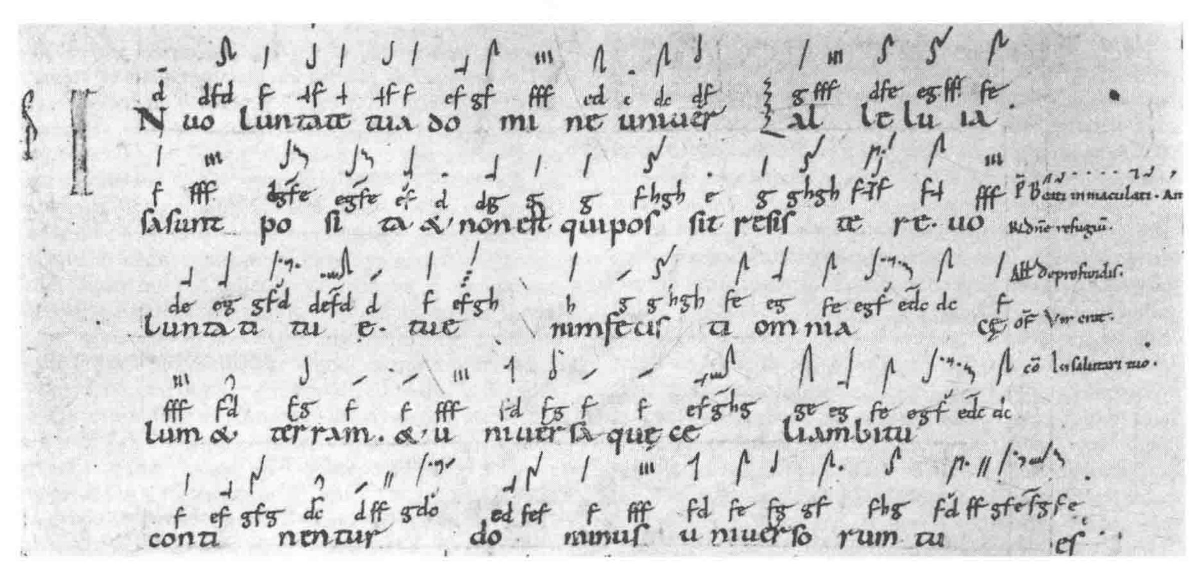
other non-diatonic tones. Froger (1978) argued that the context does not necessitate the use of intervals smaller than a semitone, and there is no evidence from contemporary writings that such intervals were ever envisaged. The signs themselves seem not unlike the dasia. No fully convincing explanation for their use has yet been found.

The anonymous *Dialogus de musica*, written at the end of the 10th century in north Italy (*see* ODO, §3), proposes an alphabetic series not merely for pedagogical purposes but also as a way to notate a complete antiphoner: Γ indicates the lowest note, followed by the letters A–G then a–g for successive octaves, with 'aa' signifying the highest pitch. Only one fragment of such an antiphoner, however, has survived; the flyleaves of the Hereford noted breviary (*GB-H* P.9.vii) are from an older antiphoner with alphabetic, not neumatic notation (facs. in W.H. Frere, *Bibliotheca musico-liturgica*, i, London, 1901 [dated 1894]/*R*, pl.2). On these leaves, longer note groups in melismas are separated by dots. Guido of Arezzo also adopted this alphabetic system, extending the series to 'ee' (ex.6). (Santasuosso, 1989, is a study of alphabetic notation. For further facs. see Wagner, 1905, 2/1912, pp.222–9, 251–7; Bannister, 1913, pls.27–32; Suñol, 1925, Fr. trans., 2/1935, pp.392–404; Stäblein, 1975, pls.89–94.)

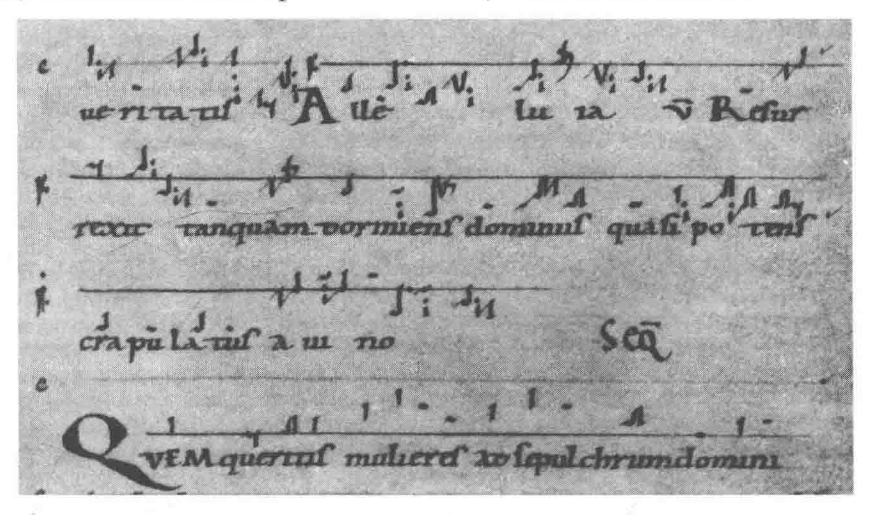
Ex.6 Pitch-letters in the *Dialogus de musica* and Guido of Arezzo (D. Hiley: *Western Plainchant*, p.395)



(b) The introduction of the staff. As early as the first period of medieval music notation, theoretical and pedagogical writings often specified the exact intervallic structure of music examples they cite. For this purpose, horizontal lines (varying in number) and/or letters and



31. French neumes and alphabetic signs: gradual in tonal order, 11th century, from St Bénigne, Dijon (F-MOf H.159, f.30r)



32. Roman staff notation: gradual, 1071, from S Cecilia in Trastevere (CH-CObodmer 74, f.80v)

symbols (e.g. dasia signs) were employed. These methods remained confined to theoretical texts, being too complicated for the notation of the entire contents of liturgical books. A historical turning-point was Guido of Arezzo's reform of musical notation (proposed in *Aliae regulae* [*Prologus in antiphonarium*], *c*1030; see Smits van Waesberghe, 1951). Based on the use of a staff, his system changed the whole relationship between writing and music in the greater part of Europe in a remarkably short space of time, and created the preconditions for developments of the greatest importance in Western music.

The rapid success of the reform may be attributed, on one level, to the simplicity and practicality of the system and to its incorporation of elements from previous systems of notation. The staff lines represent notes a 3rd apart, the intermediate notes being placed in the space between. The pitch of the lines is indicated by letter-clefs, letters of the traditional alphabet being set at the start of the respective line. In the 11th and 12th centuries the lines were normally scored into the parchment (dry-point lines), but those representing the upper note of a semitone step could be distinguished by coloured ink: red for the F-line, yellow for the c-line. Another of Guido's recommendations was the *custos* at the end of a staff, facilitating the progression to the next by indicating its first note. The notes themselves took the form of traditional neume shapes. Although the 'full' Guidonian system employed clefs, coloured lines and the *custos* together, in some cases not all these elements were adopted.

But it was not only the intrinsic merits of the reform that lay behind its Europe-wide success; the ecclesiastical-historical context was also favourable. When Guido explained his new ideas to Pope John XIX (1024–32), showing him how a previously unknown melody could be learnt from notation alone, Guido was commissioned to notate Roman liturgical books in staff notation – an obvious sign of papal approbation. The new 'Guidonian' system, therefore, also became 'Roman' notation, just at the beginning of an epoch when the role of the papacy and the relationship between Rome and the local Churches was changing. The dissemination of staff notation took place in the era of the crusades and the investiture struggle. Guidonian notation belonged to the arsenal of the reforms of Pope Gregory VII (1073–85); it could facilitate liturgical reform and preserve the unity of centralized uses.

Many scriptoria that adopted staff notation set their own traditional adiastematic neume shapes on the lines, which is probably what Guido himself had done. At the same time some of the previous allegiances (determined by geography or institutional connections) in respect of notational practice were relaxed or replaced. The scriptoria had three alternatives: to put their traditional neumes onto the staff; to import shapes from elsewhere along with the staff; or to create a new set of signs commensurate with the new system (naturally drawing upon previous experience).

The dissemination of staff notation across Europe did not proceed at a uniform rate. Examples in theoretical writings show that knowledge of the new notational ideal spread rapidly. But this does not necessarily mean that the transition was effected at the same time in notated liturgical books or the teaching of chant. Staff notation was introduced relatively early in central and northern Italy, including Rome: the gradual of S Cecilia in Trastevere of 1071 (*CH-CObodmer* 74: facs. in Lütolf, 1987; fig.32) is the oldest surviving complete codex with Guidonian notation. The transition also began in central France in the 11th century, soon followed by the Low Countries (St Trond) and Lorraine. During the 12th century, liturgical books in England, Sicily and Scandinavia (all of which were under Norman influence) were supplied with staff notation. In the areas of Aquitanian and Beneventan notation, which had already displayed diastematic characteristics in the previous notational epoch, the system was taken up either rather late (south Italy) or in strongly modified form (south France). Such features of 'classical' Guidonian notation as clefs and coloured lines were not regarded as essential. Some conservative Beneventan scriptoria retained their own diastematic but non-Guidonian notation as late as the 13th century (e.g. *I-BV* 21: facs. in Kelly, 1989, pl.12; the use of the *custos* is characteristic). Traditional Aquitanian notation had achieved full diastematy by the end of the 11th century, without recourse to the Guidonian system (see *F-Pn* lat.903: facs. in PalMus, 1st ser., xiii, 1925/*R*). In the area of German neumes staff notation was ignored for a long time; for example, in the scriptoria of the network of churches following the secular liturgical cursus (including most of the Augustinian canons) staff notation was adopted only towards the end of the 13th century. Many conservative centres continued to use adiastematic

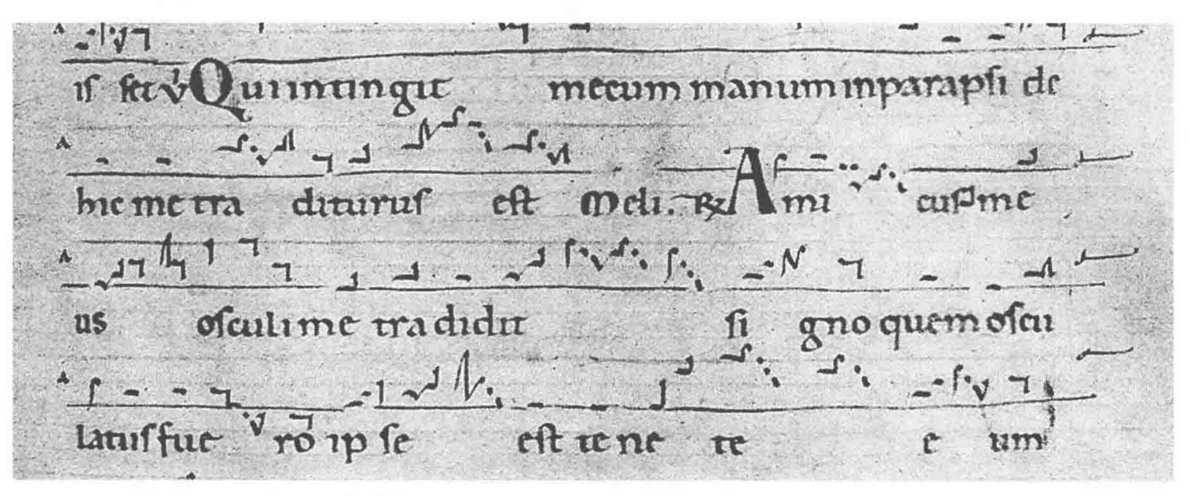
neumes even beyond the 13th century. In Hungary Guidonian notation gained general acceptance in the last third of the 12th century, and in Bohemia and Poland during the 13th century.

The new Gregorian monastic orders also played their part in the process of assimilation of the reformed notation. The Camaldolese, Carthusians, Cistercians and Premonstratensians all chose to adopt the Guidonian system, which then spread throughout the monastic networks (in variant forms peculiar to the respective orders) across the whole of Europe. The more centralized the order, however, the less influence individual houses seem to have exerted on the scribal culture of their wider environment. In Germany, for example, the splendid Guidonian notation of the Cistercian books remained confined to the order itself. The Italian Camaldolese, on the other hand, supplied codices with staff notation to other churches.

(c) Central and southern Italy, including Rome and Benevento. Among the earliest centres to adopt the Guidonian reform were those of central Italy (from Perugia to the Lombard plain, Tuscany, Umbria, the Papal States, the secular churches, Camaldolese, Vallombrosians – the actual area requires more exact definition). Sources from this area usually adopt the full Guidonian system of coloured lines, clefs and *custodes* (Smits van Waesberghe, 1953, pp.53–6), with local variation in neume shapes. Although a systematic survey of all the material is still lacking, a number of sub-types in this notational area may be distinguished. Classic examples are those of the Camaldolese manuscripts in Lucca (see fig.33 from *I-Lc* 601; see also *Lc* 603, and 609 from S Maria di Pontetto: facs. in PalMus, 1st ser., ii, 1891, pls.34–5, and PalMus, 1st ser., ix, 1906; see also *E-Tc* 48.14: facs. in Smits van Waesberghe, 1953, tab.3; and *I-Fl* 247 and 158 – Camaldolese antiphoners of the 11th–12th centuries from Vallombrosa and Struma respectively) and those of Pistoia (*I-PSc* 119 and 121: facs. in Stäblein, 1975, pls.24–5). A feature of these scripts is the elongation of horizontal strokes; the liquescent *virga* resembles the Beneventan form. Closely related to these notations is that in the Arezzo orationale (*I-ARc*: facs. in PalMus, 1st ser., ii, 1891, pl.26), and, among others, a Benedictine gradual (*I-Sc* F.VI.15: facs. in Stäblein, 1975, pl.27). Compared with these, the finely differentiated notation of Ravenna is recognisably independent in style (*I-Pc* 47 and *MOd* O.I.7: facs. in PalMus, 1st ser., ii, 1891, pl.37; Hourlier, 1960, pl.35; see also Baroffio, 1990). The small square note-heads (*virga*, *punctum*, *pes*) are reminiscent of north Italian point notations. The strong right tilt of the *virga* in the *climacus* and of the initial ascending element in the pointed *clivis* and *porrectus* are also characteristic. The half-cursive notation of the Benedictine gradual from Norcia, *I-Rv* C.52 (facs. in PalMus, 1st ser., ii, 1891, pl.33) represents another variant of central Italian notation; Beneventan influence is apparent in some neumes (e.g. the different elements in the *climacus*), as indeed it seems to be for the whole group of central Italian staff notations.

Beneventan and central Italian notations seem to be most clearly differentiated from each other in the form of the *scandicus*. In Beneventan and in reformed Guidonian 'Italo-Beneventan' staff notations from central Italy all three elements are conjunct, ending in a vertical *virga*. Central Italian notations also use the disjunct form (inherited from adiastematic Italian systems) for the *scandicus*: two *puncta* and a *virga*. But the conjunct *scandicus* is also present in these sources and further research is needed to establish whether this is the result of Beneventan influence or whether the quilismatic *scandicus* is intended. Central Italian notation is further characterized by the two forms of the *clivis* (pointed and right-angled), the tendency to build long chains of notes, the right-inclined *virga* at the start of the *climacus* and moderation in the use of special neumes. The direction of the script is diagonal both ascending and descending, but the angle differs within the area.

The Roman basilicas, perhaps as a result of Guido's audience with John XIX, adopted the staff system (red F- and yellow c-line, letter-clefs and *custos*) and combined it with neumes perhaps best described as simplified Beneventan (for the literary text, however, Caroline not Beneventan script was employed). Compared to the classical forms of Beneventan notation, most of the special neumes and the variant forms of the basic signs are absent. This is the notation used to record the Old Roman chant repertory (fig.32 from *CH-CObodmer* 74: facs. in Lütolf, 1987; see also *I-Rvat* lat.5319: facs. in MMMA, ii, frontispiece; *Rvat* S Pietro B.79: facs. in Baroffio and Kim, 1995). It was not, however, restricted to Rome but also



33. Tuscan staff notation: antiphoner, early 12th century, from S Pietro, Puteoli (I-Lc 601, f.191r)

used in many churches in Lazio and Umbria (e.g. *I-CT* 12: facs. in PalMus, 1st ser., ii, 1891, pl.33; *MGG1*, iv, Tafel 34, pp.835–6) and was subsequently adopted for the earliest Franciscan chant books.

South Italian scriptoria in the area of Beneventan notation (Benevento, Monte Cassino, Bari; some of their manuscripts are sources of Old Beneventan chant) displayed no great enthusiasm for the Guidonian reform. Beneventan notation apparently developed towards perfect diastematy without any outside influence. At Monte Cassino this process accelerated under Abbot Desiderius in the second half of the 11th century (with the use of a staff without clefs or coloured lines but with *custos*), while coloured lines appeared in the 12th century (fig.34). Benevento itself was more conservative. At the end of the 12th century codices were still written without clefs, but with clear diastematy. (For facs. see Wagner, 1905, 2/1912, p.267; Kelly, 1989; PalMus, 1st ser., xv, 1937/*R*, and xxi, 1992; Cavallo and others, 1994.)

(d) North Italy, including Milan. The scriptoria of north Italy including the plain of Lombardy, with few exceptions, had adopted the Guidonian system by the beginning of the 12th century (fig.35). In some cases neumes of the previous local type were set on the staff without much alteration (e.g. at Nonantola and in the Como area where Messine-type neumes were used), but in most cases there was a modification under central Italian influence. The notation called Milanese exists only on staves; it seems to have been newly created at the time when the staff was introduced, drawing on elements of both Italian and Messine systems. In this period there was a general tendency in north Italian notations towards the use of discrete *puncta*, joined with fine lines.

Nonantolan neumes were combined with the full Guidonian system (Smits van Waesberghe, 1953, p.57), adopting a vertical ascending direction in the process (for facs. see Stäblein, 1975, pl.16; PalMus, 1st ser., ii, 1891, pls.15–18; G. Iversen, ed.: *Corpus troporum*, iv: *Tropes de l'Agnus Dei*, Stockholm, 1980, pls.XXX–XXXI). In Vercelli, by contrast, the notation had become diastematic by the 12th century, but can hardly be described as Guidonian, using only a *custos* (for facs. see Stäblein, 1975, pl.20; Iversen, op. cit., pls.XXVII–XXVIII; see also *I-VCd* 70 and 161). Characteristic of a large number of sources whose notation is generally closer to central Italian practice are: two types of *clivis*, pointed and right-angled; both disjunct and conjunct *scandicus*; right-facing *virga* at the start of the *climacus*. (For facs. see G. Iversen, ed.: *Corpus troporum*, vii: *Tropes du Sanctus*, Stockholm, 1990, pls.XXV–XXVI; *MGG1*, viii, Tafel 48 after p.1026; Stäblein, 1956, pl.7; PalMus, 1st ser., ii, 1891, pls.36, 37B.)

Milanese staff notation (fig.36) employed Guidonian coloured lines. Its characteristics include: conjunct *scandicus*, right-angled *clivis*, *pes* pointing right, no independent *virga*, *tractuli* for all single notes, *climacus* appearing as a *clivis* combined with a *punctum*, a tendency to construct long chains of notes, and an individual shape for *torculus* and *porrectus*. Like other notations of the region, neumes tended to be constructed out of points joined with thin lines. (Examples include *GB-Lbl* 34209: facs. in PalMus, 1st ser., v, 1896; and *I-MZ* c.14/77: facs. in PalMus, 1st ser., ii, 1891, pl.40; see also Stäblein, 1975, pl.21; Huglo and others, 1956, Tav.VII.)

(e) Normandy, Paris and other French centres, England and Sicily. The beautiful chant manuscripts with square notation produced in Paris workshops in the 13th century (and taken as models by the designers of the type for the Solesmes-Vatican books at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th) are often regarded as the outcome of a development initiated in Paris itself. But this is not the case. During the 12th century many centres in northern France, especially Normandy, and England began to make the *punctum* like a small square and used a small square head or foot on the *virga*, *clivis* and so on. They also adopted the Guidonian staff. Hesbert (1954) has traced this development within the manuscripts from the Norman abbey of Jumièges, and the same could be done for other centres. There are naturally some small differences between scriptoria: in Paris, for example, manuscripts from the late 12th century with staff notation have a *pes subbipunctus* with head turned right, instead of left as in 'classical' square notation of the 13th century (e.g. *F-Psg* 93, *R* 249 from St Victor, also *Pn* lat.17328 from St Corneille at Compiègne).

As already remarked, several 12th-century Norman and English manuscripts (e.g. *F-Pn* lat.10508 from St Evroult) use the special *punctum* at the semitone step. In Norman Sicily it seems that when the generation of scribes using neumatic notation had passed away, a form of proto-quadratic staff notation with mostly French but also one or two Italian elements (such as an Italian *pes*) was introduced. (See Suñol, 1925, Fr. trans., 2/1935, pp.145–7.)

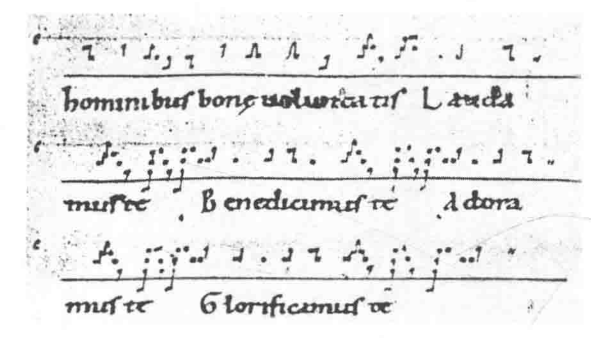
No sources from these areas with staff notation are known to date from the 11th century, and many centres continued to use adiastematic neumes well into the 12th century. 12th-century manuscripts with staff notation survive from Angers and Fleury; Chelles, Paris, St Denis and St Maur-des-Fossés; the Norman monasteries of Fécamp, Jumièges and St Evroult; St Albans, Worcester and Downpatrick; Palermo and Catania; and Jerusalem. (For facs. see PalMus, 1st ser., ii, 1891, pls.43, 194; Bannister, 1913, pls.94, 96; Stäblein, 1975, pls.41, 65; Bernard, 1965, pls.xvii-xxvi; Bernard, 1974, pls.ix–x, xxxvii–xlv.)

(f) Messine (Metz, Lorraine, Laon) notation. The Guidonian staff spread to the area of Messine notation during the 12th century, co-existing briefly with notation *in campo aperto*. Even before the introduction of the staff, attempts at a more precise diastematy are visible. Scriptoria in this area, principally those in monastic centres, adapted the Guidonian system along their own lines, and little homogeneity can be observed. As in other parts of France, no need to apply all aspects of the system was felt, resulting in much variety in respect of coloured lines, *custodes* and letter-clefs. From the 13th century, however, Lorraine neumes regularly appear on staves of four red or black lines; some of the earliest preserved examples are those from the seat of the archbishopric in that area, Reims (see fig.37 from *F-RSc* 221; see also *RSc* 261: facs. in PalMus, 1st ser., iii, 1892, pl.167; and *F-Pn* lat.833 and 18008, both from the end of the 12th century).

The vocabulary of Messine neumes was somewhat simplified for the staff. The disjunct neume forms (used to signify agogic prolongation) receded, similarly the *virga* and most of the special neumes: the *quilisma* was replaced by a *scandicus*, the *oriscus* became a normal note or was simply omitted. Some scriptoria continued to use

34. Beneventan staff notation: gradual, 12th century, from Monte Cassino (I-MC 546, f.49r)

strophici, and of the liquescent neumes only the *cephalicus* and *epiphonus*. The basic single note remained the hook-shaped *punctum* (*uncinus*), whose form varied from place to place. The representation of the *scandicus* and *climacus* continued to be variable. From the 12th century onwards the *climacus* tended to descend not vertically but diagonally to the right, perhaps under French or German influence. During this century the area of Messine notation gradually narrowed under French influence – *F-CA* 193 (olim 188) f.151*r*, from Cambrai (facs. in PalMus, 1st ser., iii, 1892, pl.168B), for example, includes a French *pes* among Messine neumes). However, the Messine system exercised considerable influence on almost all notations in the German area that adopted staff notation. (*I-VEcap* CLXX, a noted breviary from Namur, early 13th century, is a classic example of Messine notation; for facs. see also Suñol, 1925, Fr. trans., 2/1935, p.254–5; Bannister, 1913, pls.55*b*–59*b*; PalMus, 1st ser., iii, 1892, pls.166–73; Hourlier, 1960, pl.19; Wagner, 1905, 2/1912, p.322). A complete codex with Messine staff notation

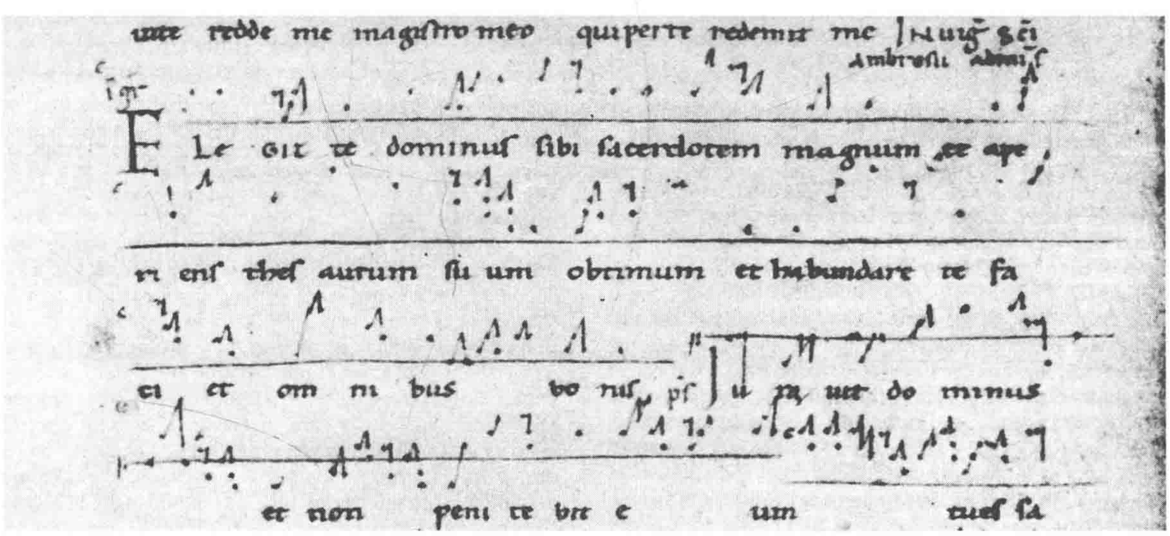


35. North Italian staff notation: troper, 12th century, from Brescia (I-Bu 2748, p.88)

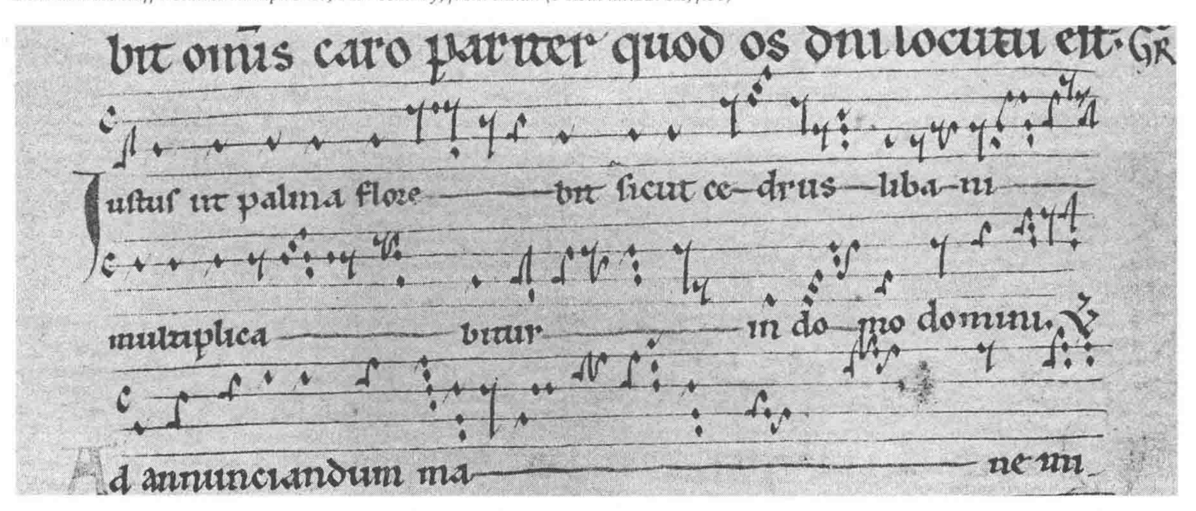
(with some German features), the noted missal *F-VN* 759 of the 13th century, has appeared in facsimile (ed. Saulnier, 1995).

(g) French-Messine mixed notation. With the introduction of staff notation, scriptoria in central France developed their own variety of the system (in respect of coloured lines, clef letters and *custodes*; fig.38); among manuscripts following Guidonian practice strictly are those of Nevers (e.g. *F-Pn* n.a.lat.1235–6; for facs. see PalMus, 1st ser., iii, 1892, pl.195B; Stäblein, 1956, pl.3; M. Huglo: 'Un nouveau prosaire nivernais (Paris, B.N. nouv.acq.lat.3126)', *Ephemerides liturgicae*, lxxi, 1957, pp.3–30; G. Iversen, ed.: *Corpus troporum*, iv: *Tropes de l'Agnus Dei*, Stockholm, 1980, pls.X–XI). The French-Messine system is an example of a 'hybrid' notation (Corbin, 1977, p.127). Most neumes are French, but beside the French *clivis* there is a right-angled *clivis*, which Corbin thought had been borrowed from Messine notation (although Italian influence, or perhaps even a music-theoretical source, cannot be ruled out entirely), and which is used where the first note of the *clivis* is at the same pitch as, or lower than, the preceding note. From the area east of Sens many such examples of French-Messine mixed notations may be found in this period (Corbin, 1977, map 2; manuscripts from Troyes, St Florentin, Auxerre, Vézelay, Dijon, Langres; for facs. see PalMus, 1st ser., iii, 1892, pl.198A; Bernard, 1965, pl.VI).

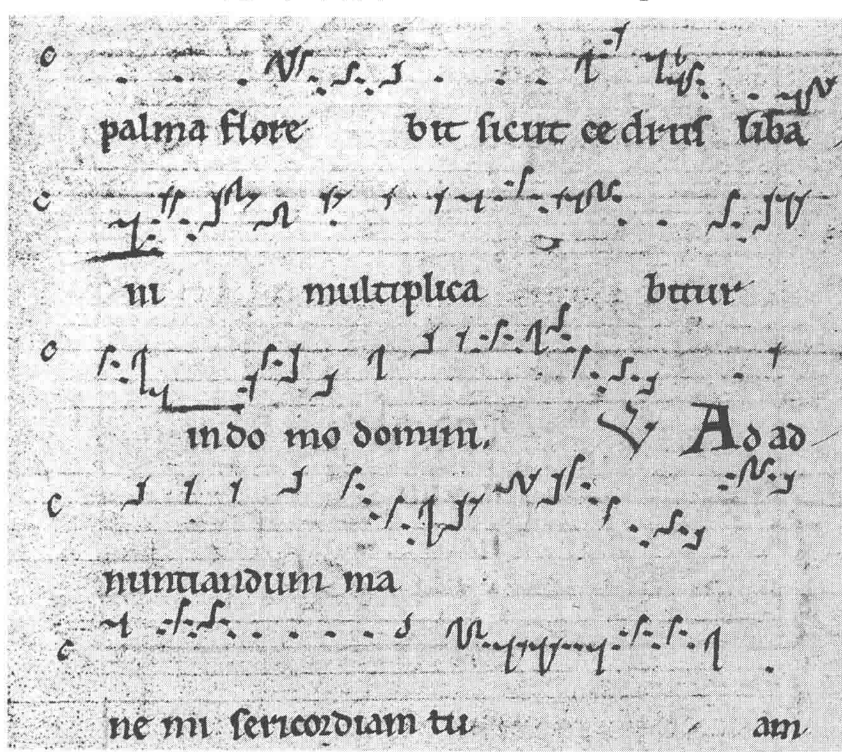
(h) Cistercian notation. The first great houses of the Cistercians (Clairvaux, Morimond and Pontigny) were



36. Milanese staff notation: antiphoner, 12th century, from Milan (I-Rvat lat.12932, f.5v)



37. Messine staff notation: missal, 12th century, from Reims (F-RSc 221, f.74v)



38. Mixed French-Messine staff notation: gradual, 12th century, from Auxerre area (F-Pn lat.10511, f.185v)

founded in the area in which the French-Messine hybrid notations were used. Cistercian notation used the staff from the very beginning (Marosszéki, 1952, p.31) and employed a mixture of French and Messine neumes. Beside the French *virga*, *pes*, *scandicus*, *climacus*, *clivis* and *cephalicus*, occur the Messine *clivis* and *porrectus*. No special neumes are used. While there is some regional variety among French Cistercian scriptoria in respect of the appearance of the staff, those in Italy, Germany and central Europe followed rather strict Guidonian practice. (For facs. of *F-Dm* 114, the 12th-century standard Cistercian compendium see *MGG1*, xiv, Tafel 73 after col.1344.)

(i) The Rhineland, Liège and the Low Countries. The Rhineland down to the Low Countries was one of the first areas to use staff notation, which was employed from the late 11th century onwards (staff notation was known in St Trond in 1099; see Smits van Waesberghe, 1969, p.27). Aachen (see fig.39 from *D-AAm* 13), Liège and Cologne seem to be among the earliest centres that adopted the system, with Utrecht, the Münster area, Mainz and even further south along the Rhine within the area of influence. Later, staff notation spread north-east, following, for example, the path of the Teutonic Knights. Many neume shapes were derived from earlier German forms, but the *virga* was provided with a small diamond-shaped head (later to grow into the 'Hufnagel'). The first element of the *pes* sometimes became an upward-arching semicircle (*pes à ergot*), a form found in French or Messine scripts but previously rare in German sources. Special neumes and liquescents were also used. The direction of the script no longer slanted as much as it had done previously, but the script retained much of its rounded contours. Red and yellow lines for F and c respectively are common, the F-clef is often a simple point and the *custos* is absent from early manuscripts. Some sources appear to have borrowed signs from French or Messine notation, for example, the right-angled *clivis* or the *epiphonus* with a closed ring. Typical examples available in facsimile are from Ratingen or Gaesdonck (*D-Mbs*



39. Rhenish staff notation: gradual, 13th century, from Aachen (D-AAm 13, f.120v)

Clm 10075; facs. in Hourlier, 1960, pl.5), the abbey of St Jacques, Liège (*F-Pe* B-A: facs. in Bernard, 1974, pl.XVII), Maastricht (*NL-DHk* 76.F.3: facs. in *MGG1*, viii, Tafel 72 after col.1410), Stavelot (*GB-Lbl* 18031–2: facs. in PalMus, 1st ser., iii, 1892, pl.131), Trier (*D-Ds* 664: facs. in PalMus, 1st ser., iii, 1892, pl.132; *D-TRs* 2254: facs. in ibid., pl.133), Aachen (*D-AAm* 13: facs. in *MGG1*, v, Tafel 14 before col.321 and Haug, 1995, pl.93–9) and Utrecht (*NL-Uu* 417: facs. in Haug, 1995, pp.131–3; *Uu* 406: facs. in Loos, Downey and Steiner, 1997). Variant forms in the Mainz area use a vertical *virga* and a *pes* with a left-facing head. Such forms are also to be found in the Hildegard-Codex (Dendermonde, Benedictine Abbey, MS 9: facs. van Poucke, 1991) and a Koblenz missal (Wirzenborn [nr Montabaur], f.260*r* *Kirchenarchiv*: facs. in PalMus, 1st ser., iii, 1892, pl.137). Its influence may have reached further south, being felt in such books as the Zwiefalten antiphoner (*D-KA* 60, second scribe, f.260r), the gradual *D-Au* Öttingen-Wallersteinische Bibliothek, Maihingen I.2.4°.13, and an antiphoner fragment *A-Ws* C 1.

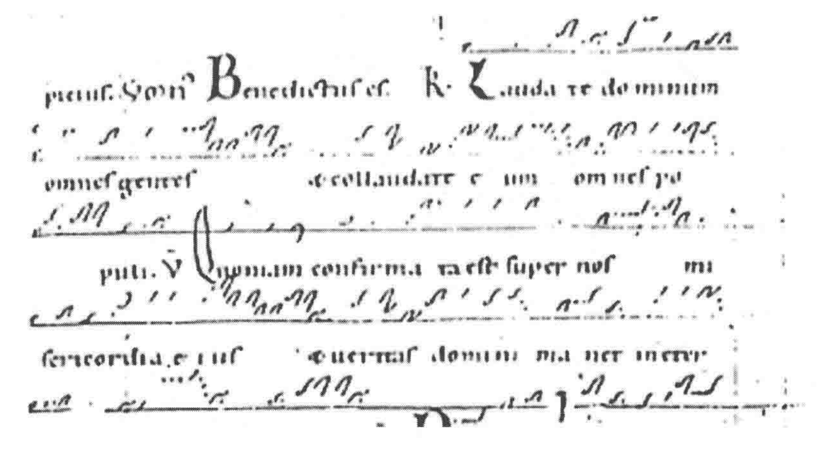
(j) South Germany, Klosterneuburg, Bamberg. Adiastematic notation was still dominant in south Germany during the 12th century. However, two types of staff notation developed under special circumstances, employed in comparatively few books. These types are referred to as 'south German' staff notation and 'Klosterneuburg' notation, respectively.

In a number of Benedictine scriptoria traditional south German neumes were placed on the staff, with differences in the use of clefs and coloured lines. Perhaps the oldest preserved source is the fragment of a monastic antiphoner from the end of the 11th century, *A-LIs* 623, with coloured lines and clef-pairs D-a, F-c or a-e. Important 12th-century sources include the Einsiedeln hymnal (*CH-E* 366 with red F-line, clef-pair F-c: facs. in Stäblein, 1975, pl.62), fragments from Hirsau (e.g. *D-Sl* Cod.fragm.53 with coloured lines, clefs on all lines, *pes* like an Arabic '3') and from Prüfening near Regensburg, affiliated to Hirsau, including the most extensive fragment, *Mbs* lat.10086 (fig.40) with red F- and green c-line, clefs a 5th apart (also from Prüfening come *D-Mbs* lat.23037, f.240 with clefs on all lines and a *pes* sometimes like an Arabic '3'; and *Mbs* Clm 13021 and 12027). Some sources with mostly south German neumes and script-direction appear to borrow from Messine practice *cephalicus* like an Arabic '9', right-pointing *virga*), for example, *D-Mbs* lat.9921 (f.40*v*, from Ottobeuren) and *D-KA* 60 (f.267*r*, from Zwiefalten).

Closely related to these is the distinctive notation in 12th-century Bamberg sources. Its typical features are a right-leaning *virga* like an Arabic '1', an elongated *tractulus* (*punctum planum*), both pointed and right-angled *clivis* forms, the latter with a long first element. (This type of *clivis* can already be seen in the late adiastematic notation of Bamberg sources, e.g. *D-BAs* 24 and 26, both of the 13th century.) Early examples include the 12th-century music theory manuscript *D-Mbs* Clm 14965b (f.30*r*; see Smits van Waesberghe, 1969, p.97) and two fragments of monastic antiphoners from the turn of the 12th century (*A-KN* F8 and F19). This script evolved further in 13th-century sources such as *D-BAs* 25 (an antiphoner, first notation, f.2*r*) and 12 (gradual frag., f.8*r*).

Messine (Lorraine) features are predominant in Klosterneuburg notation, which also seems to be of south German Benedictine origin. Only the *clivis* and the special neumes (*strophici*, *oriscus*, *virga strata*, liquescents) are German. The direction of the script (ascending diagonally, descending vertically) is also Messine. The old, wavy *quilisma* is replaced by a form similar to the conjunct *scandicus*, while the normal form of the *scandicus* contains three Messine *tractuli* (*uncini*). Red F- and yellow c-lines are used consistently, all lines have clefs, but the *custos* is avoided. Sources include *D-Mbs* lat.9921 (ff.1, 54–7; see Smits van Waesberghe, 1969, p.111), from Ottobeuren, and three from Augsburg: *A-Wn* 573 (ff.19–25; see Berschin, 1975); *D-Mbs* lat.22025 (flyleaf); and *D-W* Gud.lat.334 (olim 4641). The most important group of completely preserved codices are those from the house of Augustinian canons at Klosterneuburg, including a gradual from the first third of the 12th century, *A-Gu* 807 (facs. in PalMus, 1st ser., xix, 1974) and the antiphoners from later in the century, for example, *A-KN* 1010, 1012 and 1013.

(k) Hungary. In the 12th century, when the Guidonian reform was carried out, Hungary was politically and ecclesiastically an independent kingdom. The notational reform may have been part of more general changes to the liturgy. Older Hungarian codices used south German neumes. At this time a deliberate campaign seems to have been carried out to create a new, reformed notation. Neumes of Messine and Italian origin were combined in a unique synthesis and set on the staff to create an independent notational type, known as 'Esztergom' or

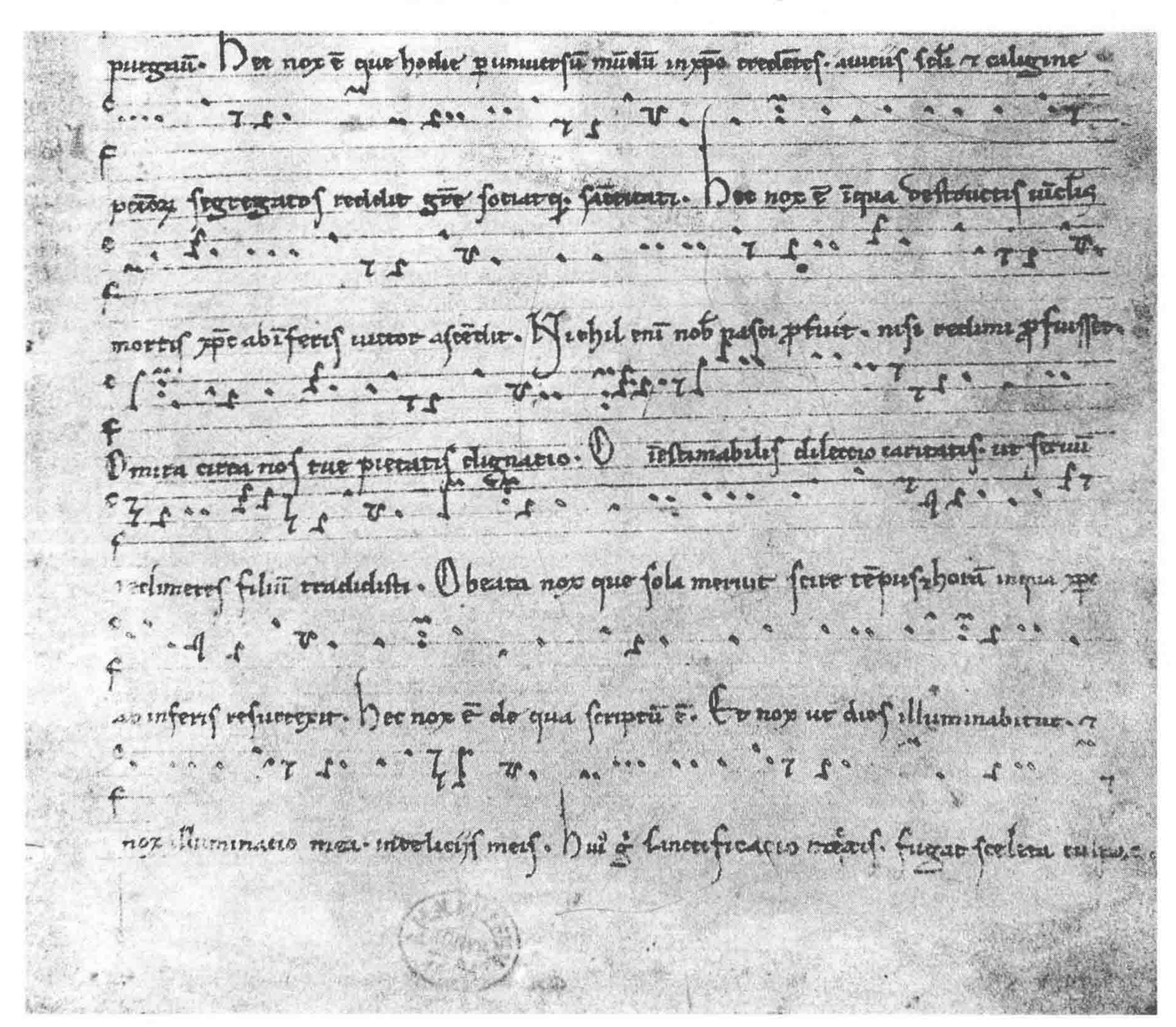


40. South German staff notation: gradual, 12th–13th century, from Prüfening (D-Mbs lat.10086, f.29)

'Graner' notation (see fig.41 from *H-Bn* MNy 1, 13th-century additions; see also Szendrei, 1988). Some remnants of the German neumes found in 12th-century sources gradually disappeared: only the supple appearance and careful calligraphy are reminiscent of the superseded German models. The characteristic features of the Esztergom notation are: *tractulus* rather than *punctum*; right-facing *pes*; right-angled *clivis*; vertically descending *climacus* – often starting with a stereotyped wave like a double-note; and a conjunct *scandicus* (the last two after Italian models). Liquescent and other special signs are rare. 12th-century sources include *H-Bn* MNy 1 (first notation), *HR-ŠIBf* 10 (binding) and *H-Bu* U.Fr.1.m.214; from the 13th century date *A-GÜ* 1/43 and *CZ-Ps* DE.I.7; and *SK-BRm* EC Lad.3 and EL18 were copied in the early 14th century. *TR-Itks* 42 dates from around 1360 (facs., Szendrei, 1999).

(l) German-Messine mixed notations in Germany and central Europe. The change to staff notation was somewhat delayed in non-monastic scriptoria using German neumes. Only after the mid-13th century did sources with staff notation appear regularly east of Mainz or in the south German dioceses. Palaeographically these notations belong together, for they are all characterized by a fusion of German and Messine forms (in differing combinations, some an equal mix, others predominantly one or the other). The direction of the script is German (ascending and descending diagonally). The rhomboid single note typical of the whole region is a stylized evolution of the Messine *punctum* (*uncinus*). Since these developments were relatively late, the appearance of the notations was influenced by gothic scribal characteristics. Until the sources have been more comprehensively investigated it is not possible to say if these notations were disseminated initially from one centre or represent simultaneous and independent developments.

The earliest among the preserved sources is the Quedlinburg gradual *D-Bsb* 40078 (fig.42), from the start of the 13th century (sometimes dated to the end of the 12th; facs. in Haug, 1995, pp.109–12). The usual form for a single note is a *virga* with short stem and left-facing head (showing Messine influence on German form). The other neumes are of German or Messine type. There are coloured lines, but clefs are found only in the middle of lines for a change of register, not at the beginning. 13th-century manuscripts where there is also a balance between



41. Esztergom staff notation: 13th-century additions (H-Bn MNy 1, f.1r)



42. Mixed German-Messine staff notation: gradual, 12th–13th century, from Quedlinburg (D-Bsb 40078, f.245v)

German and Messine forms include those of Brunswick (see Härting, 1963) and Leipzig (e.g. *D-LEu* 391: facs. in Wagner, 1930; see also the 13th-century gradual *CZ-Ps* DF.I.8).

A number of notations more decidedly Messine in character are found from the mid-13th century onwards. The shape of the neumes is always articulated, consisting of rhomb for the noteheads connected by thick Gothic strokes. Examples are common in Austrian and Moravian sources (*A-Wn* 1925; Olomouc, Kapitulni Knihovna CO 3; *CZ-Bam* 6/11 and 19/27). Staff notation is known to have been introduced in the Moravian diocese (suffragan of Mainz until 1344) by Baldwin, Dean of Olomouc (*d* 1203; see Pokorný, 1980, p.42).

A mixed Messine-German staff notation was adopted in the south Polish diocese of Kraków, with sources dating as early as the 13th century (additions in *PL-Kk* 51), although the first complete sources are later. Messine elements predominate in a gradual of about 1300 from Wislica in the Kraków diocese (Kielce, Biblioteka Seminarium Duchownego RL 1), rather as in Moravian and Austrian sources just mentioned.

Besides the forms incorporating the stylized Messine rhomb, square note-heads were also used in some scriptoria of the region (see *A-KN* 629 and 1021, Olomouc, Kapitulni Knihovna CO 7). For example, the Benedictine scriptorium of Tyniec in southern Poland developed an individual notation combining square and rhomboid forms (e.g. *PL-Wn* Akc.10810; see Szendrei, 'Notacja liniowa', 1999).

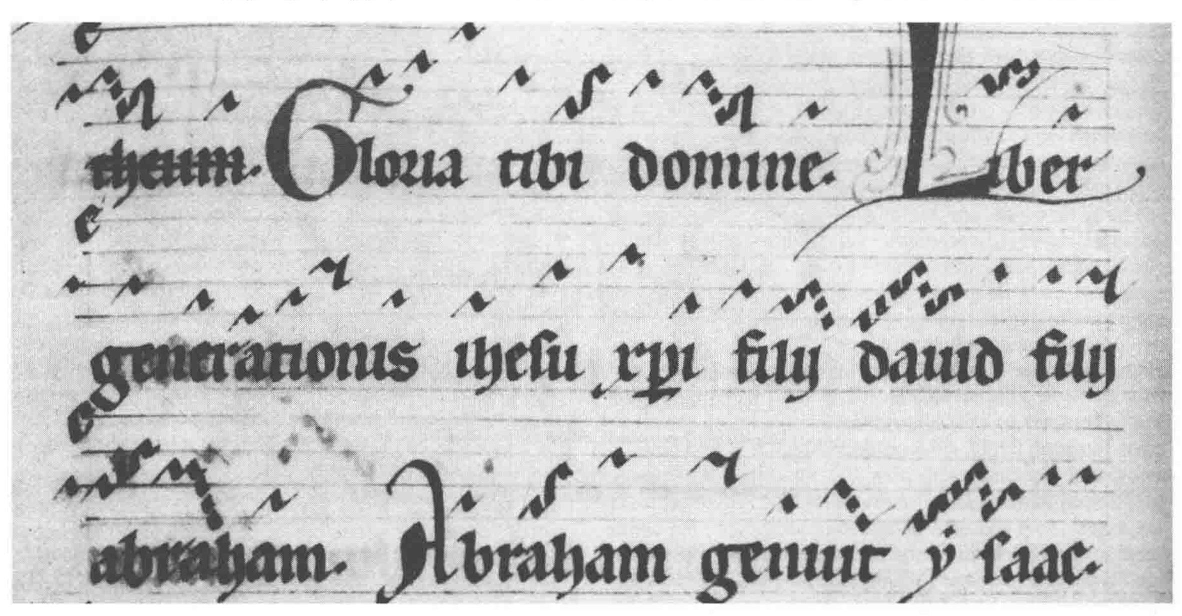
Silesian notation, one of the most individual as well as best-documented notations of this area, is also dominated by Messine forms. The earliest sources already rely on the Messine *punctum* (*uncinus*) for the single note, and for the *pes* and *scandicus* when the interval of only a 2nd is involved (larger intervals end with a *virga*). There are no special neumes. This notation developed independently until the 16th century. Sources include the missal *CZ-Pnm* XIII.B.17 from the end of the 13th century (facs. in Hutter, 1926, Abb.VI-VII) and the following 14th-century manuscripts: *PL-WRu* Br.Mus.K.21; Ms.Muz.51322 (olim K.24); I.F.386; and R 503.

(m) The Messine notation of Prague. Apart from some monastic houses with affiliations outside Bohemia, scriptoria of the Prague diocese used German neumes until staff notation was introduced by Vitus (*d* 1271), dean of Prague Cathedral. (German adiastematic neumes are still found in some Prague cathedral manuscripts as late as the early 14th century.) The manuscripts commissioned by Vitus, dating from between 1235 and 1253, use classical Messine forms, though the direction of the script is diagonal descending as well as ascending; the *custos* is absent (see fig.43 from *CZ-Pak* A 26-2, dated 1253; facs. in Spunar, 1957, pl.14c). The Premonstratensians probably played a part in this importation of Messine notation into Bohemia.

Codices written under Bishop Tobias (1279–96) witness its further assimilation. The following examples may be cited: *CZ-Pak* Cim.4 (dated 1235, ninth gathering: facs. in Spunar, 1957, pl.14*b*); *Pak* LXI.2 (Evangeliary of Bishop Tobias, dated 1293); *Pak* P.3 (Agenda of Bishop Tobias, 1294: facs. in Hutter, 1926, pls.IV–V); and *Pu* XIV.A.19. Both staffless German neumes and Messine staff notation are found in *Pu* IV.D.9 (*Liber ordinarius S Viti*, 13th–14th century).

(n) Cistercian and Premonstratensian notations in central Europe. Cistercian monasteries in central Europe used staff notation much earlier than other churches of the region, in fact from the time of their foundation in the 12th century. They used the French-Messine mixed notation as it had been developed in the Burgundian homeland of the order. This Cistercian system was more or less isolated from the traditions of its new environment, but gradually assimilated a few gothic features.

Premonstratensian notation in this area was less autonomous. The early houses of the order used Messine neumes, and the Premonstratensians were probably influential in introducing Messine staff notation to central Europe. Later sources with staff notation tended to assume characteristics of the local region. The first two notational layers of the troper *CZ-Pak* Cim.4 are probably Premonstratensian (see Vlhova, 1993). (See also the Polish Premonstratensian antiphoner of *c*1200, MS Arch.Norbertanek 1 in the convent library of Klasztor Norbertanek, Imbramowice, Poland: facs. in Miazga, 1984, p.235; and the German gradual from Arnstein, Trier diocese, *D-DS* 868, dated 1208–15: facs. in Miazga, 1979, p.120, facs.19).



43. Prague Messine staff notation: 'plenarium', dated 1253, from Prague (CZ-Pak A 26-2, f.73v)

(vi) Pitch-specific notations, 13th–16th centuries.

(a) Square notation. The development of square notation may have resulted from changes in the conception and the function of chant notation. The resolution of stroke notation into a series of discrete squares linked by thin lines suggests that chant was thought of more in terms of individual pitches than of lines and phrases, perhaps because of its role as static tenor beneath more mobile upper parts in polyphony. Because of the easier visibility of individual notes, it facilitated singing from a codex by a group of singers (the increasing size of manuscripts also reflects the trend towards singing from a book instead of from memory, at least in some centres). To notate in this way, with thick horizontal and hair-thin vertical strokes, required a different pen-hold from that used for writing texts. These new requirements and techniques led to the separation of cursive notation (for private musical jottings) from formal book notation (for official use).

The 'classical' square notation best known from Parisian books of the mid-13th century onwards was a development of the French notations used in northern France (especially the Ile de France) in the 12th century. Thus the *virga*, *pes* and *porrectus* have a left-facing head and the *clivis* has a thin initial upstroke; the direction of the script is vertical ascending and diagonal descending. The *scandicus* consists of a *punctum* combined with a *pes*, or a *pes* with a *virga*; and the two *puncta* of the *climacus* take the form of small rhombs. A four-line staff (sometimes red) is normal; the *custos* is usually absent, as it had been in the Paris area in the 12th century. (For facs. see PalMus, 1st ser., iii, 1892, pl.204A)

Square notation was adopted with greater or lesser promptness in wide areas of western and southern Europe, Britain and Scandinavia in the 13th century, occasionally (though not always) replacing a different notational type (e.g. in some centres where Messine notation had been used). Sometimes Parisian books were imitated fairly exactly, no doubt as a result of the general political, intellectual and cultural importance of Paris in the 13th century. But many regional centres assimilated square forms into their traditional notation (e.g. retaining the original direction of their script) without adopting all features of Parisian practice. Many of these local varieties await thorough investigation. Aquitanian scriptoria furnished many examples of this (Stäblein, 1975, p.161, pls.43*a–c*), so also the Carthusians (PalMus, 1st ser., ii, 1891, pl.105; iii, 1892, pl.206A) or northern French centres such as Beauvais (Bernard, 1965, pl.xix–xx; Stäblein, 1975, p.159, pls.41*a–b*). Thus old notational boundaries retained some of their effectiveness even in the 13th century. Milanese notation, presumably because of the different chant repertory it represented, remained individual throughout the Middle Ages.

Homogenizing and standardizing forces were nevertheless at work. Chant books could be commissioned from professional scriptoria and executed by scribes unfamiliar with local (provincial) idiosyncrasies. The new religious orders of the Franciscans, Dominicans and Augustinian hermits made square notation obligatory for their chant books (see Huglo, 1967; Van Dijk, 1963, ii, p.359); the correctoria of the Dominicans were written in Paris in the mid-13th century (PalMus, 1st ser., iii, 1892, pls.200A–B). When the Franciscan Pope Nicholas III (1277–80) ordered the destruction of older chant books in Rome and their replacement with new ones after the Franciscan model, square notation acquired the semi-official status of a 'Roman' notation. Thereafter it made rapid headway, especially in Italy, where Beneventan notation, for example, was shortly superseded. It also penetrated Germany and central Europe, mainly as the preserve of the religious orders.

(b) 'Gothic' notations. Gothic notations were not a new notational type but a change to the surface appearance of traditional neume shapes. Something similar had happened with the establishment of square notation, but whereas there the pen was held parallel to the line, in gothic style it remained diagonal. The horizontal and in particular the vertical down-strokes are strongly marked, the diagonal up-strokes fine. Whereas elegant, curved shapes were still common in the 13th century, by the 15th



44. West German Gothic notation: gradual, 15th century, from the collegiate chapter of St Martin, Bonn (H-Bn Clmae 259, f.1v)

century thick, often uninterrupted chains of geometrically regular strokes were used. The basic shapes, however, are those of the German and central European notations already established in the 12th and 13th centuries, with the variety already described above, at least at first. The number of types diminished with time. Cistercian notation and that of Bamberg (except for its distinctive *clivis*) were eventually assimilated into the regional types with which they coexisted. Klosterneuburg notation disappeared after the 14th century. But the Esztergom notation in Hungary, and the notations of Prague and Silesia retained their independence. The rest of Germany and central Europe used either the (west) German or the mixed Messine-(east) German type. The former predominated as before in the area from the Rhineland up to the Low Countries, the latter in eastern and southern Germany, Austria, Switzerland and Poland (the geographical boundaries have not been precisely determined).

The chief difference between the (west) German and the Messine lies their preference as regards in the sign for single notes. In the former both the *punctum* (as always, for lower notes) and the *virga* (for higher notes and recitation) are used. Here the head of the *virga* is shaped like a horseshoe nail (Ger. 'Hufnagel', hence the common designation of this notation as *Hufnagelschrift*; fig.44). On the other hand, the mixed Messine-German notation preferred the rhomb (lozenge, diamond, derived from the *uncinus*; fig.45) for single notes. In German notation the



45. Messine-German Gothic notation: gradual, dated 1360, from Moosburg (D-Mu 2° 156, f.114r)

rounded *clivis* with initial vertical shaft was preferred, in Messine-German the right-angled *clivis*. The westerly scriptoria cultivated more rounded shapes and placed less emphasis on the individual note-head, and liquescents – the *strophici*, even the *quilisma* – are still to be found. (PalMus, 1st ser., iii, 1892, pl.141; Hourlier, 1960, pl.7.) Messine-German notation appears to place more emphasis on the individual note. Liquescents remained but other special neumes disappeared.

In neither family is uniformity to be expected; for example, *D-W* 528, from Minden, is basically Messine-German but has a *virga* with its head on the right-hand side – a kind of compromise between *Hufnagel* and Messine rhomb (Haug, 1995, pp.156–60). Some Messine-German sources occasionally (but inconsistently) use a *virga* for a single higher note (e.g. San Cándido Stiftsbibliothek, VII a 7: facs. in Haug, 1995, pp.129–30; *D-Mu* 2° 156: facs. in Hiley, 1996).

Within the general areas of dissemination of the types mentioned above, notational 'islands' are discernible, where a tradition other than the prevailing regional system was employed. The Benedictines of the Abbey of St George in Prague, no doubt because of their connection with Hirsau in the Black Forest, used German staff notation in the very heartland of Prague-Messine notation. The Order of Teutonic Knights brought (west) German notation (together with the Dominican liturgy) into the north-eastern areas of Europe they colonized (e.g. the 14th-century antiphoner *PL-PE* L 19; see also Szendrei, 1994, and 'Notacja liniowa', 1999).

Professional workshops producing manuscripts to order were responsible for a gradual simplification and standardization of the notational picture, although some local scriptoria continued to produce codices of more individual appearance. In the late Middle Ages the number of sources made for private purposes (as informal music notebooks and school music books) increased. The appearance of the cursive notations in this class of music manuscripts naturally differs radically from the highly artistic books for official use.

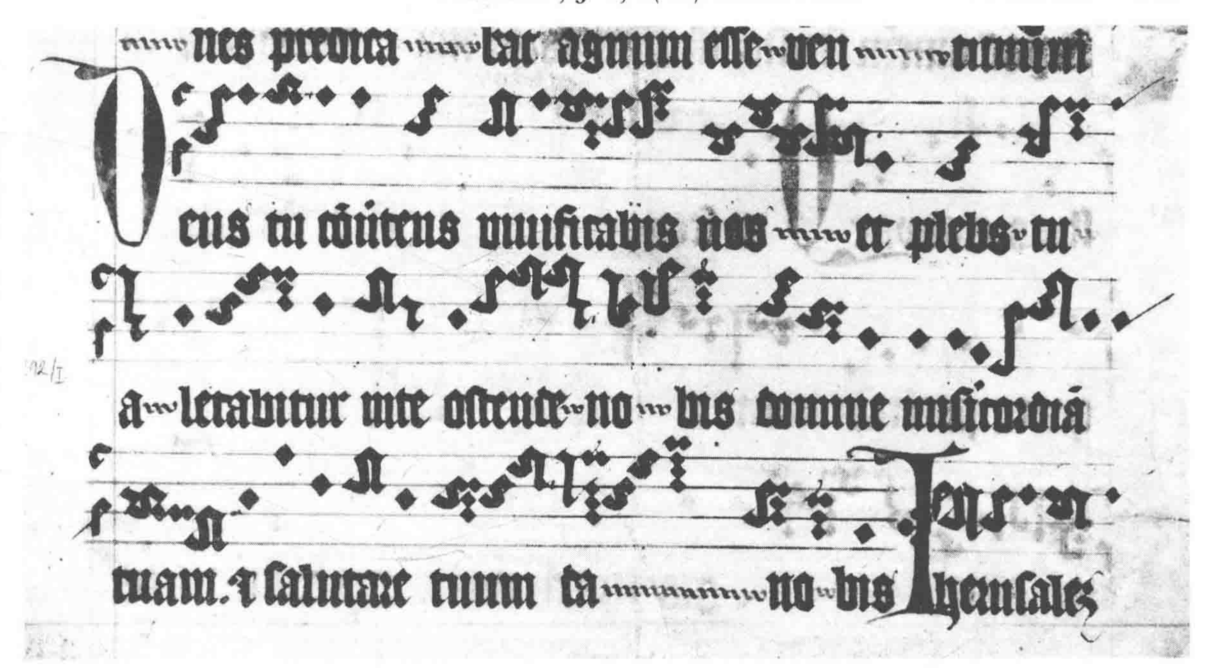
(c) Esztergom (Gran), Prague and Wrocław (Breslau). Three larger enclaves of independent notations persisted to the end of the Middle Ages in Hungary, Bohemia and Silesia, respectively.

Esztergom notation was uniquely long lived. Although losing ground fractionally to Messine-German notation, it retained all its essential characteristics, its arsenal of signs and typical direction, even beyond the Middle Ages (fig.46; survey with facs. in Szendrei, 1988). In surface appearance it acquired some gothic features. In a few scriptoria a new mixed notation incorporating some Messine-German elements was practised for luxury manuscripts (for facs. see Szendrei, 1990–93).

Prague notation continued to develop during the 14th and 15th centuries. After Prague became canonically independent of Mainz in 1344, its status as seat of the archbishopric, the imperial power and the university demanded the production of numerous splendid presentation codices; in such books the way in which every note is represented by a rhomb, joined by hair-thin lines (in traditional Messine combinations) is particularly noticeable (fig.47). When Olomouc became suffragan of Prague the local notation disappeared in favour of the latter's notation, which also spread beyond the borders of Bohemia and Moravia, influencing practice in Kraków in the 14th century and other areas in the 15th, during the time of the Hussite ascendency. (For facs. see Hutter, 1930, and Plocek, 1973.)

In Silesia the notation of Wrocław (Breslau) attained its fullest individuality in the second half of the 15th century (fig.48). Here, too, rhombs were used for *pes* and *scandicus* with intervals of a 2nd, and they predominate as component elements in other neumes as well, joined by lines of varying slenderness. (For facs. see Miazga, 1984, pls.71, 81, 91; *Musica Medii Aevi*, iv, 1973, pls.16–17; ibid., viii, 1991, pls.11–12.)

(vii) Printed notations. Early printed chant sources have been surveyed by Riemann (1896) and Molitor (1904). They precede the earliest printed polyphonic music by over two decades. Some 270 books with printed music were published by 1500 (King, 1964, p.8), almost all liturgical. Some of the earliest examples are in missals where only some of the priest's chants are provided with music. The first known book of this kind is the missal printed in Rome in 1476 by Ulrich Han from Ingolstadt. The earliest choirbook is even older, a gradual probably printed in Konstanz in 1473. The gradual uses 'gothic' notation with a pleasing repertory of shapes, even including the *distropha* and *custos*. The Roman print uses square notation. Printers displayed considerable ingenuity in devising appropriate note-forms, with German printers generally approaching the flexibility of handwritten neumes more successfully than their Latin counterparts,



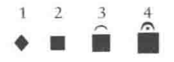
46. Later Esztergom notation: gradual fragment, 15th century, of the Paulite Order (H-Ba K 484, f.1r)

who often relied on the square and lozenge, or even the square alone.

Even before the advent of music printing, plainchant notations occasionally adopted features of mensural notation. Manuscripts with signs such as the *semibrevis* and *minima* are not uncommon in the 16th century in the south of the German-speaking regions. These were not used for traditional melodies but for new compositions, particularly melodies for the Mass Ordinary (e.g. the pieces in *CH-SGs* 546: ed. Marxer, 1908; also Sigl, 1911). Mensural notational signs were then taken up in some printed chant books; for example, books printed in Venice by Francis de Bruges regularly include the mensural Credo known as the 'Credo cardinale' (Tack, 1960, p.50).

Mensural signs were also adopted in Giovanni Guidetti's influential *Directorium chori* (1582), which includes the simple tones of the Mass and Office. There is a fourfold distinction between lozenge (*semibrevis*, short), square (*brevis*), square surmounted by an arc, and square with *fermata* (longest value), in the ratio 1:2:3:4 (see ex.7). A 'dotted rhythm' is always indicated by using 3

Ex.7 Note shapes in Guidetti (D. Hiley: *Western Plainchant*, 616)



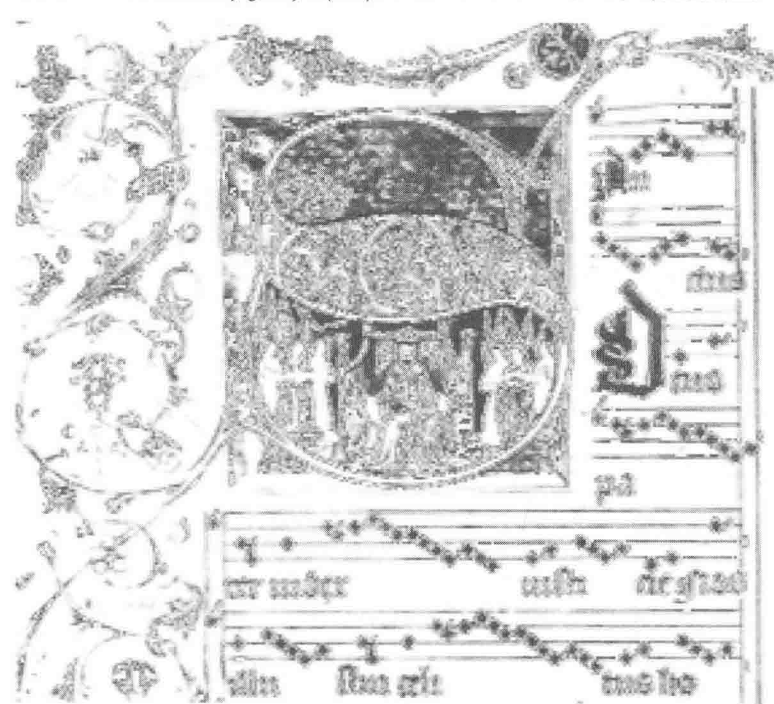
with 1. Such shapes were then widely adopted in later books, particularly for the notation of the new chants produced in profusion in France as part of the 'neo-Gallican' ecclesiastical movement.

See PLAINCHANT, §9(i); PLAIN-CHANT MUSICAL; and NEO-GALLICAN CHANT.

In printed chant books of the 19th century various styles were used, which were derived and developed from earlier printing practice, often incorporating mensural features. The melodies thus notated, when not actually new compositions, were the result of much revision and recasting, whose principal monument was the gradual in the 'Medicean edition' (1614–15) composed by Felice Anerio and Francesco Soriano. When the Benedictines of Solesmes made new editions of the chant melodies in their medieval form they decided to develop a new font incorporating as many features as possible of the 'classical' quadratic notation of the 13th century, but also including a sign for the *quilisma*, which by the 13th century was no longer in use. In the Solesmes *Antiphonale monasticum* (Tournai, 1935) a sign for the *oriscus* was introduced. More recent books (*Liber hymnarius cum invitatoriis & aliquibus responsoriis*, Solesmes, 1983) have developed further signs to represent other features of the early chant manuscripts (a greater variety of liquescent signs, *apostropha*, *pes* with light first note etc.: see *Liber hymnarius*, p.xii).

Research at Solesmes had made it clear that the notation of early St Gallen and Laon manuscripts was particularly rich in rhythmic detail. The question as to whether such indications should be represented in the Vatican editions caused a rift in the commission appointed to prepare the new books. Pothier, the chairman of the commission, saw them as a local and temporary phenomenon that need not become part of an official edition with claims to universal validity (see Pothier, 1880; David, 1927; Bescond, 1972). Eventually two parallel editions appeared, that of the Vatican was 'plain', that of Solesmes contained supplementary horizontal bars (known as 'episemata') over certain notes and dots after others, to indicate lengthening. The Solesmes version became particularly well known after the publication of the compendium *Liber usualis* (Solesmes, 1921), and was propagated in numerous explanations of the 'Solesmes method' (Suñol, 1905 etc.; Gajard, 1951) as well as in Mocquereau's weighty treatise, *Le nombre musical* (1908–27).

An interesting development has been the re-publication by the Benedictines of Solesmes of older chant editions with the addition of hand-drawn reproductions of the neumes of *F-LA* 239, *CH-SGs* 359, *E* 121 and so on in the *Graduale triplex* and *Offertoriale triplex*. The purpose



47. Later Prague notation: gradual, c1470, from Hradec Králové (CZ-HK 40 (II A 2), f.8v)

48. Later Wrocław notation: gradual, dated 1429, from St Mary Magdalene, Wrocław (PL-WRu 1194, f.105r)

of such editions is to enable performers to take the notation of the early sources into account. Starting with the writings of Cardine (esp. 1968), a large body of literature has been created to support theories of chant performance based on details of these neumatic notations (*see* PERFORMING PRACTICE, §II, 2(i)).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

A General: (i) General studies and facsimile collections (ii) Principal characteristics (iii) Origins. B Regional notations: (i) French (ii) English (iii) German and St Gallen (iv) Central European (v) Spanish (vi) Italian (vii) Palaeo-Frankish (viii) Breton (ix) Messine/Laon/Lorraine (x) Aquitanian. C Significative letters. D Pitch-specific systems. E Staff notations: (i) Introduction (ii) France, England and Spain (iii) Low Countries and Germany (iv) Italy (v) Hungary, Bohemia and Poland. F Printed notations.

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E. PRINTED NOTATIONS

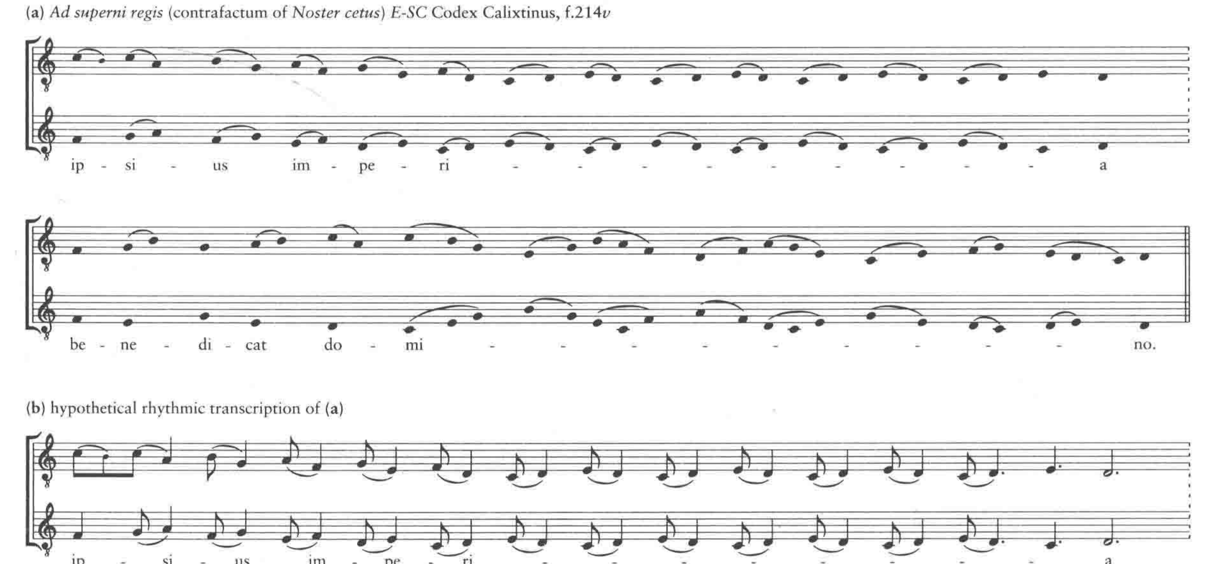
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J. Gajard: *La méthode de Solesmes, ses principes constitutifs, ses règles pratiques d'interprétation* (Tournai, 1951)
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A.J. Bescond: *Le chant grégorien* (Paris, 1972)
Graduale triplex, seu Graduale romanum Pauli PP. VI cura recognitum & rhythimicis signis a Solesmensibus monachis ornatum, neumis laudunensibus (cod. 239) et sangallensibus (cod. San Gallensis 359 et Einsidlensis 121) nunc auctum (Solesmes, 1979)
Offertoriale triplex cum versiculis (Solesmes,1985) [with neumes of *F-LA* 239 and *E* 121]

2. Polyphony and secular monophony to *c*1260.
This section is devoted almost exclusively to the notation of rhythm, an emphasis borne out by the theoretical sources from later in this period. Apart from the Aquitanian manuscripts mentioned below, which display the neume dialect particular to this region, the music is notated in the square notation of plainchant (see above, §III, 1(vi)), which originally had no rhythmic significance, but acquired durational values for use in polyphony. Detailed descriptions of the sources of early polyphony discussed below may be found in Sources, ms, §IV; manuscripts containing secular monophony are treated in Sources, ms, §III.

(i) Neume patterns in Aquitanian polyphony, c1100–c1200. Several conspicuous features emerge in the notation of Aquitanian polyphony, including the Codex Calixtinus (*E-SC*, copied in central France *c*1150–80; see Huglo, 1995). One is a predilection for stronger consonance at the ends of neume-against-neume or note-against-neume units; another is the use of patterned melismas (e.g. strings of two- or three-note neumes). Stäblein (1963) and Karp (1992) proposed that rhythmic configurations akin to those of the later modal system may be present. Ex.8 is an example of Aquitanian/Compostelan polyphony with a hypothetical rhythmic transcription.

The preference for consonance at the ends of neumes is particularly striking in texted sections of conductus, *versus* and *Benedicamus* settings, where it belies the

Ex.8 Neume patterns in Aquitanian/Compostelan polyphony (after Stäblein, 1963; Karp, 1992)
(a) *Ad superni regis* (contrafactum of *Noster cetus*) *E-SC* Codex Calixtinus, f.214*v*





supposed pitch alignment and syllable placement implied by the sources; regular neumatic patternings are prominent in final melismas (or caudas), and also appear in organal voices of chant settings. A connection with Parisian polyphony is possible, although no theoretical witness supports such an association. One of the pieces in the Codex Calixtinus is attributed to Magister ALBERTUS PARISIENSIS (*d* 1177), who has been identified with a cantor of Notre Dame; this ascription, however, is not certain.

(ii) Pre-modal rhythm. As with interpretations of the Aquitanian repertory, the first manifestations of rhythmic indications in the Parisian corpus are difficult to construe (for a recent attempt, see Roesner, 1990). The period proposed for the musical activity is between about 1160 and 1250, while the surviving manuscript sources and theoretical testimony date from between about 1230 and 1300; this disjunction has meant that the historical picture is largely speculative and in dispute. It is evident, however, that at some point during the composition of the Notre Dame repertory certain portions of organa and conductus (discant passages, copulas, caudas and clausulas) were subject to rhythmic realization and recorded in a notation that conveyed the essence of this practice. Temporal durations were indicated by grouping the notes together as ligatures, rather than by discrete shapes.

The earliest evidence of this practice occurs in the opening portion of the anonymous treatise *Discantus positio vulgaris* (*c*1225–40), which advises that two-note ligatures represent a short–long (i.e. breve–long, or B–L) gesture, three-note groups signify long–breve–long (L–B–L) and those with four notes are all short; when more than four notes are found in a ligature they are executed at the discretion of the performer and not according to any specific criteria. The ratio of the long value to the short is 2:1, with greater or lesser durations described as 'beyond measure' (*ultra mensuram*). Although such lengths are strictly inexpressible as 'long' or 'short', they were not alien to the rhythmic practice. For example, single notes, such as those employed for a chant tenor in a discant passage or as a solitary figure within a ligatured portion, are described as having the duration of a long and a breve combined, that is, a ternary (later 'perfect') long value. In addition, the treatise implies that durations in ligatures are flexible; they may communicate different values depending on their position in a melodic phrase (e.g. a three-note ligature may have a value of B–B–L when preceded by a long). Such basic rules of thumb as given in the *Discantus* form the starting point for interpreting the rhythmic properties of Parisian polyphony. However, they neither suggest a fully developed system nor invoke the terminology of the rhythmic modes that was to be a staple of later theoretical works.

(iii) The system of modal rhythm. At some point between the composition of the early part of the *Discantus positio vulgaris* and the treatise ascribed to JOHANNES DE GARLANDIA (*c*1240–60) the diverse rhythms of Parisian polyphony were abstracted into a series of repetitive patterns, analogous perhaps to the modern function of a time signature. These underlying patterns, which are termed 'modes' (Lat. *modi*, sing. *modus*; Garlandia: *manieres*), formed the principal means of signifying ligature rhythms until the advent of mensural clarifications to their shapes (*see* RHYTHMIC MODES). The following list names authors whose works include discussions of modal rhythm. However, it is important to realize that mensural doctrines appear in treatises as early even as Garlandia's text. Furthermore, occasional inconsistency exists in these theoretical works as to the number of the modes, their ordering and the depiction of particular ligature shapes.

Anonymous: *Discantus positio vulgaris* (*c*1230–40: survives only in a partly revised form; see Reckow, *AcM*, 1976, p.137, n.81); ed. Cserba, 1935, pp.189–94

Johannes de Garlandia: *De mensurabili musica* (*c*1240–60: portions may stem from an anonymous earlier treatise; the final chapter of the work as it survives in *F-Pn* lat.16663, ed. in *CoussemakerS*, i, postdates Franco); ed. Reimer, 1972

Bruges Organum Treatise (possibly earlier than Garlandia); ed. Pinegar, 1992

Anonymus 7 (certain portions identical to the Bruges treatise; others may postdate Franco; see Reimer, 1972, i, p.31, n.20); *CoussemakerS*, i, 378–83, and CSM, xxxvi

Amerus/Aluredus: *De musica libellus* (1271); ed. Kromolicki, 1909, and CSM, xxv

Anonymus 4 (after 1272); ed. Reckow, 1967

Dietricus: *Regule super discantum* (*c*1275); ed. Müller, 1886

Magister Lambertus: *Tractatus de musica* (*c*1275); *CoussemakerS*, i, 251–81

Anonymus of St Emmeram (1279); ed. Sowa, 1930, and Yudkin, 1988

Franco of Cologne: *Ars cantus mensurabilis* (*c*1280: see Frobenius, 1970); CSM, xviii

Walter Odington: *Summa de speculatione musicae* (before 1300); CSM, xiv

Table 6 shows the six commonest rhythmic modes in their most conventional numerical ordering together with their associated ligature patterns (indicated by brackets over the notes). Each has a fundamental recurrent pulse equivalent to the *ultra mensuram* long (= dotted crotchet), and each pulse divides into three smaller time units (*tempora*/breves = quaver). Several important distinctions among the patterns are defined by whether the main pulse falls on the last note of the ligature (i.e. 1, 3*a*–*b*, 6*a*–*b*) or on the first (2, 4, 6*c*), whether the pulse is divided L–B (1*a*–*b*, 3*b*, 6*b*) or B–L (2, 3*a*, 4, 6*c*) and whether a ternary ligature extends over one, two or three pulses. (The value of the three-note ligature is the most equivocal and in the 5th mode is restricted largely to the tenor part in discant passages; the 4th mode, curiously, appears to be a theoretical construction not encountered in practice.) In all these important distinctions, the note shapes as they appear in the manuscript sources remain ambiguous; harmonic consonance, the succession of ligatures and the proportions between parts all contribute to define (or confound) the intended rhythm. This ambiguity appears to have prompted the writing of many of the treatises listed above, as their authors tried to clarify the intended durations by modifications to the standard, chant-based notational figures.

(iv) Coniuncturae, plicae and strokes. One of the most ambiguous of all modal figures was the *climacus*, which was drawn with lozenges in square notation. These were called *currentes* (Lat.: 'running') by Anonymus 4, probably as an extended use of a term that originally referred to the descending scales found in Aquitanian as well as Parisian polyphony. Johannes de Garlandia did not mention them at all, possibly because they could be confused with the rhomboid semibreve. Franco of Cologne called the figure the *coniunctura* (Lat.: 'joined [note]'), and even in his most rational system it eluded rhythmic codification. Liquescent forms of neumes also appeared

TABLE 6: Rhythmic modes and concomitant ligature patterns

Mode (L = Long, B = Breve)	*1st mode family (pulse divided LB)*	*2nd mode family (pulse divided BL)*	
5: ligature pattern used in tenors (LLL...LLL)			3-note ligature has 3 pulses
5: Franco called it the 1st mode and thought all the 1st mode family should be subsumed under it	etc.	etc.	3-note ligature has 2 pulses
1*a*: standard ligature pattern (LBLBL...BL)			
1*b*: a ligature pattern used in tenors (LBL...LBL)			
2: standard ligature pattern (BLBL...BLB)			
3*a*: standard ligature pattern (LBBLBBL...BBL)			
3*b*: 'alternate 3rd mode' used particularly by the English: notated either LBBL or with a ternary ligature (LLBLLBL...LBL)			
4: not used (BBLBBL...BB)			
6*a*: 1st mode with *fractio modi* (BBBBBBB...L)			3-note ligature has 1 pulse
6*b*: 1st mode with *notae plicatae* (BBBBBBB...L)			
6*c*: 2nd mode with *notae plicatae* (BBBBBB...BB)			

in melismatic polyphony in modal rhythm. Usually they indicated an added breve on a weak beat (see modes 6*b*–*c*), although other values were possible according to the prevailing rhythmic framework and the length of the host note. Because a single liquescent note was usually written like a 'U' or an inverted 'U', it was termed PLICA (Lat.: 'fold'). A vertical stroke added to the end of ligatures made them 'plicata'. The liquescent neume, however, did not abandon its original function in such texted music as conductus, secular monophony and in chant settings if the cantus firmus demanded it.

Vertical strokes were used for two different purposes: as indications of changes of syllable and to signify rests. For the first purpose 12th-century scribes drew a roughly vertical line through both staves, although in Parisian sources this shrank to a small stroke through one or two lines only. Where a rest was intended its duration was not specified, although it frequently corresponded to the penultimate value of the modal pattern.

Whereas former repertories tended to preserve the ligatures of cantus firmi, undifferentiated single notes were typical for tenors in the early Parisian corpus, whether the tenor held long notes in ORGANUM or moved with the pulse in discant (*see* DISCANT, §I). Only in the later layers of discant did tenors include ligatures with breves. Although a stroke generally appears after each note of the tenor in organum, the pitch seems to have been sustained beneath the continuing organal voices. Anonymus 4 called this a *burdo* (Lat.: 'support', 'drone').

(v) Modal rhythm in practice. The system of modal rhythm outlined by the theorists is an intellectual abstraction from flexible practice. The rudimentary patterns of the modes they cited are of course frequently encountered in the late 12th- and early 13th-century repertory, and are particularly clear in tenors of late clausulas and motets. But in practice they are often so extensively intermingled, not merely vertically in different voices but successively in single parts, that they are only of limited descriptive use if treated strictly. Modal integrity can be compromised not only by the insertion of unligated long notes within a phrase, but also by the practice of *fractio modi* (Lat.: 'breaking of the mode') – the introduction of shorter note values than normal. Such deviations alter the expected sequence of ligatures in a particular pattern. *Fractio modi* may have prompted an early formation of the 6th mode (6*a*) from the 1st, as the typical series of two-note ligatures succeeding an initial ternary figure in mode 1 is, in mode 6, replaced by three-note figures following an initial four-note gesture. In such cases the final note of the ligature tends to retain its normal value within the prevailing mode as far as is feasible, with the added notes splitting the other elements of the pattern. Even with this provision, however, the profusion of 'non-modal' ligatures in an ornate passage of *fractio modi* can seriously obscure a clear reading of the rhythm. Fig.49 gives some of the patterns described by Anonymus 4.

Ambiguities within the modal system may be demonstrated by two examples. Ex.9 gives the opening of the



etc.

etc.

etc.

49. Patterns of fractio modi after Anonymus 4 (ed. Reckow, i, pp.38–9)

verse section of Perotinus's *Alleluia, Posui adiutorium* (*I-Fl* Plut.29.1, f.36*v*). Judging from the ligature patterns, both upper parts appear closest in form to the 2nd mode; yet the duplum lacks a final three-note ligature to match the triplum (which, contrary to the rules, ends with a two-note ligature followed by a single note). In this case, the penultimate note may reasonably be interpreted as a long. Consonances between the second note of each ligature, however, are greater in number than between the first – a transcription in the 1st mode thus seems more appropriate, so that each pulse is coincident with a consonance.

Ex.10 is from a *Benedicamus Domino* (*I-Fl* Plut.29.1, f.41*r*). Because of the prevalence of repeated notes, which defy ligation, the passage may be transcribed in the 6th mode (as in Husmann, 1940) as easily as in the 3rd. But most of the rest of the piece is in the 1st mode, so that a reading in the 'alternative' 3rd mode (3*b*) probably causes the least disruption. The consideration of variants in the concordant sources also influences interpretation, as, for example, in the third phrase where *I-Fl* Plut.29.1 notates the duplum in a 2nd-mode pattern, whereas *D-W* Guelf.628 (677) uses the 1st mode. Furthemore, cadences such as that in ex.10 frequently present problems of interpretation; the transcriptions given here are only a few out of many justifiable readings.

(vi) Organum purum, modus non-rectus and irregular modes. Particular segments of sustained-tone *organum duplum* (termed *organum purum* by Anonymus 4, and *organum in speciali* or *organum per se* by Garlandia) present serious problems regarding the extent and type of rhythmic interpretation and have caused much disagreement among scholars. Unlike discant or copula passages, whose unfolding often suggests a 'straightforward' (*rectus*) rhythmic mode, the ligature formations of *organum purum* defy such easy categorization. Garlandia's representative discussion of the rhythmic component, with its emphasis on oppositional construction, demonstrates vividly how the subsequent imposition of the modal system failed to reflect accurately the capricious style of *organum purum*:

> *Organum purum* is said to be that performed according to a certain mode that is not *rectus* but *non rectus*. A *rectus* mode is used here to mean that by which discant is performed. ... But in *non rectus* [measure] the long and breve are taken not in the first way, but according to the context (*ex contingenti*).

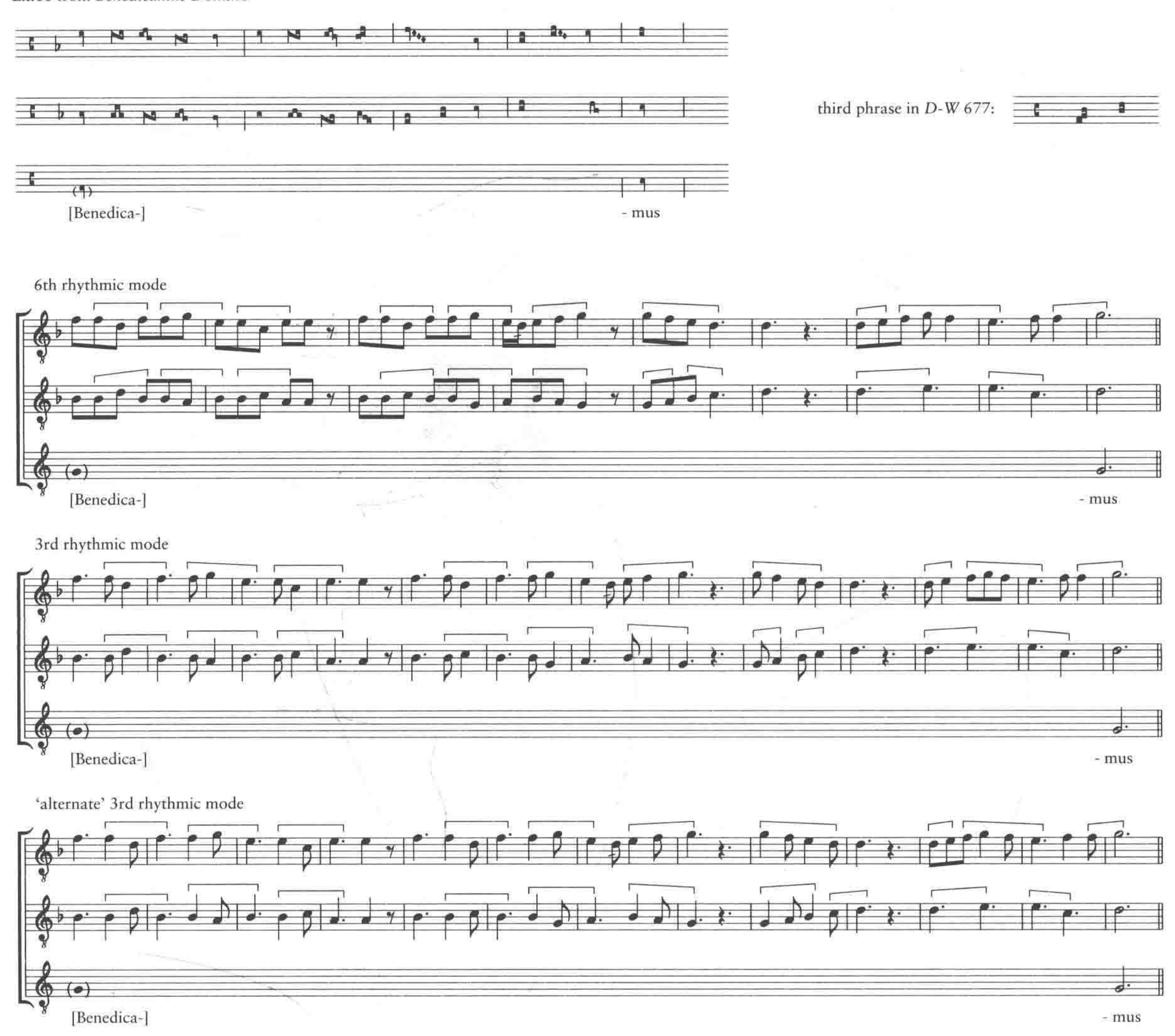
Just what contexts might affect the performance appear in a later paragraph:

> Longs and breves in organum are recognized in this way, that is to say through [concord], through notation, through the penultimate. Whence the rule: each thing [?duplum note] that falls upon something [?tenor pitch] in compliance with the strength of the [consonances] is said to be long. Another rule: whatever is notated long according to the organa before a rest or in [?the] place [of a concord] is said to be long. Another rule: whatever is accepted before a long rest or before a perfect concord is said to be long.

Perhaps because of the vagueness of such passages, no agreement on the rhythmic realization of *organum purum* has yet been reached. Does the first rule imply that every harmonic interval between duplum and tenor owes its length to consonance, or only the contact points between the two parts at the start and close of major sections? Does the last rule apply to all perfect concords, or only particular ones? And what is the role of the notational component? What purpose do the duplum ligatures serve and how are they to be coordinated with the other strictures mentioned by Garlandia? Finally, and perhaps most importantly, there is the question of whether the theoretical information and manuscript sources reflect or recast a performing tradition that began at least a half-century earlier. Faced with such dilemmas it is easy to understand why editors of this repertory often choose a

Ex.9 Perotinus: *Alleluia, Posui adiutorium*





non-committal approach to *organum purum* by using stemless note heads, although several transcriptions with specified durations are also available (e.g. Waite, 1954; Tischler, 1988; Payne, 1996).

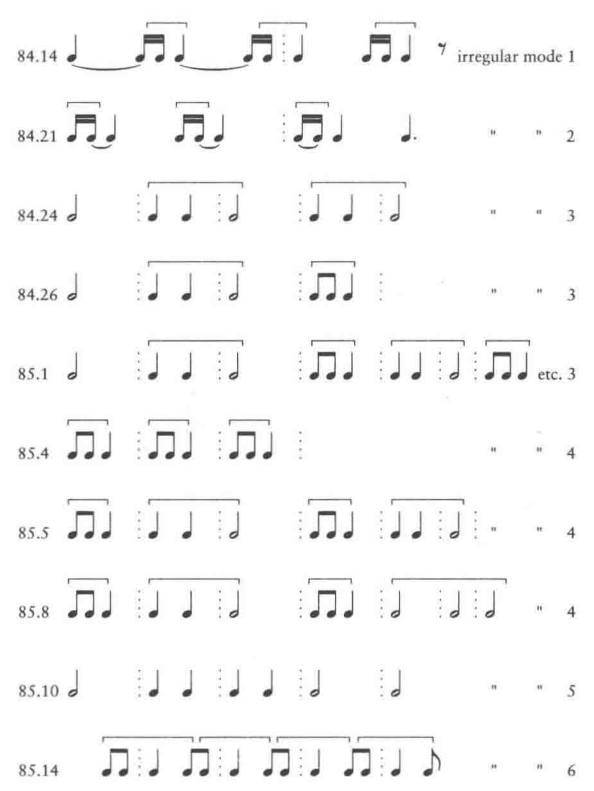
Another perplexing phenomenon are the 'modi irregulares' mentioned by Anonymus 4 (fig.50). While the first two appear to be rhythmically sharper versions of the normal 1st and 2nd modes, interpretations of the others ranges from binary mensuration of the long to mere nuances of tempo.

(vii) English practice. Sanders (1962) has convincingly demonstrated that pairs or longer chains of lozenges ('English breves') used in English manuscripts dating up to about 1300 signify 1st-mode rhythms (L–B, L–B etc.). Such breves appear in *D-W* Guelf.628 (677) (even in the non-English works: for facs. of Perotinus's *Sederunt see* SOURCES, MS, §IV, fig.30), *GB-Lbl* Harl.978 (in which some pieces have been 'reformed' by adding tails to alternate lozenges to make them longs) and the Worcester Fragments (earlier layers). Johannes de Garlandia and Anonymus 4 both reported that the English interpreted ternary ligatures in what has become known as 'alternative 3rd mode' (3*b* in Table 6. Similarly, Wibberly (EECM, xxvi) argued that certain nuances in the slanting of ligatured notes by English scribes may reflect an attempt to distinguish between complementary insular and continental rhythmic practices.

(viii) Mensural notation before Franco. Clarification of ambiguities in modal notation already appears in the earliest Parisian sources, though inconsistently, and in the theory of Johannes de Garlandia. Such specifications affected the appearance of discrete note shapes, ligatures and to a lesser extent rests.

The pressure towards the codification of note forms seems indebted to the motet (*see* MOTET, §I). Many early 13th-century motets were clausulas with text added to their upper voice or voices; because the text usually set a separate syllable to every pitch, the ligatures of clausulas were thus split into single notes. Hence in older sources the music of motets was often available in melismatic notations as clausulas, but in texted form with undifferentiated note heads.

All the chief sources of Parisian polyphony up to about 1260 may distinguish between a single long and a single breve in instances involving repeated notes (the long with a downward stem attached to its right-hand side, the



50. Anonymus 4, chap.vii: 'De modis irregularibus' (references are to page and line numbers in Reckow's edn)

breve without). The opening of the *organum quadruplum Sederunt* has already been cited; another example is the clausula *Mulierum* (Apel, 1942, facs.52*a*). Double longs are also frequently distinguished by horizontal elongation (see ex.9 above).

In mensural sources certain conventions regarding the value of the discrete notes were observed. A long contained three *tempora* if followed by another long (as in mode 5), and two *tempora* if succeeded (mode 1) or preceded (mode 2) by a breve; pairs of breves (mode 3) were interpreted in the order *brevis recta* (one *tempus*) – *brevis altera* (two *tempora*), except by the English, who preferred the opposite interpretation (see above, §2(vii)).

The semibreve (single lozenge) attained its shape at about the time of *De mensurabili musica* (*c*1240–60); but it is rare in sources from this period. (Both Garlandia and Anonymus 4, however, used the term *semibrevis* to refer to half a *brevis altera*; see Sanders, 1962, p.267.) The earliest surviving manuscripts clearly and consistently making the distinction are rather later: *F-Pn* n.a.fr.13521 ('La Clayette MS') and *GB-Lbl* 30091, from the end of the 13th century. Other important steps concerned the clarification of ligatures. Theorists conferred qualities of 'propriety' (*proprietas*) and 'perfection' (*perfectio*) on the traditional chant-based shapes of modal rhythm. The former term referred to the first note of the ligature – whether it was drawn 'properly' (*cum proprietate*) or not (*sine proprietate*) – the latter originally specified whether the note shape concluded in a regular manner (*cum perfectione*) or denoted a 'broken' or 'unfinished' figure (hence 'imperfect', *sine perfectione*). Fig.51 gives the basic shapes and their alterations. The meaning of the modifications (as well as the default forms) depended on the individual theorist. Garlandia, for example, held that lack of propriety reversed the default values of an entire two- or three-note ligature (a proper, perfect B–L thus became L–B, and L–B–L inverted to B–L–B), whereas imperfect ligatures needed to be reconstituted to perfect forms according to the context of the phrase. Franco's innovation was to specify undeviating values for ligatures of all types and to equate propriety and perfection respectively with the durations of only the first and last notes of a figure. (For a comparative table drawn from several theorists, see Reimer, 1972, i, 56.)

The ligature that became known as 'having opposite propriety' (*cum opposita proprietate*), written with an ascending stroke to the left, is first seen in *D-W* 1099. Garlandia was the earliest theorist to describe such a ligature, but whereas he interpreted it in a manner akin to *fractio modi* (with the last note as a long and all others equal to a breve), later practice was to read the first two notes as semibreves and the remainder according to the rules of perfection (see below, §III, 3). An alternative form of the descending ligature *cum opposita proprietate* had three lozenges with a tail descending obliquely from the left of the first, and is found in some French and many English manuscripts.

Johannes de Garlandia used a stroke through one space of the staff for a breve rest and a stroke through two or more for a long (number of *tempora* undifferentiated). Magister Lambertus used a stroke through one space for the semibreve rest, through two for the *brevis recta*, three for the *brevis altera* and *longa imperfecta*, and four for the *longa perfecta* (a practice found in *D-BAs* lit.115). Franco used strokes through the lower portion of a space for semibreve rests, and one complete space for each *tempus*. The duration of the two-tailed *plica* might also be differentiated. The plicated breve had either a very short tail to the right or a single tail to the left, the plicated long a long tail to the right and a shorter one to the left. English scribes used a lozenge with a tail descending obliquely to the left for a semibreve.

(ix) The rhythmic interpretation of polyphonic and monophonic conductus. The caudas of the more complex Parisian conductus were usually written in the ligature notation associated with modal rhythm. Realization of the syllabic sections, however, is far less certain. As with the texted versions of early motets, the note values set to conductus verses are ambiguous in the major sources; but in contrast to the motet the routine absence of melismatically or mensurally notated forms of the music compounds the problems of interpretation. Often it is presumed that the texts themselves provide clues for performance in a rhythmic mode. However, there are several methodological problems with such a premise. Firstly, datable examples of Parisian conductus indicate that the genre was cultivated from about 1160 to about

	cum perfectione	*sine perfectione*
cum proprietate		
sine proprietate		

51. Note shape alteration according to proprietatas and perfectio

1240, well before the codification of the modal system and only briefly coincident with the imposition of its strictures; it is therefore questionable whether modal interpretations of conductus poetry should apply to the entire repertory, if at all. Secondly, the modal system originated as a means of interpreting ligatures; it cannot be assumed that its successive long and breve durations apply equally to syllabic passages before the advent of the motet. Lastly, although the poetry of conductus is 'rhythmic' in the specific sense that it relies on lines with set numbers of syllables, the accentual configurations within each line do not approach the regularity of poetic metre and can frustrate a performance that adheres too strictly to a modal pattern.

The series of transcriptions of the opening of *Hac in anni ianua* (ex.11) reflects the diversity of possible solutions (see also Apel, 1942, p.258). Exx.11*a–d* treat each syllable as occupying the same length of time. 11*a* interprets the ligatures in binary rhythm (perhaps the least justifiable) and 11*b* in ternary, both within the 1st mode; 11*c* gives a strict reading in mode 1, as if there were no text (compare the treatment of Aquitanian *versus* in ex.8), and 11*d* is a strict reading in mode 2. Exx.11*e–f* abandon the principle of giving equal time to each syllable: 11*e* interprets the text as in the 1st mode; 11*f* as in the 2nd. On the other hand, ex.11g gives the closing cauda of the piece; its ligatures suggest the 3rd mode (although the alternative mode 3 could serve equally well), which could influence the choice of rhythm for the rest of the work. Page (1997) has suggested rendering the syllabic portions of all conductus with unmeasured values.

Given the difficulties of transcribing polyphonic conductus, where the rhythm might be expected to be evident from the relationship between the parts, it is not surprising that monophonic conductus presents even greater problems. In several of the more elaborate works, interpretations with equal syllables are often complicated by the presence of compound neumes of six or more notes (these are occasionally present in polyphonic conductus also). As an illustration, ex.12 gives a rhythmic rendition of the opening of one of the most ornate works in the Parisian corpus, *Turmas arment christicolas*, on the murder of Adalbert of Leuven, Bishop of Liège, by German knights in 1192. The principle of equal syllables has been applied wherever a syllable carries one, two or three notes; where it has four or more its value has been extended to two or more dotted crotchets. If such an interpretation was originally intended, it displays nothing of the regular ligature patterns characteristic of the *organa tripla* and *quadrupla* of this period, and the stress of the text is not complemented. Interestingly, the ligatures and melodic content of monophonic conductus often suggest the *modus non rectus* of *organum purum* rather than the clearer forms of the rhythmic modes. As a result, transcription in unmeasured values for this repertory, as well as for other types of monophony from the period, has become standard practice.

(x) The rhythmic interpretation of secular monophony. The same cautions exercised in the treatment of conductus rhythm apply to the secular monophonic repertory, but with even more circumspection. The application of modal rhythms before the codification of the system and outside the Parisian orbit is highly questionable (this includes the majority of troubadour and trouvère songs), the texts are non-metrical and therefore not conducive to patterned rhythms, and, except for a handful of songs in *F-Pn* fr.846 and a few in other manuscripts, mensural notation is not used, even though the bulk of the sources of secular monophony dates from after *c*1250. In retrospect, the suggestion that troubadour and trouvère melodies might be transcribed in rhythmic patterns resembling those of the rhythmic modes (see Sanders, 1985) seems to have been adopted with excessive zeal, although it still has its adherents.

Yet even with a preference for unmeasured transcriptions, opinions are divided on the fundamental procedures for interpreting the songs. Among recent treatments, van der Werf (1972 etc.) suggested an essential rhythmic equality for each pitch that could be adapted to accommodate rhetorical features of the poem. Stevens (1986) proposed a single elastic rhythmic unit for each syllable, and along with Page (1987) recommended the recognition of various registers (high/courtly versus low/popular styles) among songs – distinctions that could affect the imposition of rhythm as well as the use of instruments in performance. Aubrey's approach (1996) is the most flexible and inclusive, eschewing single, systematic procedures and suggesting that the different contexts in which songs were performed might have significantly altered the presentation of even the same piece by the same executor. This method favours the investigation of each piece on its own terms to uncover patterns of musical structure and emphasis that can inform the rhythmic treatment.

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Ex.11 continued

(e)

Hac in an - ni ia - nu - a, hoc in Ia - nu - a - ri - o

(f)

Hac in an - ni ia - nu - a, hoc in Ia - nu - a - ri - o

(g)

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3. Polyphonic mensural notation, *c*1260–1500.

(i) General. Well before this period the notation of pitch had lost all ambiguity apart from occasional uses of the Plica and the operation of the rules of *musica recta* and Musica ficta. The four-line staff used for plainchant was still sometimes retained in polyphony, especially for a voice presenting plainchant, but the five-line staff had come to be used for polyphonic voices. A six-line staff became normal for the 14th-century Italian repertory, and was occasionally used outside it. Additional staff-lines were provided throughout the period wherever the range of a voice demanded, though the leger line itself was rare. The most commonly used clef was the C (on any line), as in plainchant, and its position was readily movable from line to line when range or a copying error made this expedient. Of the other two clefs used in plainchant the F came increasingly into use with the gradual extension of the lower pitch register, but the B♭ – that is, the ♭ sign used on its own as a clef – was rare in polyphony, probably because of the growing use of the same symbol to supply what would later be called a key signature. The treble G clef appeared in the 14th century; it came increasingly into use, especially in England, again in connection with extension of range; bass G and D clefs are rare. (*See* Staff and Clef.) Score notation had disappeared by about 1260, except for late copies of the organum and conductus repertory, and certain categories of composition in England, for which it was retained late into the 15th century (including carols, homophonic sequences and cantilenas, and English discant). Notation in separate voices reflected their new rhythmic independence.

(a) # ♮ ※ (b) ♭ (c) ♮

52. 'Accidents' of the solmization system

Throughout the period there were three principal signs for what are now called accidentals. They did not function as modern accidentals do, in that they did not signify the automatic raising or lowering of an otherwise 'natural' note by a semitone. They were adjuncts of the solmization system: the signs in fig.52*a* (alternative forms adopted by different scribes) designated the note following it to be sung to the syllable *mi*, and fig.52*b* designated it to be sung to the syllable *fa*. Fig.52*c* was often used simply as an alternative to fig.52*b*, though it seems to have been used by some scribes to refer to notes in the upper octave of a given voice range. In consequence, the note F, for example, would be rendered not flat but F♮ by the placing of the 'flat' sign (fig.52*b*) before it; a 'sharp' or hard b (♮) sign before the note E would render it E♮. Ambiguity could arise with A and D as to whether a flat sign meant natural or flat, and with G and D as to whether a sharp sign meant natural or sharp; but this ambiguity could usually be resolved by consideration of context. Significantly, the three clef signs discussed above were all indications of *fa* in the three basic hexachords (based on G, C and F respectively).

(ii) Franconian notation. The development of notation from *c*1260 to 1500 was almost exclusively in the realm of rhythm, and specifically concerned with achieving precise notation for note values shorter than the long and breve. The 13th century saw the gradual adoption of graphic distinctions between the long and the breve, both as isolated note shapes (*simplices*) and as they appear within ligatures. The forms of square note with and without stem had been used arbitrarily in the Florence manuscript (*I-Fl* Plut.29.1), but were used throughout the next generation of sources, including the Montpellier manuscript (*F-MOf* H196), to indicate long and breve respectively (*see* Sources, ms, §V for these manuscripts). Ligatures began to have fixed evaluations regardless of their modal context, even though they still often adhered to modal patterns and though the values assigned to them derived from their modal interpretations. These and other fundamental changes can be traced in the musical sources, and are mentioned in the theoretical writings (*c*1240) ascribed to Johannes de Garlandia, Magister Lambertus (before 1279) and the St Emmeram Anonymus [Sowa anon. 1930] (1279), all of which are now dated earlier than the main formulation of these changes by Franco of Cologne (?*c*1280) on whose rules the following summary is based. The Franconian system required that note symbols should be capable of indicating the rhythmic

modes rather than being determined by them. Under this system, each of the three principal note values had two states. The long was either 'perfect' or 'imperfect', there was also a duplex long, worth two longs, which Franco explained as a means of avoiding repeated notes. The breve was either *recta* or *altera* ('other' – Robert de Handlo in 1326 proposed that the breve be thought of as *alterata*, 'altered', *CoussemakerS*, i, 385). The semibreve could be either 'major' or 'minor'.

The perfect long was worth three breves. The imperfect long was worth two breves, as had been the earlier long, and was used in combination with a preceding or following breve; it could not stand on its own (i.e. only triple time was allowed on the level of the long), and hence could not be called *longa recta* (but see Johannes de Garlandia, ed. Reimer, i, 37). When a long preceded a second long the first must always be perfect (thus, in terms of breves, 3–3 or 3–2).

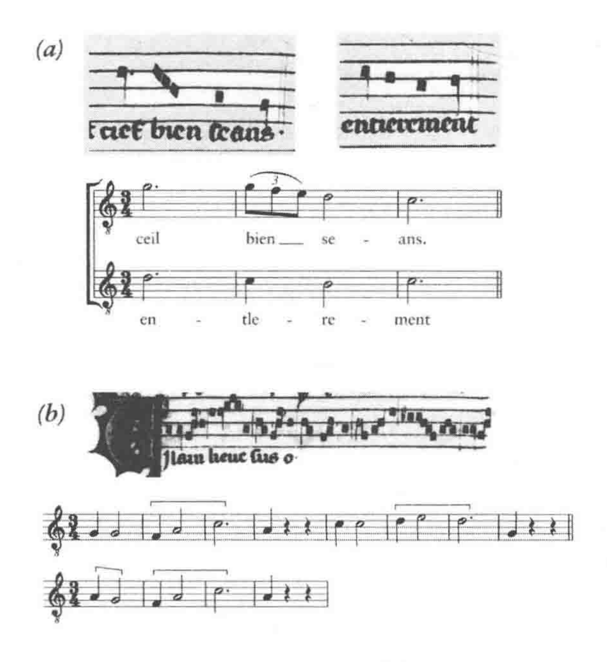
The *brevis altera* was worth two *recta* breves. It arose as the second breve in the context breve–breve–long (1–2–3 breve units respectively): see fig.53*a* (in the upper voice the first breve is subdivided into semibreves). Although identical in duration with the imperfect long it could not be written thus because of the preceding rule. Where a long followed by a breve would normally be imperfect, it could be rendered perfect by the placing immediately after it of a dot or stroke, variously called *tractulus, signum perfectionis* or *divisio modi*, as in fig.53*b*. A long followed by two breves was perfect unless preceded by a single breve. The following set of patterns illustrates the operation of the system (numerals represent multiples of breve-values; primes represent signs of perfection):

LBLB	= 2–1–2–1
L′BLB	= 3–1–2–1
LBBL	= 3–1–2–3
BLBBL	= 1–2–1–2–3
LB′BL	= 2–1–1–2
LBBBL	= 3–1–1–1–3
LB′BBL	= 2–1–1–2–3
LBBBBL	= 2–1–1–1–1–3
L′BBBBL	= 3–1–1–1–1–2

The *brevis recta* might contain no more than three semibreves and no fewer than two. If three, they would be equal and all minor; if two, they would be minor–major (1–2). Franco made no provision for two equal semibreves, though some earlier theorists did not specify the value of a pair of semibreves when it constituted a breve nor did they recognize a group of three (Johannes de Garlandia, ed. Reimer, i, 50; Dietricus, ed. Müller, 5; Amerus, p.II). (The semibreve pairs in *F-MOf* H196 and *D-BAs* ED.N.6, and possibly other sources, mostly lend themselves much more comfortably to equal performance, and it is not always certain that Franco's rules apply.)

There is no provision as yet for the breve to be imperfected by the semibreve, or for the semibreve to stand alone: the breve-semibreve relationship was not at that stage analogous to that of the long-breve. This meant also that the principle of 'alteration' did not apply. A breve preceding a second breve is not said to be perfect, because there is no question of its being imperfected. Similarly, the second of a pair of semibreves is not said to be 'altered' before a breve, because a pair of semibreves is rendered iambically, regardless of what follows. Hence the following patterns (numerals represent multiples of semibreve-values):

BSSSS	= 3–1–2–1–2
SSS′SS	= 1–1–1–1–2



53. *Details from F-MOf H196: (a) f.365v; (b) f.361v*

Several of Franco's contemporaries (e.g. St Emmeram anonymus, 1279) added to the semibreve-pair rule 'and vice versa', implying the reverse interpretation (2–1); and one later writer, the author of the *Quatuor principalia* (*CoussemakerS*, iv; *see also* JOHN OF TEWKESBURY), even attributed this interpretation directly to Franco.

Franco defined ascending and descending *plicae* for the long and breve. *Plicae* continued in use in the 14th century, but their pitch and rhythmic evaluation are sometimes open to question (see Handlo's evaluations, *CoussemakerS*, i, 383ff; also ed. in Lefferts). They were obsolete before 1400, by which time any surviving *plica* shapes no longer have the former significance of a *plica*.

Franco took over the existing ligature shapes with their connotations of propriety and perfection depending on the presence or absence of stems (*see* §III, 2). He provided evaluations that were mostly consistent with the earlier system but which could stand independent of their modal meanings. The first note of a ligature 'with propriety' was a breve, the last note of a ligature 'with perfection' was a long. He opened the door to many hitherto unused ligature shapes and provided a means of evaluating them, simple for anyone familiar with the existing shapes. A ligature with a stem ascending from the first note was described as having 'opposite propriety': it signified two semibreves. All notes other than the first and last were breves. In practice, downward stems were occasionally used to create a long in the middle of a ligature; the upward stem could occur elsewhere than at the beginning to create two semibreves; and the long body of the duplex long or *maxima* could be used to create this value anywhere in the ligature. These are later modifications to Franco's system. Notes in ligature were subject to the same rules for imperfection and alteration as single notes, but in practice grouping in ligatures tended to favour certain groupings as strongly as did a *divisio modi*.

Franco advocated the use of ligatures where possible; if possibility here implies absence of constraints from word underlay, he did not say so. However, it remains generally



54. *Principal ligature shapes of the Franconian system*

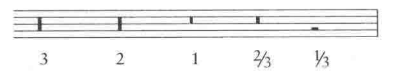
true (with a few exceptions) that two syllables do not have to be fitted to one ligature. On the other hand, Franco disallowed the pre-Franconian practice of notating 5th-mode tenors in motets as three-note ligatures and insisted on a succession of separate longs. Fig.54 shows the principal ligature shapes of the Franconian system. (An oblique shape involves only two pitches: the first and last covered by the ligature.) In evaluating ligatures of more than two notes, the first and last were treated as though each formed a two-note ligature with its neighbour. Middle notes were breves unless modified by stems making them longs or semibreves, or by extension of the note body to make a duplex long or *maxima* (fig.55).

Fig.56 shows the rests given by Franco, together with their values in terms of *recta* breves. They are respectively the perfect long, the imperfect long and *brevis altera*, the *brevis recta*, the major semibreve, the minor semibreve and the *finis punctorum*, which marked the end of a section or piece and was immeasurable. All these rests were fixed in value, not subject to imperfection or alteration. Franco made no provision for a binary division of the long, though it is generally agreed that some pre-Franconian compositions require this. Such a division became common in the following generation (see Sanders, 1962). After Franco the breve was further subdivided, being replaceable by more than three semibreves. The evaluation of these smaller semibreves differed, both in theory and in practice, in the separate 14th-century traditions of France, Italy and England, and the resulting rhythmic differences contributed largely to the musical distinctness of the three styles. Franco was the starting-point for all three. In none of them was a primary division of the breve into more than three semibreves called for: smaller note values were achieved by further subdivision of the primary divisions – subdivisions that were still regarded as types of semibreve, and were written without differentiation as semibreves. In addition, French and Italian theorists introduced imperfect time, with two equal semibreves constituting one breve, on an equal footing with perfect time.

Jacobus of Liège alleged that Petrus de Cruce had used up to seven semibreves in the space of a breve. He said that 'another' had used up to nine semibreves, and Robert de Handlo and John Hanboys said the same of a 'Johannes de Garlandia' (*CoussemakerS*, i, 389; see also edn by Lefferts); both cite pre-Ars Nova motets (*F-MOf* H196) in support. They do not specify the semibreves' values. But Petrus seems to have earned Jacobus's approval for staying within the Franconian tradition and distinguishing



55. *Extension of the note body in the Franconian system*



56. *Fixed-value rests as given by Franco of Cologne*

the semibreves adequately from each other without recourse to stems; and Robert de Handlo attributed to him the orthodox Franconian division of the breve into two unequal or three equal semibreves. In view of these two facts, there is no compelling reason to assume that his shorter notes were anything other than forerunners of one of the 14th-century systems, all of which arranged the shorter notes, according to rules prescribed in increasing detail as the century progressed, within the primary perfect or imperfect division. (Apel's claim (1942, 5/1961, p.319) that Petrus introduced a system without precedent or progeny using five or seven equal semibreves is based on a misreading of Jacobus, who would surely have condemned such temerity.) There is no mention of Petrus in the early French or Italian treatises.

(iii) French 14th-century notation. The first theoretical formulations of French 14th-century notation were those of Philippe de Vitry and Johannes de Muris dating from the early 1320s. Their starting-point was explicitly the teaching of Franco. In addition to the triple division of the breve permitted by the latter, they reintroduced duple division and further subdivided these semibreves into shorter notes, which were regarded as different orders of semibreves, and were at first not differentiated graphically except for the occasional lengthening downstem. The first surviving musical instances of this practice are some of the motets interpolated between about 1317 and 1319 into one copy of the ROMAN DE FAUVEL (*F-Pn* fr.146). Some are cited in *Ars nova*, and Vitry may well have been the composer of them, for composer and theorist alike were concerned mainly with a metrical scheme in which the breve was divided into two equal semibreves each of which was in turn subdivided into three smaller values. Fig.57 shows the interpretation of the contents of the breve when subdivided by two, three, four and five semibreves respectively. Other musical sources of these motets corroborate these interpretations by distinguishing the shorter order of semibreve with an upward stem, thereby converting them into a new level of note value known as the *minima*. Italian theorists of the time (see §(iv) below) also gave these interpretations.

Vitry's *Ars nova* established the following hierarchy of five possible subdivisions of the breve: 'minimum perfect time' (i.e. Franconian, although he stated that interpretation of semibreve pairs as 2–1 had been superseded by that of 1–2, and thus departed from Franconian practice in his only statement about perfect time), three semibreves; 'minimum imperfect time', two semibreves each comprising two minims; 'medium perfect time', three semibreves each comprising two minims; 'major perfect time', three semibreves each comprising three minims; 'major imperfect time', two semibreves each comprising three minims (Roesner, Avril and Regalado, 30–38).

Taken together with later treatises embodying the theory of the Ars Nova as it developed (including Johannes de Muris's later treatise, *Libellus cantus mensurabilis*,



57. *Subdivision of the breve*

*c*1340, and Anonymus 5 of *CoussemakerS*, iii), the French system can be summarized as follows. There was a graphic distinction of the minim by an upward stem from approximately the time of Vitry's treatise. The four principal levels of note value, the long, breve, semibreve and minim, were thus visually distinct. The relationships between these four levels of note value were given names: *modus* ('mode' or 'mood') for the long-breve relationship, *tempus* ('time') for breve-semibreve, *prolatio* ('prolation') for semibreve-minim. Each of these relationships might be binary or ternary. The various relationships of mode, time and prolation came to be termed 'mensurations'. The four combinations of *tempus* and *prolatio* were attributed to Vitry as the 'quatre prolacions'. Various special signs were proposed for the available mensurations, but none was much used during the 14th century. Their appearance in the later part of the century reflected the existence in composition of a wider range of possibilities and therefore the need to specify which combination of relationships was in force. Yet they were in practice confined, with few exceptions, to the circle for perfect *tempus* and the half-circle for imperfect *tempus*, with a dot in the centre to designate major *prolatio* (its absence designated minor).

The existing range of symbols for rests was extended. The semibreve rest became a short vertical bar suspended from a staff-line, and the minim a similar bar placed upon a staff-line. These rests, like Franco's, were fixed in value. Within a given mensuration, which established the value of each rest as perfect or imperfect, no rest was imperfectible or alterable – a situation that did not apply in either Italy or England.

Dots were used to mark off groups of notes according to *tempus*, that is according to breves'-worth, by extension of Franco's principle, and also to indicate perfection. This led in later treatises towards the idea of a 'dot of addition' which added half again to the value of an imperfect note. At first this concept was expressed in terms of showing the perfection of an imperfect note. Muris stated that an imperfect note might be made perfect by the addition of half its value (*Libellus*; no dot is mentioned, but one source of the treatise has a musical example with a dotted breve in imperfect time). Anonymus 5 stated that 'a dot, when it perfects, always adds to the note after which it is placed the neighbouring part' (i.e. the next note value down).

Vitry prescribed red notes for various purposes. Where black notes were perfect, red indicated imperfect mode or imperfect mode and time. The roles of black and red could also be reversed. Red could be used to prevent individual notes from being perfect or altered (i.e. to fix their value regardless of context). Red could effect octave transposition (though no surviving examples are known) or pick out a plainchant voice.

Franco's rules for imperfection of the long were now also applied to the breve and semibreve, and his rules for alteration of the breve to the semibreve and minim. The precise evaluation of any note depended on the governing mensuration and on the context.

Not only could the long be imperfected by the breve, the breve by the semibreve and the semibreve by the minim, but imperfection by non-adjacent values was permitted – for example the long by the semibreve and the breve by the minim. A note could be imperfected to a varying extent: a breve might be imperfected by one minim or two. Vitry specified four types of semibreve: the *major* (i.e. *altera*), equal to six minims, the 'semimajor' or imperfect equal to four or five, the *recta* or *vera* equal to three, and the *minor* equal to two. The minim was often described as a *semibrevis minima*, the lowest value that a semibreve could have.

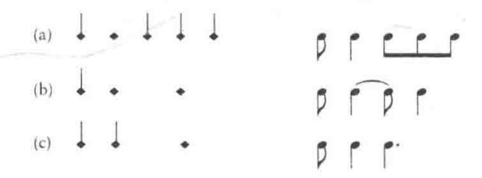
Franco's rule that a long preceding a long was always perfect came to be strictly applied to breves and semibreves, and was later formulated as the rule *similis ante similem perfecta* ('like before like is perfect'). Particular contexts yielded fixed values for certain notes by requiring them to be perfect: for example, the semibreve shown in fig.58*a* could be imperfect, yet the first semibreve in fig.58*b* had to be perfect, so that only by means of the *minima altera* could the rhythm given in fig.58*c* be shown. Such alteration of the minim became possible only when the minim was graphically distinct: a pair of unstemmed semibreves, according to Vitry, was trochaic. The full application of these relationships on all levels was not yet in operation at the time of Vitry's treatise.

Syncopation was discussed by theorists, and was allowed by Johannes de Muris in perfect or imperfect mood, time and prolation. Although it was not discussed systematically, it seems clear from the musical sources that the means of syncopation were notes or rests of fixed value (e.g. any rest, or a note imperfected by coloration or perfected by a dot). Dots of syncopation are in effect dots of division unusually positioned to show displacement. A note set off by two dots, as found in later 14th-century sources, is thus isolated as the agent of displacement or prevented from alteration.

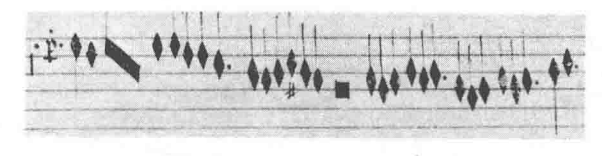
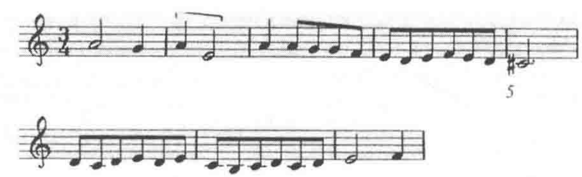
See also Ars nova; Fauvel, roman de; Isorhythm; and Sources, ms, §VII.

(iv) Italian 14th-century notation. The early development of Italian Trecento notational theory has been clarified by reference to treatises which apparently antedate Marchetto da Padova, who had long been regarded as its first exponent (Gallo, *La teoria della notazione*, 1966). Amerus, in 1271, recognized exclusively binary division of the long with each of the two breves further subdivided into two semibreves. Guido frater (?1326–30) showed the systematic fusion of this binary tradition with Franconian teaching, dealing with perfect and imperfect time, and agreed in most essential points with Marchetto's *Pomerium*.

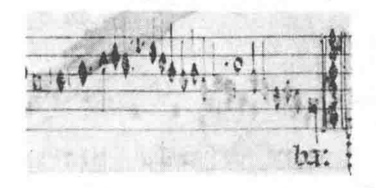
In perfect time the breve was divided into three 'major' semibreves (the use of the term is different from Vitry's). Each of these might be divided into two 'minor' semibreves (as in fig.59*a*), and each of those into two 'minimum' semibreves, totalling 12 minimum semibreves or minims (Guido: *semibreves minime*; Marchetto: *minime*). Alternatively, each major semibreve might be divided into three, making nine in all; Guido, unlike Marchetto, spoke of this as a French practice. (Guido called the resulting nine notes minimum semibreves, whereas Marchetto called them minor semibreves.) In imperfect time the breve was divided into two equal major semibreves and was defined as two-thirds the value of the breve of perfect



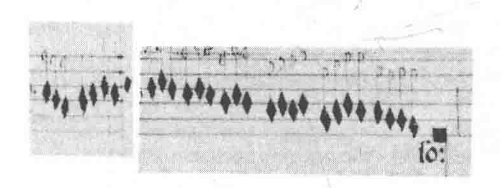
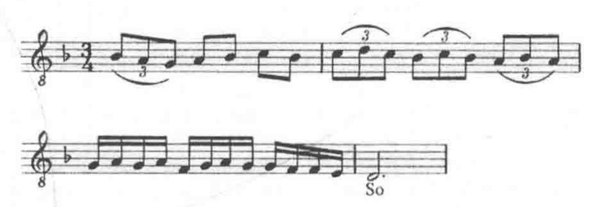
58. Application of the rule 'similis ante similem perfecta'

(a) Donato da Cascia, 'Un bel girfalco' (I-Fl 87, f.71v)




(b) Giovanni da Cascia 'Agnel son bianco' (I-Fl 87, f.1v)

(c) Lorenzo da Firenze, 'Ita se n'era' (I-Fl 87, f.45v)

59. Excerpts and transcriptions from the Squarcialupi Codex (I-Fl Med.Pal. 87)

time. Each of these two major semibreves might be divided into two minor semibreves, and each of those into two minims, making eight minims in all (Guido: *semibreves minime*; Marchetto: *minime in secundo gradu*, bars 1–3, 6–8). Guido and Marchetto both called this manner of division the 'Italian way'. Alternatively, each of the two major semibreves might be divided into three minims (Marchetto: *minime in primo gradu*), making six minims in all; this Guido and Marchetto call the 'French way' (their evaluations are shown in fig.60). Marchetto admitted, but did not enlarge upon, the further division of the six minims of imperfect time into two to make 12, and into three to make 18.

Unstemmed semibreves (*naturales*) were evaluated according to certain prescriptions which could be overruled artificially (*via artis*) by means of stems. Downward stems indicated longer notes whose precise value depended on context as well as on the 'division' (approximately equivalent to the French 'mensuration') that was in operation. Upward stems indicated the minim, whose value was fixed within any division that contained that level of note. The use of these stems was not necessary, even that of stems for minims, if what was required was the normal arrangement of a certain number of notes within a certain division. It became necessary only with abnormal arrangements of notes.

The primary division of perfect time placed the longer of two notes at the end of the *tempus* unless a downward stem was attached to the first note (as in fig.59*a*, bars 1, 8). This is not the same as alteration in French notation, since here a semibreve in such a position need not precede a breve; the procedure is Franconian. Whenever unequal division of notes within an 'Italian' division was called for, the longer note (or notes) was again placed at the end (as in fig.59*a*, bars 2–3) unless modified by stems. But the 'French' divisions, whose evaluations as given in the right-hand column of fig.60 are taken from Guido, normally placed the shorter notes after the longer. Though not entirely consistent, and thus in defiance of Marchetto's attempt to impute superior logic to the French system, they are the rhythms most commonly encountered in contemporary French music.

Unless bounded by a breve or ligature, each *tempus* group of semibreves was marked off by a dot. Any ligature comprising two semibreves occupied a full *tempus*. Although Guido provided two forms of semibreve rest (both standing on the staff-line), one occupying a quarter, the other a third of the space between two staff-lines (ed. Gallo, 27), he did not equate these with the three levels of semibreve. In practice, rests were inconsistently indicated and were as much subject to variation in value as the notes to which they corresponded; this was diametrically opposed to the French use of rests, to which however Italian notation moved closer as the century progressed.

The breve could not be imperfected: the rhythm that French notation rendered as an imperfect breve followed by a semibreve (2–1) was represented in Italian notation by a semibreve with a downward stem followed by a plain semibreve: that is, a semibreve prolonged by *via artis* to two-thirds of a *tempus* followed by a major semibreve. Hence, since a semibreve could not occupy a *tempus* alone, no semibreve could be used alone. That also derives from Franco.

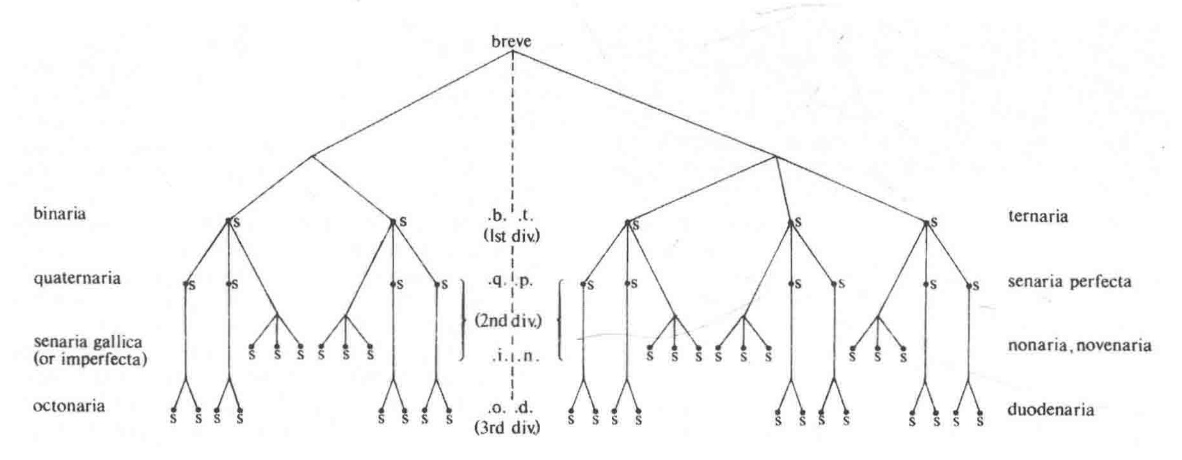
Marchetto proposed that the initial letters of certain *modi* and divisions be used to identify them. This was the counterpart to the French mensuration signs (see (iii) above), which found no place in the Italian tradition until it merged with the French later in the century. Marchetto advocated '.i.' and '.p.' for 'imperfect' and 'perfect' *modus*

Divisiones in Italian notation

Perfect time	*Imperfect time*
1st division	ITALIAN — *1st division* — FRENCH
2nd division	(q) — *2nd division*
3rd division	(o) — *3rd division* — (naturales) — (per artem)

60. *Systems of subdivision (after Guido frater)*

(see *a*), not for the divisions of *senaria imperfecta* and *perfecta* (fig.61) which had not yet acquired these names. The letters '.b.' and '.t.' were to indicate the binary and ternary divisions of the breve (CSM, vi, 164). The letters 'Y' and 'G' were to indicate the Italian and French (literally 'Gallic') manners in imperfect time. In addition, the letters 'S.G.' were used presumably for *secundum gallicos* or *senaria gallica* in *I-Rvat* Rossi 215. The later uses of letters, derived from musical sources and subsequent theoretical writings, in particular from Prosdocimus de Beldemandis, are shown in fig.61. There seems to be no theoretical or practical justification for the widespread modern teaching that undesignated semibreves in *senaria imperfecta* are to be read with the longest note last (in the



61. *Indication of subdivision by initial letters*

(a) (b)

62. (a) Dragma; (b) extension of a note value by half

bar or in each half of it); if anything other than the French way was wanted, it was specified by stems.

Minims were present only in the French divisions and in the third division or beyond of the Italian manner. They did not technically halve the value of a semibreve, although two minims were equal to one minor semibreve, because they were themselves a kind of semibreve. Semiminims, on the other hand, which were mentioned in *Ars nova* but not by the Italian theorists, came into use in later musical sources to divide the minim in half. They had a loop to the right or left of the minim stem. Triplets – three minims in the time of two – were shown by a loop in whichever was the opposite direction.

Other innovations of the later sources included the dragma – a semibreve with upward and downward stem (fig.62*a*) – with a fixed value of two minims. This was often used to represent three minor semibreves in the time of two major semibreves. The same effect could also be achieved by void coloration, which could give three notes in the time of two or four in the time of three. A note augmented by half was represented as shown in fig.62*b*. A dot could not be used because of its function as marking the division.

See also SOURCES, MS, §VIII.

(v) Late 14th-century notation. Towards the end of the century, in the music of Landini's generation, many French features had entered Italian notation. The Italian division signs, although Prosdocimus's formulation of them was even later, were increasingly superseded by actual or implicit French mensuration signs. Dots of division, downward stems and variable rests gradually disappeared. Breves were imperfected, and dots of addition replaced the other special signs. The notational unrest of this stage was reflected in many pieces combining French and Italian characteristics, and in the existence of more than one notated version of some pieces, an otherwise rare phenomenon (Fischer, 1959). The eventual absorption of Italian notation by French was the result of a final exploitation of the inherent possibilities of both systems. Extreme rhythmic complexities were indulged in by composers of both nationalities, largely in the orbit of the schismatic papal court at Avignon and of Gaston Fébus, Count of Foix.

The principal technique used was syncopation. The existing means of fixing the values of notes that were to act as syncopating agents were greatly expanded by the use of a variety of stems, hooks, dashes and loops whose precise meaning varied from piece to piece and sometimes within a single piece, as well as by the use of displaced dots of division. Specialized colorations were also used. These sometimes fixed note values and were thus additional means of achieving syncopation, and sometimes they expressed a proportional relationship of one passage to another (see §(vii) below). The main manuscripts containing this sophisticated and short-lived repertory are *I-MOe* α.5.24, *F-Pn* it.568 and *CH* 564 (for further discussion see Stone, 1994).

See also ARS SUBTILIOR and SOURCES, MS, §VIII.

(vi) English 14th-century notation. Robert de Handlo, in 1326, gave clear indications that the English continued to pursue the notational individuality they had shown in their pre-Franconian notation (*see* §III, 2 above) into the 14th century, and musical sources confirm this. Handlo's treatise is an expanded and glossed version of Franco; his other chief authorities were Petrus de Cruce and a certain 'Johannes de Garlandia' (for discussion of the identity of the theorist see JOHANNES DE GARLANDIA). Here if anywhere there is justification for crediting Petrus de Cruce with an important stage in notational development; however, Handlo's account does not permit the ascription to him of any advance on Franco that was not more exhaustively dealt with by Johannes de Garlandia. All three follow Franco in accepting only a ternary division of the breve. (Other than an apparent reference to duple time in the problematic dicta of Petrus le Viser (*CoussemakerS*, i, 388; see also edn of Robert de Handlo by Lefferts), there is no theoretical support for duple time in England until the late 14th-century treatise of Hanboys, though a few compositions at an earlier date require duple interpretation.)

The basic ternary division of the breve was into three 'minor' semibreves. If two semibreves took the place of a breve, one of them became major and was distinguished by a downward stem. Some evidence, more musical than theoretical, points to pairs of semibreves without stems and separated by dots often being performed trochaically (see §(ii) above). Evidence for trochaic performance of undesignated pairs of breves in 13th-century English music is strong (Sanders, 1962): this may support the 14th-century case, but the grounds are musical rather than notational, because Franco's long-breve relationship was not applied at the level of the semibreve (i.e. like Italy, unlike France).

Each of the three minor semibreves was subject to a further subdivision into three. Each minor semibreve's-worth might be marked off by a small circle, or *signum rotundum*, which was quite distinct from the dot of division used to mark off *tempus*. If only two semibreves fell within one such division they were to be read unequally as 1–2 (*minima–minorata*) unless the reverse was indicated by a downward stem on the first of the pair. As in Italy, the French concepts of imperfection and alteration were entirely absent and cannot thus be used to justify iambic interpretation of strings of semibreve pairs. The system of circles reflected an English reluctance to use stems where a note could be evaluated by convention, although not many occur in surviving musical sources. If four was considered the basic Italian division of the breve and six the French, the English was nine, which necessitated some additional clarification by stems or circles.

Later in the century, after the period of French influence discussed below, Hanboys (?*c*1370) distinguished within imperfect time between *curta* and *longa mensura*, the former having four minims to the breve, the latter eight (as in *GB-Lbl* Sloane 1210 and *DRc* 11).

Rests were inconsistently notated early in the century; by the latter half, despite the allegation by several English theorists, including Hanboys, that rests could be altered or imperfected, the forms of rests followed French practice: semibreve hanging from a staff-line, minim placed on a line. There is one important exception: a rest intersecting a line, in effect a semibreve plus a minim rest, was often used for the perfect semibreve. Even in a major-prolation piece an imperfect semibreve rest was often shown by the normal semibreve rest, whereas in French notation it would be shown by two minim rests (as it sometimes was in England, too).

(a) (b) (c)

63. Unusual features of English notation

Other English peculiarities, mostly with theoretical and musical documentation, included the *brevis erecta* (fig.63*a*) to indicate chromatic alteration, the swallow-tailed note (fig.63*b*) to indicate rhythmic alteration (also serving to elongate the first of a pair of semibreves – it appears to be a successor to the downward-stemmed semibreve), and the use of the stepwise descending form of the semibreve–semibreve ligature (fig.63*c*) to indicate rhythmic alteration of the second note.

It is clear from the variety of notational practice in musical sources, as well as from the treatise of Hanboys, that at this period there was no single English notation but, rather, that there were diverse English notations. Hanboys cited some individual notational practices of which he disapproved. One of these accords with a surviving musical composition which is adjacent in its source to an example of approved practice.

French influence was not felt until some time after the middle of the century. It is clearly present in the pro-Vitrian treatise *Quatuor principalia* (completed in 1351), as well as in some imported French motets, all of which are in imperfect time and major prolation. The dot of addition makes no appearance in England (nor is there any substitute for it, as in Italy) until the very end of the century when the French influence was most fully assimilated, just before the Old Hall manuscript (*GB-Lbl* Add.57950) was compiled. *Quatuor principalia* condemned some uses of the more notably eccentric auxiliary signs in England, but at the same time achieved some startling fusions of English and French practice. Imperfect breves started to appear in English sources around that time, often in trochaic alternation with semibreves. *Quatuor principalia* declared the major semibreve (presumably of the English tradition) to have the same value as an imperfect breve and to be written like it. Thus it is not known whether these English breves were thought of as imperfected breves or major semibreves (evidence of parallel passages favours semibreves). Minims, with upward stems, began to appear around that time, occasionally in combination with unstemmed minims and in conjunction with *signa rotunda* which are in fact made redundant by the stems and did not long survive them.

See also SOURCES, MS, §VI; OLD HALL MANUSCRIPT; WORCESTER POLYPHONY.

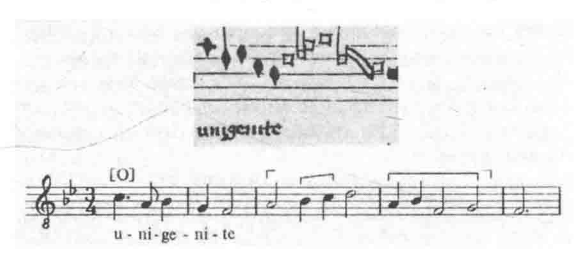
(vii) 15th-century notation. In England about 1400 there existed notational practices as complex as those in southern France; these can be seen in the Old Hall repertory. There are canonic and isorhythmic pieces that involve advanced notational features, and virtuoso essays in syncopation and complex proportional usage. The full resources of continental coloration were available: that is, in addition to normal black-full notes there were black-void, red-full and red-void; and two pieces in the Old Hall repertory use blue-full notes. The normal coding of colour for proportions in English pieces was black-void 2:1, red-full 3:2, red-void 3:1. These colorations could be further modified by the use of numerals and signatures. They made it possible to conceive of rhythmic patterns that could otherwise have been notated in only the most clumsy or inadequate way. It was this, rather than innate conservatism, that led the English to retain some use of black-full notation, alongside black-void, after most continental scribes had abandoned black-full about 1430.

Coloration was used also to express imperfection: to prevent alteration and perfection in notes that might otherwise be subject to them, rather than to bring about a reduction in all note values. When the notation was principally black-full, the coloration was red or black-void; when black-void, the coloration was normally black-full. The indication of imperfection remained the most common function of coloration throughout the 15th century and into the 16th. Fig.64 shows black-void coloration being used to bring about imperfection and to prevent alteration (see also Woodley, 1993).

The earliest examples of black-void notation date from about 1400 and are mostly English. The reason for the change is obscure but may perhaps best be accounted for by the change in writing habits associated with the general move from parchment to paper as the main writing surface. It is also true that the greater simplicity of style that dawned with the 15th century did not, except in the continuing English tradition, require the availability of so many colorations for proportions. For the change was much more than a simple reversal of black-full and black-void notation: as black-void superseded black-full, so the latter came largely to replace red-full and thus red notation came to be abandoned (as in fig.65 – see bars 8–9). Continental compositions using proportions (e.g. those in *GB-Ob* Can.misc.213, from the late 1430s) inclined much more to the use of numerical proportion signs and mensuration signs with graphic or numerical modifications.

The reason for proportional notation lay in what may be called minim equivalence: that is, in French notation, where a change of mensuration occurred, the relationship between the two mensurations was that of minim = minim (this is clearly established at this time by pieces in which mensuration changes in the different parts occur at different points in the composition – it applies in fig.65 between bar 16 and bar 17). Proportional notation was simply a way of overriding that equivalence, and thus of extending the possibilities of the mensural system. It did so for shorter or longer passages by expressing a different note relationship to a preceding passage or to other voices in the composition.

If the relationship was expressed numerically, the number of new units would be placed above the equivalent number of old units in the form of a fraction. The unit referred to in such a fraction was normally the minim, though it could be the semibreve of the same kind. Thus the '3' in fig.65, which implies 3 over 2, indicates the occurrence of three minims in the time of the previous two. The half-circle with vertical bar (often called 'cut C' by modern writers: fig.66*a*) indicated what was known as 'diminution': that is, the performance of a passage faster



64. Part of the tenor of a Gloria by Dunstaple (I-Bu 2216, p.24), with transcription



65. Part of top voice of a Gloria by Binchois (I-TRmp 87, ff.26v–27r), with transcription of all four voices

than normal, by a specified ratio. Sometimes diminution occurred in the exact ratio of 2:1, in which case it was called *dimidietas*. In other cases it did not or could not; a slight acceleration may be denoted by Tinctoris's *acceleratio mensurae*. Anonymus 12 (*CoussemakerS*, iii, 484) reported that with the circle with vertical bar ('cut O': fig.66*b*) one third of all values was taken away. Later in the century these 'cut' mensuration signs were sometimes used as a conventional signal for imprecise diminution which enabled longer note values to be written, and sometimes they were used with no apparent mensural significance or as general-purpose signs (Wegman, 1992; Bent, 1996). This was a way of avoiding an otherwise inevitable flood of short note values, with their less easily legible stems. The reversed half-circle (fig.66*c*) sometimes carried the function of duple diminution when placed after a passage governed by the half-circle. However, when it occurred after a passage with a triple dimension

(a) ¢ (b) Φ (c) Ɔ

66. Mensuration signs: (a) 'cut C'; (b) 'cut O'; (c) reversed half-circle

to its mensuration (circle or half-circle with dot) it indicated a proportion of 4 : 3 (see Hamm, 1964; *see also* Proportional notations). The principle of equating notes of different denominations by means of a stated ratio became a well-established practice in the music of Ockeghem's generation, when numerically modified mensuration signs could shift the basic set of relationships in the way shown in fig.67.

	C	O	⊙	⊙	C2	O2	⊙3	⊙3
					2	3	2	3
	2	3	2	3	2	2	3	3
	2	2	3	3				

67. Numerically modified mensuration signs

But apart from the cultivation of proportions in a few works by a small number of composers, the trend of the late 15th century was towards notational simplification. It is significant that, at just the same time, the late 15th century and the early 16th, cases arose of a simplified notation using only one note shape and repeating it at the same pitch to make up any note of greater value, or using only a short vertical stroke in the same way. Such a notation was presumably designed for singers who could not cope with the complexities of the mensural system, especially with imperfection and alteration. It was in the early 16th century that note values in mensural notation came to be precisely determined by their appearance regardless of context, rather than by their denomination as long, breve, semibreve or minim in a given context (the step that Franco had achieved) – at least, that became true of the essential working of notation, for imprecision and considerations of context in practice continue to feature in notation right up to the present day. However, in about 1500 musicians increasingly often placed a dot after a note that was to be perfect, even where earlier practice would not have required one. The practice of alteration gradually decayed. An intermediate stage before notators felt free to place an imperfect breve before a perfect one was the use of the coloured (black-full) breve where previously an altered semibreve would have been used.

See also SOURCES, MS, §IX, 2–11.

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4. Mensural notation from 1500.

(i) General. The simplified void notation of the late 15th century and the 16th, used throughout Europe for the international polyphonic repertory, was, like the medieval systems from which it developed, a singer's notation. It was not well suited to notating more than a single melodic line, especially when associated with printing by movable type. In succeeding centuries, however, especially after the rise of the thoroughbass, theory and teaching were increasingly controlled by instrumentalists such as keyboard players, and the staff notation used for the bulk of the repertory was influenced by instrumental requirements, adopting many features that permitted it to express increasingly complex information. Conversely, keyboard tablature began to decline. The instrumental features adopted included, in the 16th and 17th centuries, the barline, beam and slur, permitting the clear grouping of notes for rhythmic and other purposes; the standardization of clefs, facilitating the sight-reading of even fairly complex textures; and the reintroduction of the score, which had been dropped in French notation in the 13th century. In the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries, the demisemiquaver and the hemidemisemiquaver were added to the range of note values; keyboard notation adopted, when necessary for the sake of clarity, a score layout with more than two staves to the system, not previously used except in the partitura. In the 19th century, the vocabulary of signs for dynamics, accents and articulation was greatly extended; some novel features, which became basic to 20th-century practice, were introduced by Beethoven, Schumann and Liszt.

Thus notation continued to develop after the 16th century. Yet a rift gradually developed between notational theory and practice; professional musicians often came to treat theory as elementary and in consequence to expound it merely within the sphere of musical rudiments or incidentally in treatises on performance. This situation began to change only in the second half of the 19th century. Meanwhile, however, proposals for reform had been made, from the 17th century onwards, by those seeking a universal musical notation. Even though most proposed reforms were impracticable and were adopted by no-one but their inventors, as a whole they strikingly illustrate the desire of Western notators for a notation independent of any single musical style. Even a system as economical and adequate as Tonic Sol-fa was not adopted for the bulk of diatonic music: its limitation in practice to a single style was felt as a fatal flaw, as similar limitations had never been present in medieval notational systems. That did not prevent its use for the benefit of the musically uneducated: and Tonic Sol-fa merely exemplifies the numerous novel notational systems for vocal music devised from the 16th century onwards for this purpose. These systems are often unconcerned with theoretical abstractions, and thus resemble instrumental tablatures. Most of them were based on popular solmization practice, and many provide the same information in more than one way.

A turning-point in notational practice seems to have occurred in the second half of the 19th century in consequence of the harmonic and rhythmic theory of the period (Moritz Hauptmann, Hugo Riemann and Mathis Lussy). The notational principles outlined, to some extent *en passant*, by these theorists were popularized in Germany, France and Britain and may have laid the foundations for a number of details of modern notational theory and practice. In particular, the rules for orthography in accidentals and in rhythmic notation (with slurs and beams) came under close scrutiny, with attempts to abolish the less theoretically justifiable aspects of notation in the 18th century and the early 19th. The heavily edited versions of Classical works produced by Riemann and others may well represent attempts at transcription into a new notational language, rather than arbitrary suppression of the composer's wishes in favour of the editor's; perhaps for that reason, some scholars opposed the concept of the *Urtext* edition, holding that the careless adoption of obsolete and hence misleading notational conventions was indefensible.

The notation evolved by Riemann and Lussy, precise as it is in rhythmic detail, well deserves the title of 'orthochronic' notation (an equivalent term was coined by Chailley, 1950): note shapes uniquely fix durational relationships between notes, and there are no subdivisions of notes other than duple unless specially indicated. However, the extension of this term to all notation since the 16th century seems arbitrary, since no account is then taken of the numerous conventions whereby rhythms intended in performance were not explicitly indicated in the score. These conventions, including the occasional anomalous triple subdivision of note values, were widespread until the last third of the 19th century, and may be found in much music (though not the bulk of the repertory) even later than that. The term 'orthochronic' is, accordingly, avoided here in favour of the more comprehensive term 'mensural', which may legitimately be used wherever note shapes are directly related – even if only vaguely or notionally – to the durations of notes in performance; in other words, to almost all notation in the mainstream

repertory, classical or popular, except tablature, from Franco of Cologne to the present.

In the 20th century proposals for notational reform by professional notators and experiments in notation by composers greatly increased. Where these are not simply arbitrary, they represent to some extent further developments of the notation of the late 19th century, with further extensions of the capacity of mensural notation to carry large quantities of information; they may be seen as new departures reflecting the new ideas underlying the music. With the rise of historical musicology and ethnomusicology, notation has been faced with new problems in the attempt to use it to represent material originally designed for another, or no, notational system. In ethnomusicology, notation has become for almost the first time on any large scale descriptive rather than prescriptive. Since most musical works notated in the 20th century were tonal and traditional in style, whether editions of old music or new compositions, only certain universally useful devices, such as the representation of durations proportionally by the spacing and alignment of notes, gained universal currency.

The fullest discussion of the history of Western notation, copiously illustrated, is to be found in the two volumes of Wolf's *Handbuch der Notationskunde* (1913–19/*R*), to which the reader is referred for more detailed information; a shorter survey is Rastall's *The Notation of Western Music* (1983, rev. 2/1998). Apel's *Notation of Polyphonic Music, 900–1600* (1942, rev. 5/1961) is also valuable for medieval and Renaissance notations. For information on recent notational usage the volumes by Read (1964 and 1978), Karkoschka (*Schriftbild*, 1966) and Risatti (1975) may be found helpful.

(ii) Notes: shapes, colours, abbreviations. Void ('white') notation (see §3(vii) above), with duple relationships for the most part between note values, and dots (when used for rhythmic purposes) only as dots of addition, was generally (though not universally) adopted by the early 16th century in both vocal and instrumental music, tablatures apart. It was generally adopted by printers from Petrucci onwards, since it was readily adaptable to printing from movable type; in some music, such as popular metrical psalters, this notation survived virtually unchanged for centuries (as in fig.68, a 19th-century metrical psalter). Even when the appearance of the notation changed, the representation of primary (uninflected) pitches by their position on the staff, in the manner established in the Middle Ages, remained unchanged in succeeding centuries except in occasional instances where staff notation was treated as a tablature. The latter may be seen in the modern notation of harmonics on string instruments by finger position rather than by sound, and more strikingly still from the 17th century in SCORDATURA notation, where the written notes or chords represent finger positions and, since the instrument is abnormally tuned, do not correspond with the sounds. For the notation of accidentals, see §(vi) below.

After 1600 black-full notation (i.e. where the note heads of minims and higher values are black) was never again of great importance, despite the advocacy of such a notation by Lacassagne (1766). It was used for symbolic reasons in some works of the 15th, 16th and 17th centuries, such as Ockeghem's *Missa 'mi-mi'*, with black-full notes at the word 'mortuorum', and J.C. Kerll's *Missa nigra* (*see* EYE MUSIC). The opposition of void and full notes was used also in various 20th-century reform proposals, for distinguishing pitches rather than durations (e.g. in Equitone, where full notes are a semitone higher than the equivalent void notes, and in KLAVARSKRIBO, where void and full notes correspond with white and black notes on the modern keyboard – see fig.79 below).

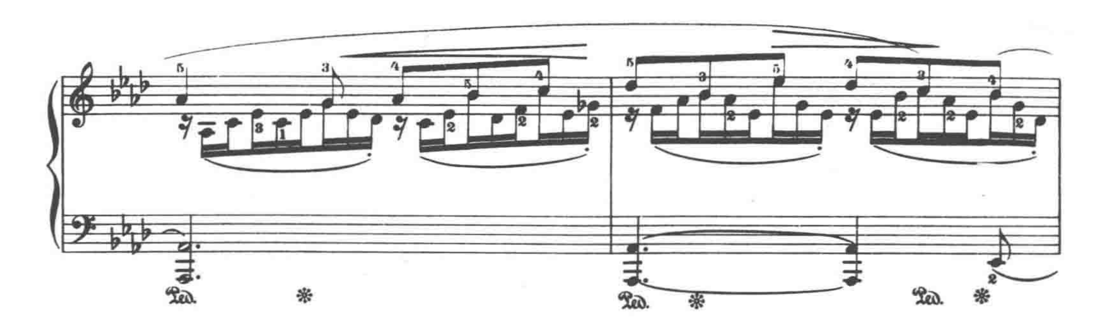
Red notes were still in occasional use at the beginning of the 16th century for distinguishing rhythmic proportions (as in *GB-Llp* 1, probably dating from the reign of Henry VIII), but dropped out of general use as rhythmic style became simpler; their use would, moreover, have entailed unnecessary expense in music printing. They continued, however, to be described by theorists such as Morley (*A Plaine and Easie Introduction*, 1597; ed. Harman, pp.114ff), and red and other colours have remained in occasional use to the present day in one of their oldest and simplest uses: to distinguish individual strands of the notation from one another. Red, green and black notes are used for this purpose in the 16th-century manuscript *D-Bsb* Mus.ms.theor.57, and red and black notes on a single staff in the 18th-century manuscript *Bsb* Mus.ms.40296. Red is used to distinguish the main melody in 16th-century Spanish lute tablatures (here with red numerals rather than red notes); and the same principle appears in a few late 19th-century editions (fig.69). Dallapiccola used square red notes for a canon whose resolution is printed in normal notation, in the 'Andantino amoroso e contrapunctus tertius' from the *Quaderno musicale di Annalibera* (1952). Other uses of colour include yellow or red for notes subject to chromatic alteration (G.M. Trabaci).

Coloration in a more general sense – full notes used in opposition to void notes for rhythmic purposes – survived in the 16th and 17th centuries especially for expressing hemiola rhythms in 3/2 time, three full semibreves or equivalent replacing two normal void dotted semibreves.





68. *Notation for the Geneva melodies in a Malay metrical psalter, including traditional clefs, time signatures, lozenge-shaped notes and the custos at line ends ('Sûrat Segala Mazmûr'; Haarlem: Enschedé, 1822) [tops of two columns]*



69. Red notes in the original (notes with upward stems) distinguish the main melody in otherwise conventional late 19th-century notation with systematic phrasing, dynamics and pedalling indications (Mendelssohn, 'Song without Words' op.38 no.6, in 'Pianoforte Pieces with the Melody Notes Printed in Red', ed. S. Hawley, i; London: Lengnick, 1899)

The derivation of these full semibreves from 14th- and 15th-century imperfect semibreves is clear, even though redundant dots had been placed after perfect semibreves generally from about 1500; the continuing influence of 15th-century principles may be seen in the omission of dots after 'perfect' void semibreves in even so late a source as Caccini's *Euridice* of 1600 (fig.70).

Soon after 1600, coloration was used for entire movements in mensural notation, such as courantes, whether or not hemiola rhythms were intended (fig.71*a*, from Frescobaldi, 1626, where the rests show that the 'crotchets' are coloured minims). This practice, which was derived from tablature notation, may have contributed to the increasing use of the crotchet as the beat; in G.B. Fontana's practice (1641, fig.71*b*) crotchet rests are used to correspond to coloured minims, and the semibreve rest is used for a bar's rest (Riemann, 1910, pp.140ff).

Smaller note values (*fusa* and *semifusa*) were increasingly used in the 16th century, owing to, or resulting in, the slowing down of note values in general (see §(iii) below). In the late Middle Ages, a semiminim could be written as a coloured note (red in black notation, black in void notation) with a stem but without a flag, or as a non-coloured note with both stem and flag; this generated a series of smaller note values with alternative forms, the non-coloured forms bearing one more flag than the coloured. These alternative forms remained theoretically available, although the coloured forms (as in modern practice, where a crotchet is the coloured form of the minim) have been generally preferred. This meant,

Coro Primo à v. e ſi replica al fine d'ogni ſtanza. Al canto al ballo.

Al cãto al bal lo all'om bre al prat'adorno Alle bell'ond'e liete

Al canto al bal lo all'om bre al.prat'adorno Alle bell'ond'e liete

al prato adorno Alle bel.'ond'e liete

al prato adorno Alle bell'ond'e liete

al prato adorno Alle bell'ond'e liete

70. Score notation: the first five notes in the bass are 'perfect' semibreves each equal to three minims, unlike the sixth which is imperfected by a minim; all voices employ coloration in the fourth bar to ensure that the semibreves are imperfect (Caccini, 'Euridice'; Florence: Marescotti, 1600)





71. *(a) Coloration used throughout a section in triple time, the notes with stems ('crotchets') being equivalent in value to minim rests (see line 2, bar 3) (Frescobaldi, 'Il primo libro di capricci'; Venice: Alessandro Vincenti, 1626) (b) Coloration used throughout a section in triple time, the notes with stems ('crotchets') being equivalent in value to semiminim rests (see system 2, bar 1) (G.B. Fontana, 'Sonate a 1.2.3.'; Venice: Bartolomeo Magni, 1641)*

paradoxically, that as small note values were increasingly used, and especially as the semiminim came to represent the beat at the end of the 16th century, 'void' notation (i.e. notation in which the minim and larger values were written with white note heads) consisted more and more of black notes.

The non-coloured forms of the semiminim and below, which in the 16th century often occur in sections in fast triple time where the time unit was the semibreve rather than the minim, survived until the 18th century (fig.72, from Couperin). By the time of Couperin almost all the shorter note values used today may be found, mostly in written-out ornamentation; both small and large note values, with corresponding exceptional time signatures, occur for symbolic reasons in Telemann's *Getreuer Music-Meister* of 1728 (*see* EYE MUSIC, fig.1). Beethoven used small note values and rests particularly lavishly (fig.73, from the Fantasia op.77). For the grouping of smaller note values by means of beams, and for the continuing use of ligatures, see §(iv) below.

Standard small melodic formulae, mostly of short notes (ornaments), had been abbreviated with special signs in keyboard tablatures from the late Middle Ages onwards, and in medieval vocal music some abbreviations are also found to indicate repeated material (for an example *see* ISORHYTHM). The double bar with two (or four) dots to

Les Disloqués

Les Boiteux.

Reprise.

72. *Void notation for a triple-time section in an 18th-century work (F. Couperin, 'Second livre de pieces de clavecin'; Paris, 1745)*

indicate repetition is already found in essence in 15th-century polyphony. A large vocabulary of signs indicating abbreviations of ornaments, not generally precise before the 17th century, was developed in the 18th century, especially in French keyboard and lute music (*see* ORNAMENTS, §7). Some notators, such as Bach, often preferred to write ornaments out in full, a tendency increasingly evident in the 19th century as improvised ornamentation declined (*see* IMPROVISATION, §II, 3(iv)). A parallel phenomenon was the increasing reluctance of notators during the 19th century to abbreviate at the repetitions of short phrases, for example in Alberti basses. (For details of special notations for abbreviating repeated notes and figures *see* ABBREVIATIONS.)

The lozenge-shaped notes of many 15th-century sources continued to be used in much printing from movable type (see fig.68 above) and in carefully written manuscripts throughout the 16th century. Rounded note shapes came increasingly to replace them from as early as the 15th century (fig.74, with pear-shaped notes, from *I-PEc* G.20); no adequate reason seems yet to have been given for this change. Etienne Briard jettisoned the lozenge-shaped notes in favour of oval ones in French printing as early as about 1530, but in England the change did not occur in printing until Carr's *Vinculum societatis* (1687; fig.75).

Notes of a smaller than normal size occur in early 19th-century English songs, printed as keyboard music (i.e. with the vocal part and accompaniment notated on two



73. *Small note values in a slow tempo with quaver beats, including in the penultimate bar semihemidemisemiquavers and a semihemidemisemiquaver rest (Beethoven, Fantasia op.77; Vienna: Artaria, c1810)*



74. *15th-century void notation with pear-shaped notes but still without downward minim stems (I-PEc G.20, f.42v)*



75. *Modern oval notes, with modern bar-lines, beams and slurs (J. Carr, 'Vinculum societatis'; London, 1687)*

staves rather than three: see §(v) below). The main melody is notated normally, whereas the accompaniment on the upper staff is distinguished by small notes (fig.76). The use of small notes to distinguish ornamentation, alternative versions of passages or other subsidiary material became normal in 19th-century piano music (fig.77, from Chopin's Prelude op.28 no.8, published in 1839; the proportion of small notes to large is particularly high). The small notes often did not count towards the value of the full bar; sometimes they refer to notes intended to be played very rapidly. (For the use of small notes to represent music without a regular pattern of beats, see §(iii) below.)

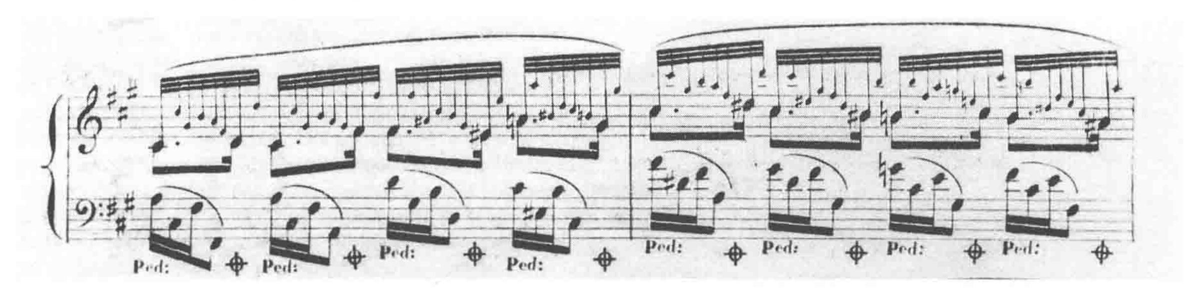
Unconventional note shapes, like some coloured notes, have occasionally been used within the normal mensural system for special purposes (see fig.78, with reversed note shapes representing one strand of a complex texture). The problem of differentiating such strands was solved by Schoenberg, on the other hand, by the use of squared slurs joined to the capital letters *H* (*Hauptstimme*, principal voice) or *N* (*Nebenstimme*, subordinate voice).

Since the reintroduction of the score, and particularly in the 20th century, duration has frequently been related to the horizontal distance between notes, though aesthetic considerations have often led notators to place notes symmetrically between bar-lines, so that arguments about simultaneity cannot usually be settled conclusively by considering alignment. Thus the staff has been treated as the axis of a graph; and, as far as this is true, the indication of duration by note shapes is redundant. Reformers have sometimes attempted to eliminate the redundancy: Hans Wagner (*Vereinfachte Notenschrift*, 1888) proposed the abolition of all note shapes but the semibreve. The Equitone and Klavarskribo systems have attempted the same: duration is related to the distance between notes, and note shapes are used to represent pitch (fig.79).

Other proposals for changing or abolishing the mensural note shapes, up to the late 19th century, have generally been of little practical significance. Examples are the 15th-century proposals of Giorgio Anselmi to distinguish durations by ascending and descending stems variously applied to a void breve shape (Gaffurius, *Practica musice*, 1496, ii, chap.4) and, as one of the first efforts to devise a thoroughly reformed notation, J. van der Elst's series of somewhat complex note shapes (fig.80, from *Notae Augustinianae*, 1657; see also his *Den ouden ende nieuwen grondt van de musijcke*, 1662) for both vocal and instrumental notation. Another unsuccessful reform, that of Sauveur (*Système général des intervalles des sons*, 1701), attempted to give each pitch a distinctive



76. *Small notes distinguishing subsidiary material from a song melody (R.A. Smith, 'The Scottish Minstrel', i; Edinburgh: Purdie, 1821)*



77. Small notes, to be played in measured time, distinguishing ornamental figuration (Chopin, Prelude op.28 no.8; Paris: Catelin, 1839)

note shape, and may thus be seen as a forerunner of the 19th-century shape-note system (see §5(iv) below; the shape-notes were taken up and used in a different sense by Cowell: see §(iii) below). (For details of other reforms, see Wolf, 1919, 335ff; for novel note shapes representing various durations, see Risatti, 1975, pp.1ff.)

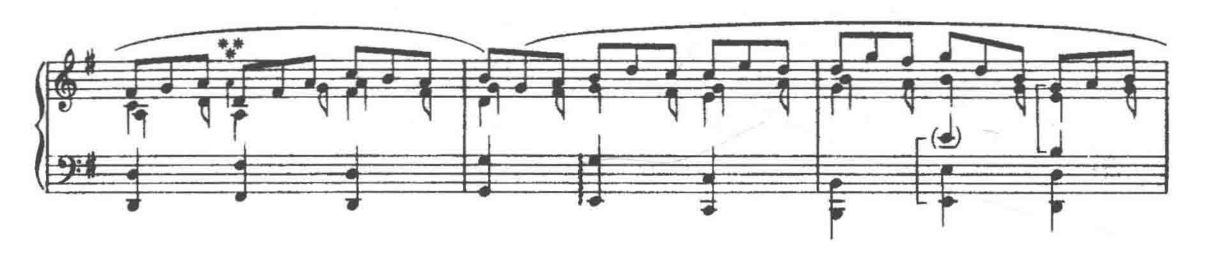
For chords including several adjacent semitones, notated on a single staff, traditional mensural notation is inadequate, allowing as it does only for two vertical groups of notes a 3rd apart, either side of the stem. From the early 20th century such chords were notated with supplementary diagonal stems branching from the common stem, by means of which the chords could include three vertical groups of notes. The extension of such chords into clusters suggested the adoption of abbreviated signs, notably those of Henry Cowell (fig.81), which have been adapted also to represent sustained clusters (see fig.82 and Risatti, 1975, pp.26–7, 36).

(iii) The division of time. Vestiges of the system of proportional mensuration signs persisted to the 18th century in some places. After 1500 the more complex proportions are found only in theoretical works, and in a few 16th-century polyphonic works to illustrate the text (e.g. the pieces by Renaldi and Striggio quoted by Morley, 1597). Nevertheless proportional signatures, in the form of fractions like those of the 15th century and, as then, cancelled by the reciprocals of the fractions, were used in the 17th and the early 18th centuries in Italy and Germany for pieces with short sections in different metres (e.g. 12/8 is cancelled by 8/12, 6/4 by 4/6). Apel's suggestion (*Notation of Polyphonic Music*, 5/1961, pp.163, 442) that these mensuration changes might have carried connotations of tempo change seems only speculative. Examples of this notation occur in Frescobaldi (fig.83), Corelli's op.5, Georg Muffat (*Apparatus musico-organisticus*, 1690), F.X. Murschhauser (*Prototypon longobreve organicum*, 1707) and the manuscript *CZ-KRa* II/133. On the more complicated question of C and ₵ as proportional signatures, see below.

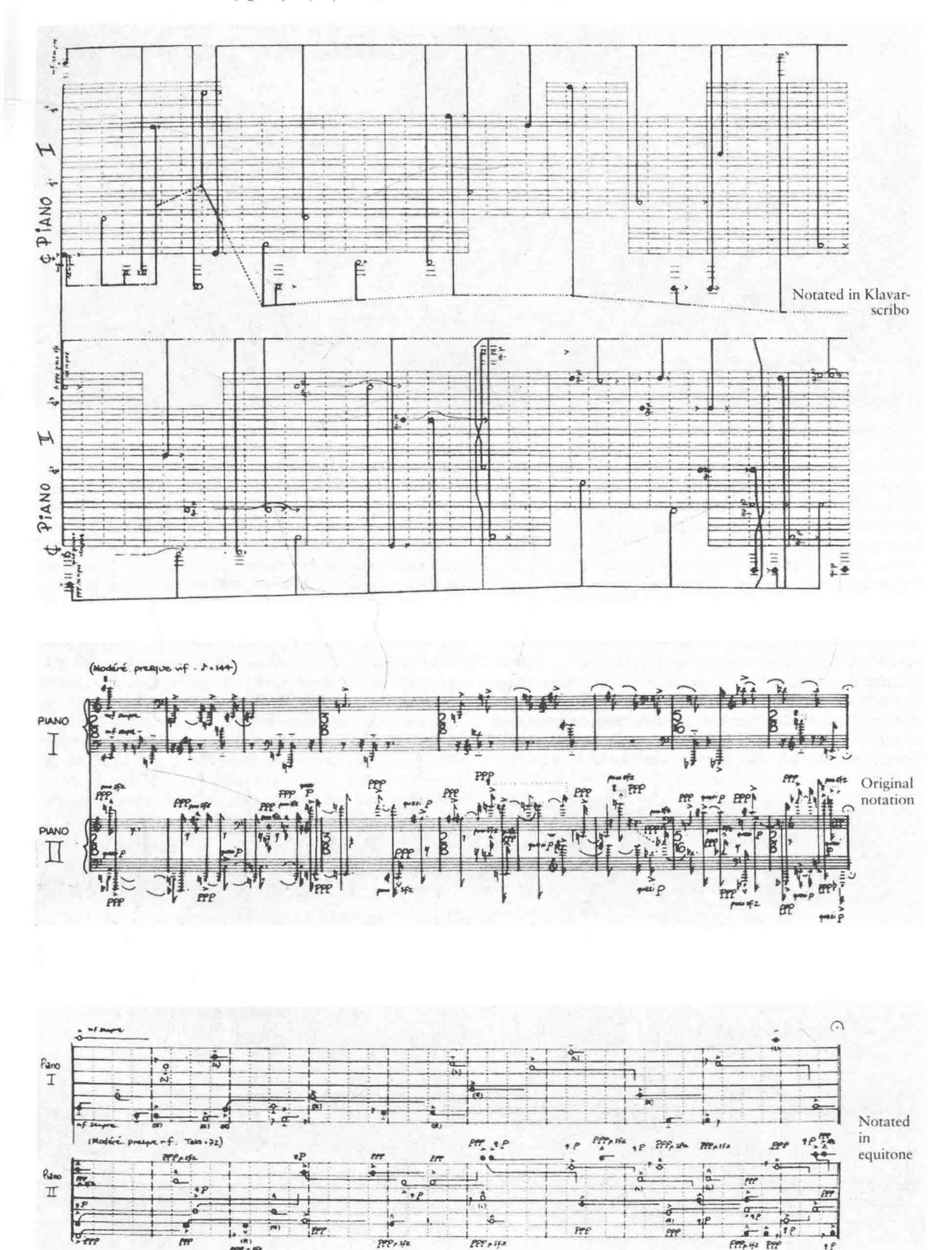
A fundamental change in *tactus* notation occurred, however, from the 17th century; it eroded the significance of proportional signatures for tempo, and makes unambiguous determination of tempo very difficult in a good deal of later music. In medieval notation there was a progressive slowing down of note values (see §3 above), and this continued during the 16th century, partly no doubt owing to the proliferation of short note values. By the second half of the century the minim had become the normal beat in polyphony. But this slowing down did not continue uniformly throughout the polyphonic repertory: even though the crotchet became the main time unit for much music in the 17th century, the minim continued to be the normal beat in much music produced for popular consumption, such as the metrical psalters and hymnals, and in church music in the *stile antico*. Indeed it still survives as the normal beat in hymn tunes and Anglican chants; the crotchet has only recently taken its place in some hymn tunes, and then usually only when settings are complex or connotations of a modern style are sought.

The change, then, lies largely in the increasing readiness of notators arbitrarily to adopt different note lengths as the main beat in different contexts (for an example of this *see* MADRIGAL, fig.2). This variety in *tactus* notation presumably had its roots in the 15th-century notation of augmentation and diminution, which continued to be expounded as the basis for theoretical distinctions such as those between C and ₵. By the time of Beethoven any note value between the semiquaver and the dotted minim was capable of functioning as the main beat (compare parts of the Arietta of the Sonata op.111, fig.89 below, with his scherzos: that of the Ninth Symphony includes specific recognition of the dotted minim as the beat – 'ritmo di tre battute', etc.).

With this increasing variety of augmentation and diminution, especially from the 18th century, any note value could theoretically function as the beat, independent of considerations of tempo, through a novel explanation of fractional time signature (found at least as early as



78. Reversed notes distinguishing a subsidiary strand of the texture (J.S. Bach, arr. M. Hess, 'Jesu, Joy of Man's Desiring'; London: Oxford University Press, 1926); the small note in bar 1 also has this meaning, and the note in parentheses may be omitted



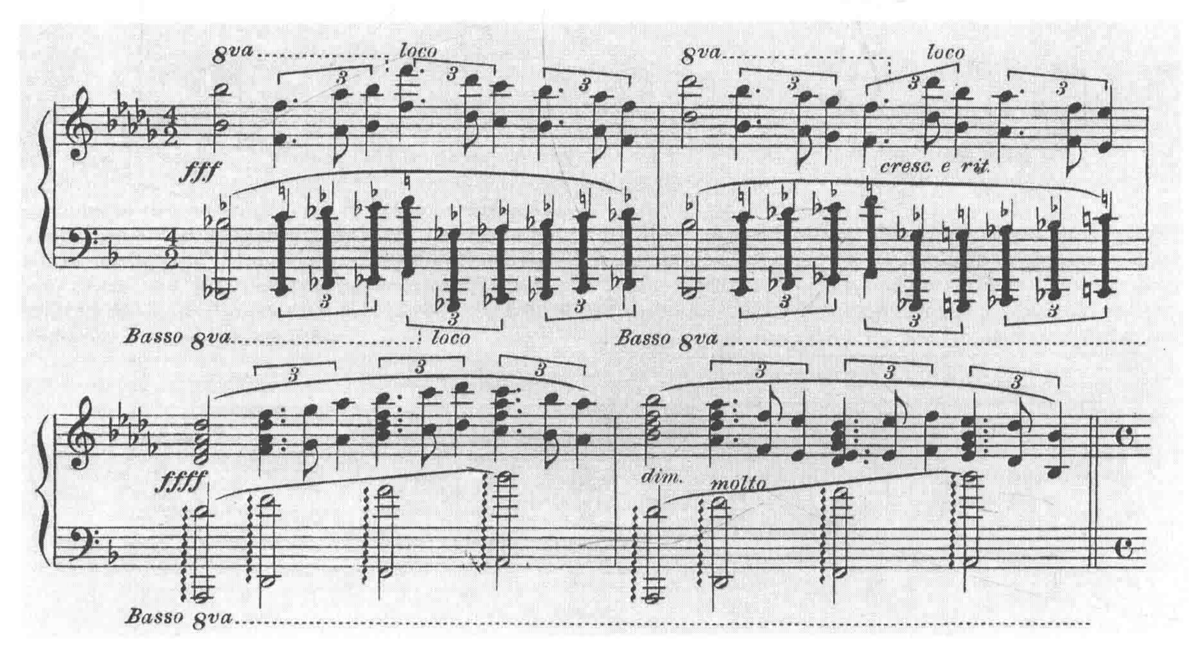
79. *Comparison of conventional 20th-century staff notation, Klavarskribo and Equitone, using a passage from Boulez's 'Structures' (E. Karkoschka, 'Das Schriftbild der neuen Musik'; Eng. trans., 1972)*



80. Proposed novel note shapes (right) compared with the established shapes (left) (J. van der Elst, 'Notae Augustinianae', Ghent, 1657)

G.M. Bononcini's *Musico prattico*, 1673). Here, as in modern theory, the denominator of the fraction representing the time signature indicates the note value on which the metre is based (usually the beat, with the figure 1 for the semibreve, 2 for the minim, 4 for the crotchet etc.), and the numerator indicates the number of such note values to the bar.

Parallel with the partial emancipation of the time signature from tempo, there were two developments tending to make the determination of tempo and time easier: the increased use of bar-lines and of verbal specifications of tempo. Vertical lines had been used through staves in medieval score notation, not in their modern sense as bar-lines but to divide sections from one another; but some 15th- and 16th-century keyboard and lute sources include the visual separation of units of one or more bars, either by a space left between them or by a bar-line. Such bar-lines are used with varying degrees of consistency and frequency (for bar-lines marking off single beats, see Apel, 1942, p.67). The bar-line was used in vocal music also (mainly in scores) from the late 16th century, but was not adopted generally in mensural notation until the 18th century. Even later than that some notation lacked it, as do some 19th- and 20th-century editions of old music. In 20th-century music dotted bar-lines were used to clarify the subdivisions of larger bars, as in Debussy's *Les sons et les parfums tournent dans l'air du soir* (from *Préludes*, i, 1910). (For the use of conflicting bar-lines, see below.) The increasing unreliability of time signatures as indicators of tempo is also reflected in the adoption of Italian (and later German, English and other) terms for this purpose. These tempo indications (in

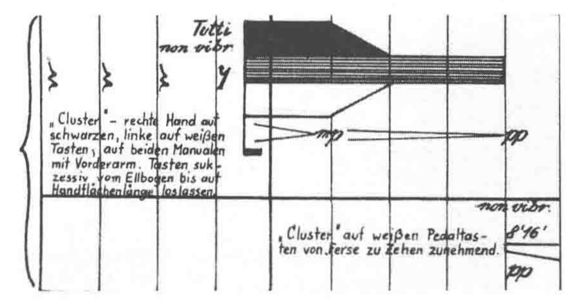


81. Cluster notation (H. Cowell, 'The Tides of Manaunaun'; New York: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1922); the distinction between white and black clusters is purely durational

Donington's terminology, 'time-words': see *Interpretation of Early Music*, 3/1974, pp.386ff), like bar-lines, seem to have appeared first in polyphonic music for soloists, perhaps because of the complexity of this music from the individual performer's point of view when compared with vocal music. Tempo indications occur in Luys Milán's *El maestro* (1536) but were not generally adopted before the 17th century: the terms *adagio*, *allegro*, *grave*, *largo*, *lento* and *presto* are attested between 1596 and 1619, with others during the 17th century. These tempo indications have not always carried their present connotations, nor has their significance always been precise. From the early 19th century (Beethoven) they were supplemented still further by metronome indications, and in the 20th century (Bartók) by precise indications of the duration of a piece in minutes and seconds (*see* TEMPO AND EXPRESSION MARKS and METRONOME (i)).

Despite these developments, time signatures never completely lost their associations with tempo, although the associations of numerical (fractional) time signatures, taken in isolation, are seldom unambiguous. No consistency exists in the music of the last three centuries even in the relationship between the note values chosen to function as beats and tempo.

With O and C, the circular and semicircular signatures inherited from the Middle Ages, practice was even more confused. Theorists continued to expound the significance of vertical bars in time signatures (as in ₵), and of the reversal of symbols (e.g. in Ɔ) as signifying diminution; but even when distinctions can be drawn between C meaning 4/4 and Φ ('alla breve') meaning 2/2 or 4/2 (the latter, for example, in the Credo of Bach's B minor Mass), it is by no means clear that the tempos of the beats were intended to be equivalent. In the 16th century the sign C became uncommon, the basic duple metre of most polyphony being signified by ₵; precisely the reverse convention became common at the beginning of the 17th century, and the reason for the change is obscure, for no change in meaning seems necessarily to have been intended. This change occurred in English music printing quite suddenly about 1594 in madrigal partbooks and about 1621 in psalm books (fig.84). These signs may enclose a dot without changing in meaning. Similarly, Φ is sometimes used as a synonym for O, C 3, C 3/2, Ͼ 3/2, ₵ 3/2, 3, 3/1 and so on, for quick triple time; from the 17th century O and Φ seem to have been dropped until Φ was later revived with a new meaning (see below). These time signatures were used without total consistency well



82. *Cluster notation for organ: the black symbol represents a cluster on the black keys, the 'void' symbol a cluster on the white keys or equivalent pedals (Z. Vostřak, 'The Pendulum of Time'; Vienna: Universal, 1968); these are supplemented by verbal instructions on the gradual release of the keys*



83. *Keyboard notation with a 12/8 time signature (bar 4, bass line) cancelled in the next line by an 8/12 signature (Frescobaldi, 'Toccate d'intavolatura'; Rome: Borboni, 1637)*

into the 19th century at least; Schubert often used ₵ *adagio* movements in 4/4 and C for fast movements, whereas Bruckner used ₵ for fast 4/4 movements and C for slow movements. (In the first movement of Bruckner's Seventh Symphony, moreover, it is hard to see a real tempo difference being intended between the *allegro moderato* ₵ of the opening and the *ruhig* C at bar 51.) Even books of rudiments may imply that C and ₵ are synonyms (Dibdin, *Music Epitomized*, 1808 edn., p.37).

The most that can be said is that vertical bars in time signatures, and reversed ('retorted') signs, indicate relatively fast tempos, but not always reliably; this is particularly likely when ₵ is used for music in the *stile antico*, or when the time signature changes during the course of a piece. (For relevant passages from a wide variety of theorists, see Donington, *Interpretation of Early Music*, 3/1974, pp.405ff.) There has been no thorough investigation of time signatures used since the 16th century; the degree of ambiguity at different times and places can scarcely be assessed, and the reasons for it are unknown.

Signs sometimes used in the 18th and 19th centuries as equivalents of 4/2 ('great alla breve') rather than ₵ (2/2



84. *English psalm book with a C time signature with an imperfectly deleted bar (Sternhold and Hopkins, 'The Whole Booke of Psalmes'; London: Stationers' Company, 1626)*



85. Three different but perhaps synonymous rhythmic conventions in a single piece in 6/8 time: crotchet-quaver alone (bar 8), crotchet-quaver with a figure 3 signifying a triplet (penultimate bar), and dotted quaver-semiquaver (system 2, bar 1) (T.A. Arne, 'VIII Sonatas or Lessons'; London: Walsh, 1756)

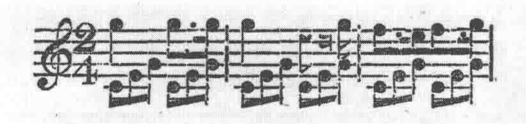
or 4/4) include 2/1, Φ, revived in a new sense (e.g. Bach, Gigue from Partita no.6, BWV830), CC (Rossini), C C and ¢ ¢ (Schubert, *Impromptu* D899 no.3, altered to ¢ by Schubert's publisher). Φ was sometimes written as C Ɔ (i.e. with its elements spaced out).

Even when the tempo implied by a time signature is clear, divisions of the time within individual bars are not always literally those written, even apart from considerations of agogics, in terms of which most notators intended the written note values to be interpreted with some degree of rhythmic freedom. Unwritten rhythmic conventions cannot generally be guessed in European music before the 16th century. At that period Tomás de Santa María wrote of pairs of notes written equal but intended to be played unequally (*Arte de tañer fantasia*, 1565); this may have been widespread, and a similar practice is well attested in 17th- and 18th-century France (*see* NOTES INÉGALES). In some cases of unequal performance of note pairs, the first note of each pair was to be lengthened; in others it was the second note, though this was generally indicated in some other way. Even written-out ornaments must have been subject to some rhythmic alteration in practice: some trills written as successions of even rapid notes were intended to begin slowly and then speed up. Such practice was in certain contexts so much a matter of course that notational devices were used to indicate the absence of inequality: either a verbal direction (e.g. 'notes égales') or dots written over individual notes (Marin Marais). A comparable unwritten rhythmic convention, attested in some 19th-century keyboard music, is the introduction of unwritten rhetorical pauses (see Franklin Taylor's preface to his Clementi edition, concerning the *Didone abbandonata* Sonata), though Lussy (1874) sought to restrict this practice to salon pieces (Eng. trans., pp.207–8).

Discrepancies between written and intended rhythms are particularly likely when different strands of the texture are notated in different time signatures; these multiple time signatures (in Read's terminology, 'polymeters') occur fairly frequently in the 18th century (as in Bach and Mozart). In such cases it is usually at least possible that



86. Dotted quaver and semiquaver to be accommodated to a sextuplet rhythm, as shown by the occurrence in bar 4 of a semiquaver in two polyphonic parts at once (Mendelssohn, 'Song without Words' op.85 no.1; London: Ewer, 1850)



87. Notation of a melody in 2/4 and its accompaniment in 6/8, cited by Callcott as being doubtful of interpretation ('A Musical Grammar'; London, 1806)

the conflicting rhythms which result are to be accommodated to one another (for exceptions, see below). Dotted-note figures with duple subdivisions against triplets are cases in point: particularly in late Baroque music it often seems likely that dotted rhythms are to be relaxed into triplet rhythms: the use of a crotchet and quaver under the numeral *3* (and often slurred), for the more accurate notation of triplet rhythms in cases such as these, is attested in the mid-18th century (Arne, 1756; see fig.85, where it is immediately adjacent to the older convention) but not generally used before the 19th. In some 19th-century notation, for example chorus parts in Verdi operas, the accommodation of dotted rhythms to triplets also seems highly probable. There is even some evidence in the 19th century of duplets in a melody and triplets in an accompaniment being accommodated to each other (Bochsa, *New and Improved Method of Instruction for the Harp*, *c*1818–19, p.60); although theorists explain triplets as three notes in the time of two, they do not always state that all the notes involved are equal in length. Some piano notation, with polyphonic figuration and notes occurring in more than one polyphonic voice (fig.86), absolutely requires accommodation of the rhythms, though its evidence ought not, perhaps, to be pressed into proving rhythmic accommodation elsewhere. The correct practice in Schubert's music, where dotted and triplet rhythms often appear simultaneously, is particularly difficult to establish (see *MT*, civ (1963), 626, 713, 797, 873).

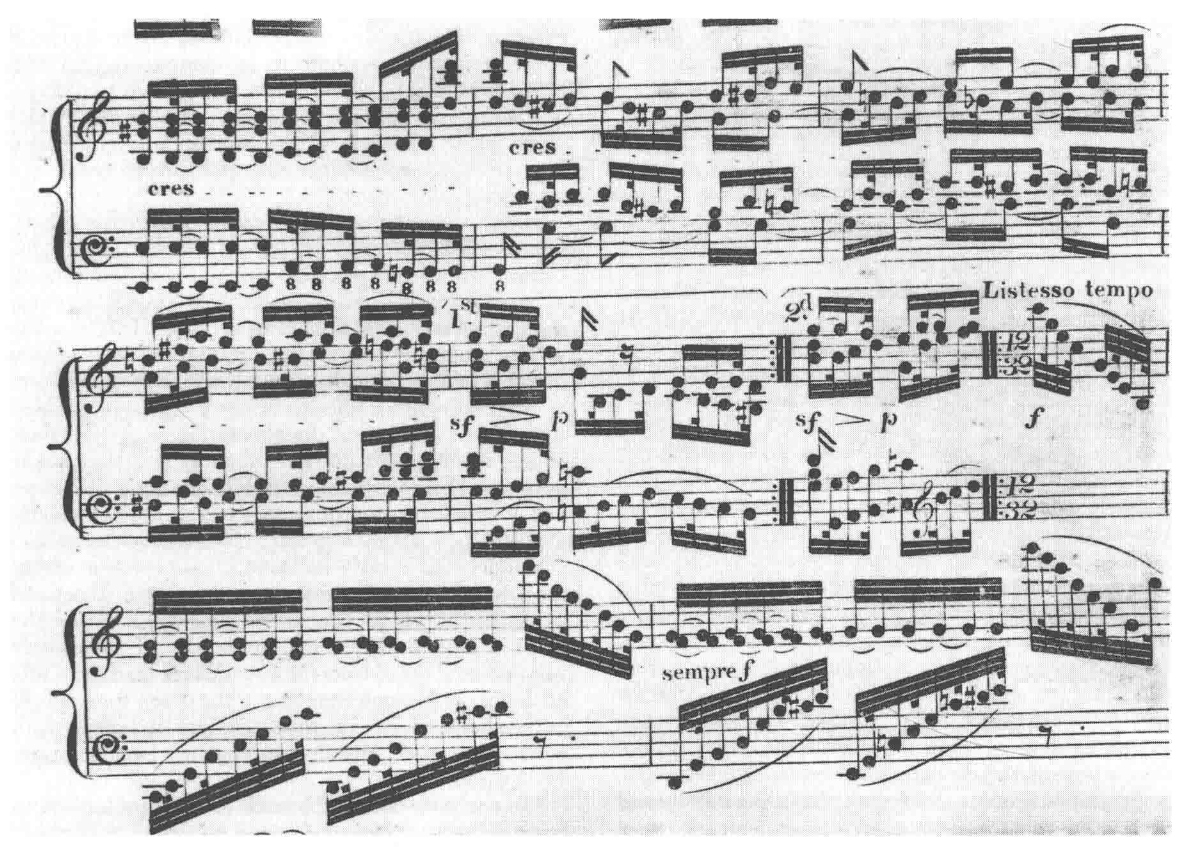
On the other hand, even an apparently straightforward case of dotted notes against triplets in Paisiello was cited as early as 1806 by Callcott (fig.87, from *A Musical Grammar*, p.236, repeated in many subsequent editions) as an ambiguous case: 'There is some doubt whether this Melody should be played as written, or as if it were compound; that is, one dotted Crotchet, one Crotchet, and one Quaver, in the first Measure'. The possibility of maintaining conflicting rhythms in certain contexts had been raised by some in the second half of the 18th century (Quantz, Eng. trans., 1966, p.82; Türk, 1789). A general tendency in cases of conflict to accommodate all rhythms to the most relaxed within a texture ultimately lacks logic, and a cautious approach combined with aesthetic judgment seems advisable in the present lack of detailed studies based on a large cross-section of notational evidence.

A distinction between intended and written rhythms, literally interpreted, is likely, on the grounds of the category to which a piece belongs, until the 19th century at least and even later in popular music. Double-dotting, though attested in Marais as early as 1701, is, like the precise notation of triplets, uncommon in mensural notation before the 19th century; yet the French overture is a well-known example of a category with a well-defined tradition of tempo and double-dotting in performance, which was required but not normally spelt out in the notation. There were conventions concerning the tempo and rhythmic features of various categories, particularly dances, such as the minuet, gavotte, chaconne and pastorale; these conventions varied to some extent according to period and country, and were sometimes ambiguous even to contemporaries. Nevertheless the notation used for them might for the sake of convenience vary in literal detail from the intended effect, if there was no danger of misunderstanding at the time – for example in the choice of C as the time signature of a gigue, with quick triple time intended throughout (see Ferguson, 1975, pp.92–3).

The tradition-bound approach to notation implicit in practice such as this led some to retain traditional 'category' notation even when the notation was no longer suitable to the category. Chopin, for example, retained the 3/4 time signature of the scherzo (descended from the 18th-century minuet) even though the tempo had so greatly increased by his time that the bar contains only one beat, and single phrases frequently contain notes tied over three or four bars, as well as rests of two bars or more (fig.88). According to later 19th-century rhythmic theory, this traditional notation seemed inadequate (for criticisms of category notation based ultimately on this theory, see S. Macpherson, 1908, rev. 1915, pp.39ff, and 1911, rev. 1932, p.17). Nevertheless, category (or rather style) notation remained alive in 20th-century popular music notation: notated almost universally in C, it very often requires to be interpreted on grounds of style as if notated with unequal pairs of notes closer to 12/8; moreover, certain other rhythmic characteristics (such as



88. Notation of a fast scherzo in the traditional 3/4, although this tends to obscure the rhythmic structure (Chopin, Scherzo op.54, 1842; autograph, PL-Kj)



89. Mixture of triple and duple subdivisions of semiquavers and, in the 12/32 section, demisemiquavers (Beethoven, Piano Sonata op.111; London: Clementi, 1823); in the second 12/32 bar, for example, demisemiquavers equal three hemidemisemiquavers except when followed and 'imperfected' by a single hemidemisemiquaver

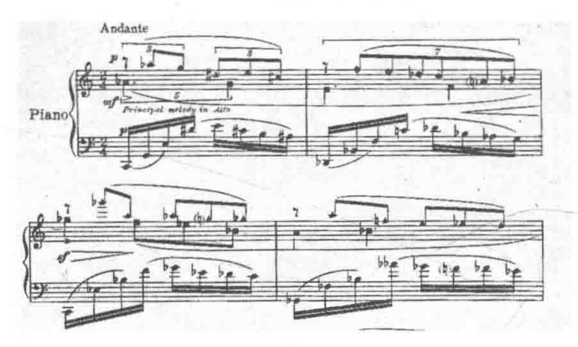
syncopation) are frequently required by the style though not spelt out in the notation.

In addition to these complexities, there are many contexts in 18th-century music where triple subdivisions of notes are extensively tolerated. The lack of theoretical provision for such practice at times renders passages difficult to read: a notable example is the Arietta of Beethoven's sonata op.111 (fig.89) where the demisemiquavers are to be taken as 'perfect' in the medieval sense unless followed by a hemidemisemiquaver and thus rendered 'imperfect' (this detail of Beethoven's notation survives in modern editions of the sonatas).

The confusion in the use of time signatures and subdivision of beats, especially in relation to tempo, was recognized by Riemann (*Musikalische Dynamik und Agogik*, 1884). He recognized that the choice of note length for the beat was often arbitrary, particularly since 6/8, for example, could represent either two or six beats to the bar. Accordingly, and to facilitate the representation of beats with triple subdivisions, he proposed a system of time signatures based on the beat, ignoring differences that had long been artificial, such as that between 2/4 and 2/8. In his reformed system, time signatures were to comprise simple integers (e.g. 2, for two beats to the bar, whatever their nominal value), integers separated by dots (e.g. 2.3, meaning six beats in two groups of three each) or fractions (e.g. 2/3, meaning two beats with triple subdivisions, or 3.2/3 meaning six beats with triple subdivisions in three groups of two). However soundly based and economical, this ingenious system did not win general acceptance, though the use of the simple integer (found with a more restricted meaning earlier in the French Baroque), omitting the denominator of the conventional fractional time signature, is fairly widespread in 20th-century mensural notation.

Another abortive attempt to increase the variety of the subdivisions of the beat, in this case well beyond the capacity even of 14th-century Ars Subtilior notation though not matching the theoretical potential of 15th-century proportional notation, was the system proposed by Henry Cowell. He sought to supplement the traditional vocabulary of note lengths with 'two-third notes', 'four-fifth notes', 'four-seventh notes' (i.e. as fractions of a semibreve) and further submultiples of the semibreve, which were to be represented with void notes of various shapes without stems (triangles, squares, lozenges etc.). Some of these shapes were borrowed from traditional American shape-note notation (see §5(iv) below). These notes would then generate others by the addition of stems and flags, in the same way as the semibreve: with a stem, for example, 'third-notes', 'two-fifth notes', 'two-seventh notes' and so forth. The system is exemplified in Cowell's *Fabric* of 1917, published in 1922 (fig.90: see also Read, 1964, 2/1969, pp.76–7; Stone, 1963, p.19). A further system of durational proportions, based on ratios and not requiring novel note shapes – and thus more flexible than Cowell's system – has been adopted by Stockhausen (*Klavierstück I*).

Multiple time signatures occasionally occur from the 18th century in pieces where there is clearly no question



90. *The use of novel note shapes for uneven divisions of the beat, but retaining (redundant) traditional numerals and square brackets with the same sense (H. Cowell, 'Fabric': New York: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1922)*

of accommodating the rhythms in one part to those in another: Fux's *Concentus musico-instrumentalis* (DTÖ, xlvii, Jg.xxiii/2) has a movement with a simultaneous 'Aria italiana' in 6/8 and an 'Aire française' in ₵; and the 'Fanfare' from *La triomphante* in Couperin's tenth *ordre* (fig.91) has conflicting signatures, with the explanatory note 'Quoy que les valeurs du dessus ne semblent pas se raporter avec celles de la basse; il est d'usage de le marquer ainsi'. In some 20th-century music and editions of older music, both conflicting signatures and conflicting bar-lines may be found (figs.92 and 93: examples from Bartók, String Quartet no.3, 1929, and an edition of Monteverdi madrigals by Leichtentritt).

Time signatures representing additive metres (those in which the beats within a bar cannot be subdivided into groups of equal size) are found in the 18th century: Handel included a few orchestral bars in 5/8 in *Orlando* (1733) to represent madness; Burney (*History*) termed this 'a division of time which can only be borne in such a situation'. (The principle of additive rhythm occurs much earlier than this in *vers mesurés à l'antique*.) Additive time signatures were used by Reicha ('3/8 et 2/8'), Chopin, Tchaikovsky, Bartók (3 + 3 + 2 over 8) and others, but Moritz Hauptmann's rhythmic theory regarded them as 'inorganic' and thus to be condemned (1853, Eng. trans., 1888, pp.196ff). A list of 20th-century works with additive and other unusual signatures may be found in Read, 1964, 2/1969, pp.159ff; some are based (not necessarily consistently) on small rapid note values, rather than beats, as the unit for the numerator of the fraction. A variant of this occurs in Stockhausen's *Klavierstück I*, with the smallest note value, not necessarily directly represented in the changing time signatures, regarded as the basic time division. As changes of time signature within a piece became increasingly common in the 20th century, various notational details were simplified: the double bar previously usual before a change was often reduced to an ordinary single bar-line, time signatures were enlarged and written between the staves, or above the staff (Debussy).

For music partly or entirely outside a system of regular beats, notational practice has varied. The oldest sign representing an indefinite prolonging of a note's duration is the pause sign or fermata (a semicircle over a dot), inherited from the Middle Ages and still universally used in Western notation (in the 20th century it was sometimes modified to provide various degrees of extra length, or inverted to signify shortening rather than lengthening). Relatively lengthy passages of music without a regular metric beat occur from the 17th century onwards in recitative; Italian recitative was normally divided arbitrarily into bars of four beats, with C as a time signature, whereas French recitative was notated with frequent changes of time signature more closely reflecting the declamation of the text. (The arbitrary use of a time signature in Italian recitative is paralleled by the occasional 16th- and 17th-century practice of notating pieces in duple metre even though their musical sense is triple: see Apel, *Notation*, pp.66–7.) An experimental notation is found in some French harpsichord pieces of the last quarter of the 17th century and the early 18th century, where conventional time divisions are quite abandoned and the music notated either entirely in 'semibreves' grouped with slurs, or in a mixture of 'semibreves' joined with slurs and 'short note values' joined with beams (fig.94; for details of this notation and its interpretation *see* PRÉLUDE NON MESURÉ, and Moroney, 1976).

Various methods were used from the 18th century to notate irregular expressive melodies in free rhythm in instrumental music, as for example in written-out cadenzas or in keyboard fantasias (Mozart, Beethoven). They may be notated, like Italian recitative, by using a regular time signature and bar-lines and by dividing the passage arbitrarily into beats, as in the case of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony (fourth movement) or in his Piano Sonata op.31 no.2 (first movement). This notation has been maintained by later composers, including Wagner, for the shepherd's piping in Act 3 scene i of *Tristan und Isolde*. Alternatively the passages may be written without a time signature, either in notes of conventional size, or in small notes, or a mixture of the two, grouped with beams as required to clarify the accentuation, and with any bar-lines irregularly placed as an auxiliary means of grouping: this method was used by Mozart and many later composers (fig.95).

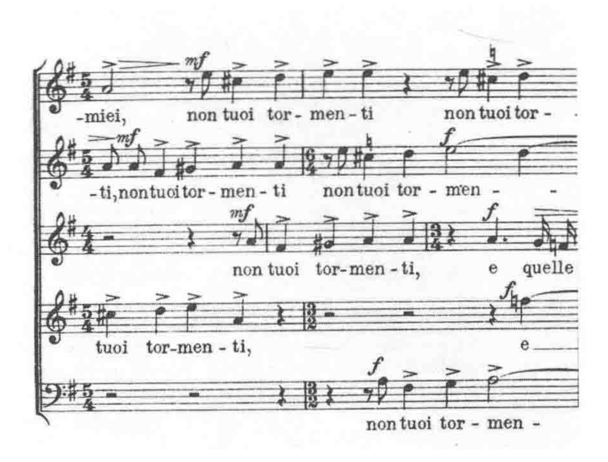
In notation of this sort the note values carry only imprecise connotations of duration. A more systematic use of imprecise durations was required in a number of some 20th-century works: notes of indeterminate length were notated in various novel ways, sometimes with



91. *Notation with conflicting time signatures, 9/8 against 3/4 (F. Couperin, 'La triomphante', from 'Second livre de pieces de clavecin'; Paris, 1733)*



92. *Score notation with conflicting bar-lines (Bartók, String Quartet no.3; Vienna: Universal, 1929)*



93. *Score notation of early music with conflicting bar-lines (Monteverdi, ed. H. Leichtentritt, '12 fünfstimmige Madrigale'; Leipzig: Peters, 1909)*

imprecise distinctions between longer and shorter notes (see Risatti, 1975, pp.1ff). In some 20th-century music, great rhythmic variety within the texture had to be represented without the aid of regular beats in any strand, and increased precision was sought in the notation of accelerandos and decelerandos, previously indicated only with verbal directions in the score. This was sometimes achieved through the modification of aspects of notation not formerly used to represent the division of time: converging and diverging multiple beams used for groups of short note values notated in an otherwise traditional fashion may denote increasing and decreasing tempos; or staves may be slanted upwards from the horizontal to denote an increase in tempo and downwards to denote a decrease in tempo (Bussotti). Other devices include the multiplication of metronome indications at short intervals, the use of '+' and '–' signs for (imprecise) tempo changes and so on (see Risatti, 1975, pp.21ff). Rhythmic proportions more complex than those available with the traditional numerals (*3* = three in the time of two, *5* = five in the time of four, etc.) have been represented by a precise spacing of notes to a specific scale (e.g. one second to 2·5 cm of score); this notation may be supplemented with auxiliary signs specifying the duration of individual 'bars' (short subdivisions) within the music, resembling the specifications of precise lengths in an architectural scale-drawing. In 20th-century music generally, whatever the style, vertical alignment of different parts of the texture became a generally reliable indication of the order in which notes are to be sounded, and whether or not notes are simultaneous; and spacing of notes tends generally to be proportional to their durations.

(iv) The joining and separation of notes. 15th-century ligature theory was fully expounded by Morley (1597), and still appears in 17th-century didactic material; but it was not always thoroughly understood, even by theorists, and the only ligature to remain in fairly common use was that 'with opposite propriety' signifying two semibreves.



94. *Unmeasured harpsichord prelude notation, without bar-lines and using only semibreves and slurs (J.-H. D'Anglebert, Prelude; F-Pn Rés.89ter, f.52v)*



95. *Unbarred notation of conventional size at the close of a 'cadenza in tempo' (Mozart, Piano Sonata K333/315c, 1783–4; D-Bsb); a written-out retard leading up to the final fermatas is created by the use of increasingly longer note values*

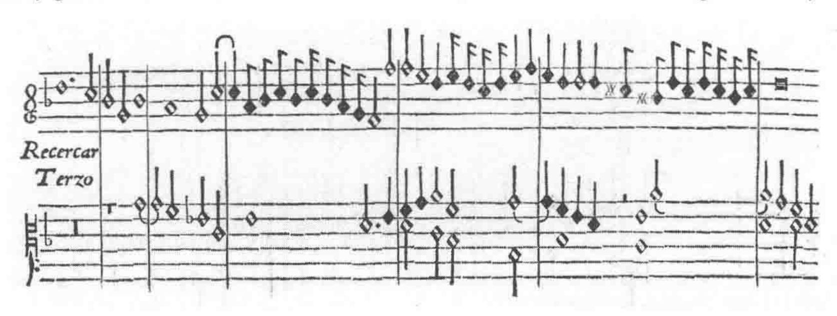
Even this ligature was confined mostly to music in the *stile antico*. The ligature system was unsuited to printing by movable type, and since it applied only to long note values it was relatively useless after the minim had become the basic beat in polyphony. The two-semibreve ligature survived in Austria as late as the first half of the 18th century (Fux).

Ligatures had always been relatively uncommon in keyboard and other instrumental notation, but a comparable device had been the beam, found in some but not all early keyboard sources to join together groups of small note values (e.g. in the Buxheimer Orgelbuch, *D-Mbs* Cim.352b; see fig.130 below) and in some sources to join groups of rhythm signs together in a characteristic grid pattern. In these sources the primary sense of the beam is rhythmic, since the first of any group of notes joined together is stressed; this continued to be the meaning of the beam in instrumental music even after it had been transferred to vocal music. Another device comparable to the ligature was the slur or tie; the latter occurs in 16th-century keyboard sources such as Cavazzoni's *Recerchari, motetti, canzoni* (1523) and Buus's *Intabolatura d'organo* (1549; fig.96). Both the beam and the slur came to be used in vocal music for a purpose originally served by the ligature: to join together the notes to be sung to a single syllable, the slur for long note values, and both the beam and the slur for short ones. Praetorius (*Syntagma musicum*, iii, 2/1619) recommended the slur in place of all ligatures save that 'with opposite propriety'; both the slur and the beam are used to join notes to be sung to a single syllable in Gabriel Bataille's *Airs de différents autheurs* (1608; fig.97), and occur generally, though not always consistently, in 17th-century printed collections and manuscripts of vocal music from Italy and southern Germany. They occur for a similar purpose in English printed music first in the *Vinculum societatis* of J. Carr (1687; see fig.75 above); it is not clear which (perhaps both) of these notational innovations is intended by the 'vinculum' of the title.

This 17th-century convention still survives in most vocal music, though some notators have begun to adopt a notation more closely resembling instrumental notation, since syllabic vocal music is often difficult to read if small note values are at all numerous. 20th-century additions to it in scholarly editions of old music included square slurs to represent notes originally grouped as ligatures, and dotted, hairline or slashed slurs to differentiate editorial from original ones. Even Lussy in the 19th century, despite his concern to use the beam in the service of rhythmic theory, made a specific exception in favour of traditional vocal notation (Eng. trans., p.29).

In instrumental music the beam continued to be used for joining together small notes, in groups generally corresponding to a single beat or to simple multiples and submultiples of beats. An extension of its use occurred in the breaking of secondary beams (generally all but the first beam) within a group to clarify the subdivisions of the group, a practice not apparently found in Beethoven but attested at least as early as Liszt (fig.98, from his *Fantaisie romantique sur deux mélodies suisses*, 1837 edn) and adopted by many later notators, including Reger. This notation was recommended by Lussy since it clarified accentuation within groups, and is now part of standard notational practice (Read, 1964, 2/1969, pp.83–4).

Certain simple standard formulae involving syncopation had been notated since the Middle Ages contrary to



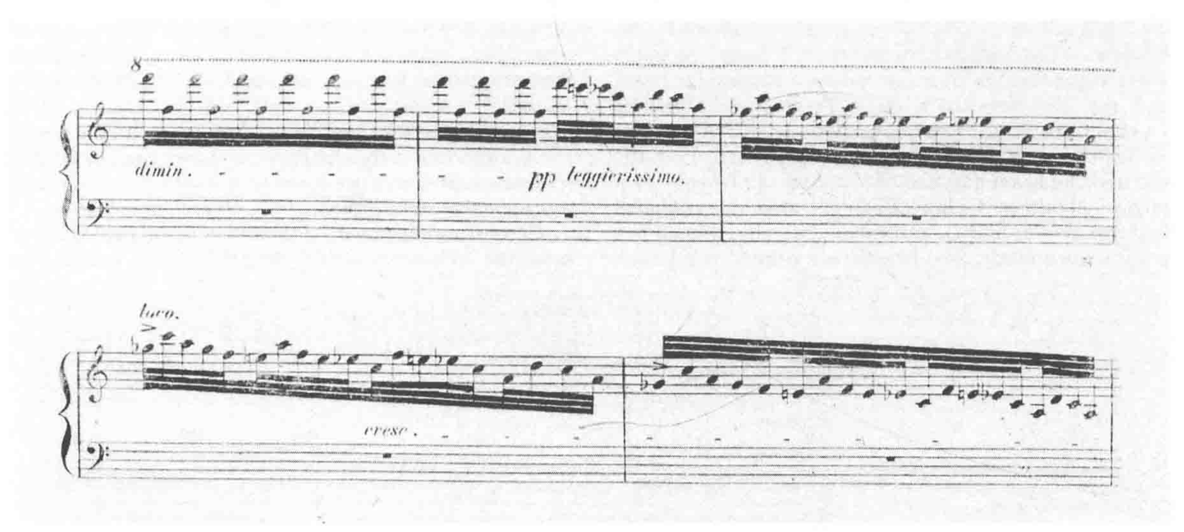
96. *16th-century Italian keyboard notation, including ties across barlines with the beginnings and ends of ties separated where necessary (J. Buus, 'Intabolatura d'organo'; Venice: Antonio Gardane, 1549)*



97. Staff notation for the vocal line (using bars and slurs) with tablature for the lute (G. Bataille, 'Airs de différents autheurs'; Paris: Pierre Ballard, 1608)

the principle that a note or rest symbol should always occur on each beat, the note being tied to the last note of the previous beat if necessary. The chief examples of these exceptions were patterns involving a note value between two of the next shorter note value (e.g. quaver-crotchet-quaver) and dotted notes; and until the 18th century at least, it was possible to write a void note with a bar-line passing through it, or a note in one bar and its dot in the next (the latter device occurs occasionally even in Brahms's practice). Other unorthodox groupings of notes, uncommon up to the 18th century, were used more frequently from the early 19th; they were condemned in terms of later 19th-century rhythmic theory.

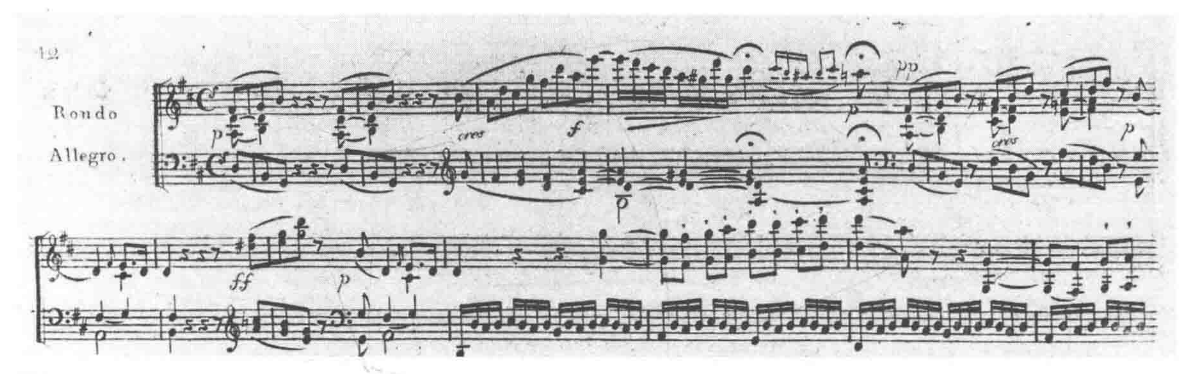
Some 19th-century unorthodox rhythmic groupings of notes were undertaken purely for considerations of simplicity, for example Clementi's use in *Gradus ad Parnassum* of a minim (meaning a dotted crotchet tied to a quaver) in 9/8 time (fig.99). Some, however, represent the first examples of beaming across beats and across bar-lines in order to clarify cross-rhythms. This latter practice, whose introduction is often erroneously attributed to early 20th-century composers, is found occasionally in Beethoven's notation, notably in the Rondo of his Piano Sonata op.10 no.3, 1793 (fig.100), though it is exceptional as early as this. It occurs in Schumann's notation of his characteristic staggered rhythmic groups as early as his 'Abegg' Variations op.1 (1830) and more extensively in later works such as *Carnaval* (1834–5: fig.101). The practice is important in the notation of 20th-century composers such as Stravinsky, Bartók and Prokofiev.



98. Notation of demisemiquaver groups with the third beam broken between each group of four or five (Liszt, 'Fantaisie romantique sur deux mélodies suisses'; Leipzig: Hofmeister, 1837)



99. Unorthodox rhythmic notation for the sake of convenience: a minim used for a dotted crotchet tied to a quaver (Clementi, 'Gradus ad Parnassum'; Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1817–26)



100. Beaming across bar-lines (Beethoven, Piano Sonata op.10 no.3; Vienna: Eder, 1798)

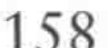
Some 19th-century notators, including Brahms, sometimes used slurs across bar-lines to achieve the same effect. The use of beams over rests, again in the interest of clarifying rhythm, is also attested in the first half of the 19th century though it is often attributed to 20th-century notators.

Further 20th-century developments involving beams included beams broken by notes or rests but visually continuing through them (Debussy, as in fig.102, from *Danseuses de Delphes*, from *Préludes*, i, 1910, and later composers), rests connected to beams with stems (Stockhausen, as in fig.103, from *Klavierstück IV*; any distinctions intended by the various ways of connecting the rests and beams seem obscure), and notes written as single notes (with flags) but joined together with beams (Boulez, *Le marteau sans maître*, 1953–5 (fig.104) and others; this symbol has been used in conflicting senses). (For the use of beams to group together relatively fast notes of imprecise value, and to indicate duration in other ways, see Risatti, 1975, pp.7ff.)

Since the 16th century, slurs have come to be used for various other purposes; all of these uses imply joining together two or more notes. For example, slurs in instrumental music might by the 17th century refer to bowing, breathing or tonguing units (fig.105) and hence, sometimes, phrasing (see Donington, *Interpretation*,



101. Beaming across bar-lines throughout to show cross-rhythms (Schumann, 'Paganini', from 'Carnaval' op.9; Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1837)





102. Beams broken by intervening notes (see bars after the double bar-line) (Debussy, 'Danseuses de Delphes', from 'Préludes', i; Paris: Durand, 1910)

3/1974, pp.473–4), sometimes denoting that the first note under the slur was to be accented, or, with quavers slurred in pairs in the French Baroque style, that a rhythmic inequality was intended (*see* NOTES INÉGALES). (For further details on early conventions for notating bowing, see Wolf, 1919, 240–41; for further on phrasing slurs, see below.) In keyboard music, from the 18th century at the latest, rapid slurred white-note scales implied a glissando, single or double, as in Bach's Concerto in C for two harpsichords BWV1061, and Beethoven's Piano Sonata in

103. Notation of rests with lengthened stems connected to beams (Stockhausen, 'Klavierstück IV'; Vienna: Universal, 1954)



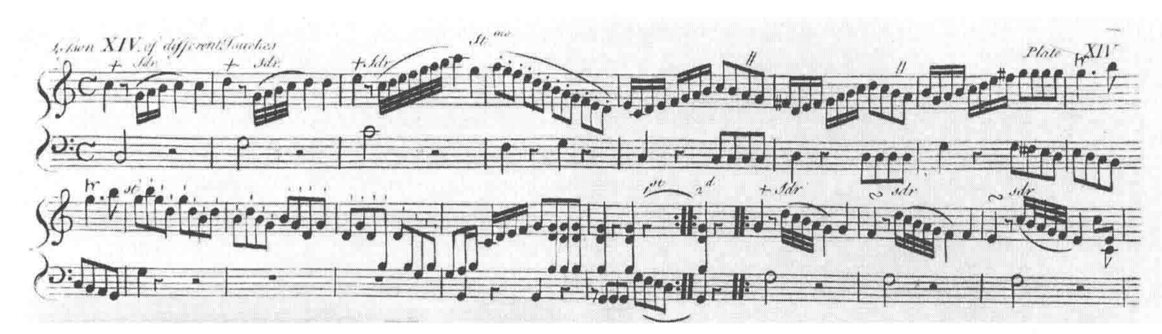
104. Notes written with conventional beaming (see drum part, bar 1) or as single notes with flags joined by a beam (Boulez, 'Le marteau sans maître'; Vienna: Universal, 1957)

C op.53, last movement; the glissando (here termed 'sdrucciolato') and other special effects are illustrated in a didactic 'Lesson ... of Different Touches' in Pasquali's *Art of Fingering* (?1760; fig.106). Vertical slurs beside chords in 18th- and 19th-century keyboard music indicated, like the short angled line through the chord, and wavy lines (at first an alternative form) that have now superseded both, that the chords were to be broken or 'sprinkled'.

Despite the early use of the slur for phrasing, consistency in the use of the legato slur was apparently not generally achieved until the middle of the 19th century. Slurs imply in a general way that the music is to be performed legato, and the notes at the beginnings and ends of the slurs are usually not intended to be given any special treatment (for Berlioz's practice, which may not have been peculiar to him, see Temperley, 'Berlioz and the Slur', *ML*, 1, 1969, p.388–92). The desire of notators to represent phrasing more precisely seems likely to have developed from the rhythmic theory of the second half of the 19th century. Lussy deplored the lax practice of earlier notators (Eng. trans., p.44) and proposed that in keyboard notation the slur should represent phrasing by being equated with physical action: 'All the notes ... covered by a slur ... should be played ... with a single movement of the wrist for the first note, and the other notes must be articulated by the fingers alone, the hand merely gliding to right or left without any further movement of the wrist'. (The practice of placing a dot under the last note of a slurred group at this period, presumably indicating staccato detachment of that note, was deplored by Lussy on the grounds that it misled performers into accenting these notes.) Later writers who distinguished between traditional notation and accurate phrasing notation include Tobias Matthay (*The Slur or Couplet of Notes*, London, 1928) and Stewart Macpherson, who devoted considerable space to an attack on traditional notation and an exposition of the 'correct uses of notational signs' (*Studies in Phrasing and Form*, rev. 1932, pt.i), requiring editors



105. 17th-century English viol tablature, with slurs indicating that notes are to be bowed together and with other special signs to indicate various graces (GB-Mp 832 Vu51, Manchester Lyra Viol MS, p.127)



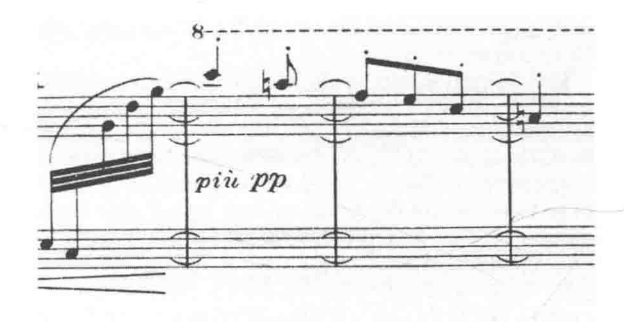
106. Special notation for various degrees of articulation: 'sdr' and slurs for sdrucciolato or glissando, 'st' and dashes for staccato, 'st.mo' and slurs over dotted notes for staccatissimo (a series of markedly detached notes all to be played with the same finger) (N. Pasquali, 'The Art of Fingering the Harpsichord'; Edinburgh: Bremner, ?1760) [bars 1–6, 8–14]

to adopt consistent phrasing notation rather than reproduce the original 'with an almost touching fidelity'. Riemann (*Musik-Lexikon*, 1882) sought still further precision, because of the ambiguity of the slur: he proposed the use of squared slurs or commas in order to avoid confusion with the legato slur, but from 1900 used both squared and conventional slurs for phrasing. For an example of the complexity of Riemann's phrasing notation as evolved for his special 'phrasing editions' of various classical works, see fig.107. The comma was frequently used in 20th-century notation, as in Riemann's, in order to notate articulation in a melody (*see also* RHYTHM).

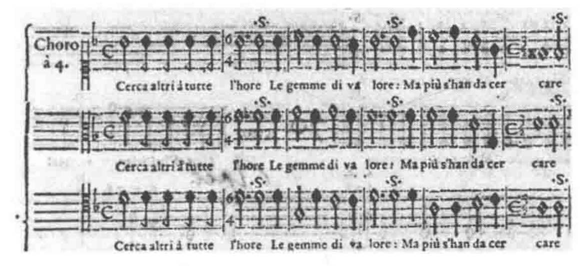
Debussy seems to have broken new ground with ties and slurs, particularly in indicating their beginnings and endings separately (*La fille aux cheveux de lin*), and, later, in notating chords sustained over two or more bars by a series of small ties across the bar-line, without repetition of the chords themselves. He also used ties to indicate, without theoretical accuracy, that notes within a broken chord were to be sustained until, and beyond, the end of a bar (fig.108, from *Les fées sont d'exquises danseuses*, from *Préludes*, ii, 1913).

Signs indicating the separation of notes, motifs and phrases rather than their conjunction are found in the early 17th century: Cavalieri used a *signum* at the ends of lines of text in vocal parts, perhaps, as Schering suggested, indicating breathing marks (fig.109, from *Rappresentatione di Anima, et di Corpo*, 1600: GMB, p.183; *see* SIGNUM CONCORDANTIAE and FERMATA). This usage may be seen in chorales of Bach's time and Bach himself used a fermata on the last note of the phrase of a cantus firmus

107. Phrasing notation designed by Riemann as systematic musical punctuation: slurs and small vertical dashes mark off the rhythmic units of his theory; bracketed numerals indicate the incidence, or distortion, of 8-bar phrases (W.F. Bach, Suite, g, ed. H. Riemann; Leipzig: Steingräber, 1893)



108. Ties across bar-lines indicating indefinite prolongation of notes (Debussy, 'Les fées sont d'exquises danseuses', from 'Préludes', ii; Paris: Durand, 1913)



109. Signa at ends of lines of text, perhaps indicating breathing (Cavalieri, 'Rappresentatione di Anima, et di Corpo'; Rome: Mutii, 1600)

in chorale preludes, even though the accompanying figuration allows no pause. Staccato signs (dots or vertical dashes) are found in the Baroque period; for the sake of illustration Pasquali (1758; fig.106) distinguished several different degrees of articulation, but distinctions between dots, dashes and other symbols became generally consistent only in the 19th century. Some of these symbols, including dots, seem also to have meant accents; it is not always clear in Chopin's music, for example, whether bass notes with dots over or under them are to be detached or accented. In the late 19th and the 20th centuries, notably in the music of Reger, Debussy and Schoenberg, an elaborate hierarchy of some dozen different combinations of signs has sometimes been used to cover the range from strong accents to lightly detached notes, and numerals have sometimes been substituted for these (e.g. Read, 1964, chap.15). Many new symbols were introduced in the 20th century to denote related matters such as attack and playing technique on specific instruments.

(v) Clefs, staves, leger lines. The F and C clefs, positioned so as to avoid leger lines, were supplemented from the 14th century with the G clef and a bass G or *gamma* clef (fixing bass G), in order to allow further exploration of the treble and bass registers without the necessity for leger lines. From the 15th century standard combinations of clefs became increasingly common in vocal music: three-part songs were often notated with a C clef on the first line for the upper voice and C clefs on the fourth line for tenor and contratenor. Later, standard combinations of three different clefs came to be used in four-part songs. In 16th-century polyphony, after Petrucci's publications, combinations of four different clefs became more common and the combination of soprano, alto, tenor and bass clefs – that is, C clefs on the first, third and fourth lines and an F clef on the fourth line – first became standard, together with the combinations of transposed clefs, used to avoid leger lines (and obsolete by the 17th century), known as CHIAVETTE.

From the 17th century the G clef was increasingly used, especially in instrumental notation. It occurs on the first line for violins and recorders (Lully): this practice was largely French but also occurred in Germany (Bach used it mainly for the VIOLINO PICCOLO). But increasingly it came to appear on the second line, as in modern practice, for all instruments of treble range. It occurs in 17th- and 18th-century English vocal and keyboard music, for example, in the upper staves of songs notated as keyboard music (melody line and bass, without a separate staff for the keyboard right hand; for a later example of this usage, see fig.76 above). Purcell used it in vocal ensemble music for the treble line, with C clefs for alto and tenor lines. The form of the G clef found in *Vinculum societatis* of 1687 (see fig.75 above) occurs throughout the 18th century in English notation.

C clefs were retained in Italian 17th- and 18th-century vocal music, and in German, both scores and parts, for soprano, alto and tenor lines; they still appear in the notation of Wagner, Brahms and Schoenberg and are not wholly obsolete even today. In vocal scores both in Germany and elsewhere, however, modern practice is found as early as the beginning of the 19th century, with G clefs for soprano and alto and a G clef with octave transposition for the tenor (this notation was not however universal at that time, even in England). The C clef on the first line remained normal in German keyboard music until a remarkably late date; Mozart sometimes used it, and although Haydn and Schubert favoured the G clef, the C appears in isolated cases much later (as in fig.110, from an edition of Brahms's organ music, where the alto clef appears occasionally so that leger lines may be avoided).

Diversity of clefs has seemed increasingly arbitrary since the 17th century, and notational reform, whether formulated theoretically or not, has generally tended to reduce the number of clefs and in consequence to be increasingly tolerant of leger lines. A single clef with octave transpositions was advocated by Juan Caramuel (*Ars nova musicae*, 1645–6) and Thomas Salmon (*Essay to the Advancement of Musick*, 1672), but these proposals did not come from the musical profession, and Salmon's were ridiculed by Matthew Locke (fig.111, from *The*



110. 20th-century keyboard notation in which the C clef is still occasionally used (Brahms, 'Sämtliche Werke', xvi; Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1927)



111. Thomas Salmon's notation compared with normal staff notation of the period by Matthew Locke ('The Present Practice of Musick Vindicated'; London, 1673); Salmon's 'M' and 'Tr' clefs are designed so that the octave transpositions of each note always occur in the same positions on the staff

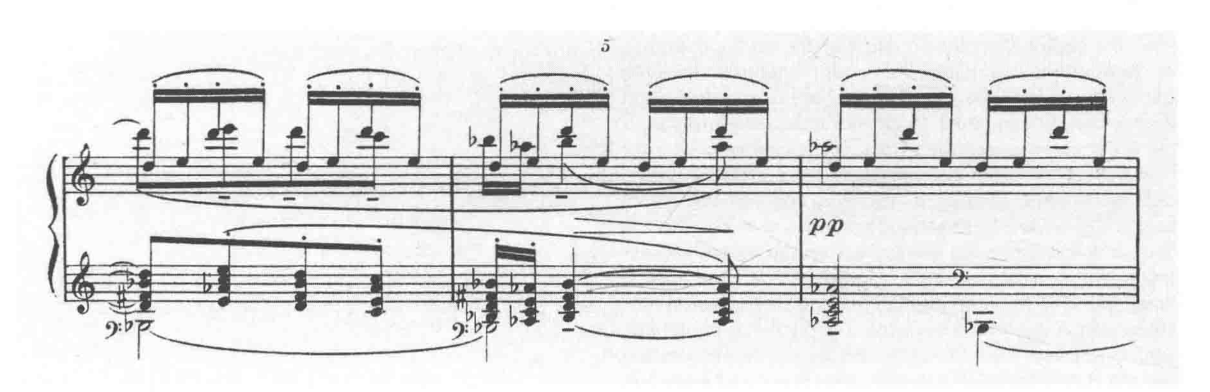
Present Practice of Musick Vindicated, 1673; see Baldwin and Wilson, 1970). Other unsuccessful proposals for clef reform were made by Montéclair (*Principes de musique*, 1736) and Lacassagne ('Réflexions sur l'usage des clefs' in *Traité général des élémens du chant*, 1766; *L'uni-cléfier musical*, 1768). In anticipation of modern practice, Grétry sought to eliminate all but the G and F clefs, transposing where necessary (*Mémoires, ou Essais sur la musique*, 1789).

In practice, notational reform has tended to abolish the C clefs, substituting G clefs with octave transpositions where necessary (mainly for the tenor voice and some wind instruments) but retaining the F clef, as in keyboard music. In the 20th century several modified forms of the G clef were introduced in order to specify transposition unambiguously where appropriate. Examples are a doubled G clef (used already by Grétry for a similar purpose), a G clef with a vestigial tenor (C) clef added to it, and a G clef with a figure *8* attached underneath. The latter version seems now to have become standard, and the *8* has been analogously added above or below both G and F clefs to signify transposition up or down an octave. (The addition of other figures for transposing instruments has been proposed, e.g. a *5* below the G clef for an english horn.) Traditional C clefs remain standard for music for the viola and trombone, and for the high registers of the cello and bassoon.

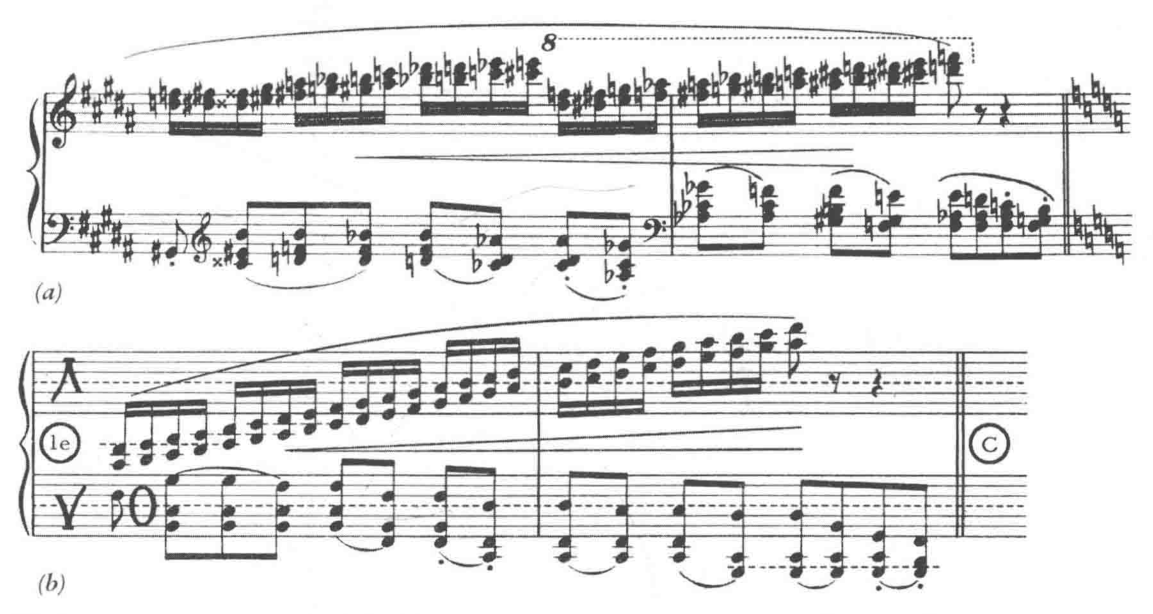
Five-line staves, used in the Middle Ages except in Italy for vocal polyphony, were used for keyboard music with C clefs by Attaingnant (1529–30), but did not become standard until the 17th century. In 16th- and 17th-century English keyboard music, pairs of six-line staves (expanded to seven or eight if the range required) remained normal; the six-line staff was not replaced by the five-line one in English keyboard music until around 1700. In *The Second Book of the Harpsicord Master*, 1700, six-line staves are used; in *The Third Book*, 1702, the pieces are 'now plac'd on five lines, it being now the Generall way of Practice'. Modern practice generally adheres to the use of the treble and bass clefs on the upper and lower of a pair of staves; with this standardization, and with the extension during the 19th century of the range of the piano, leger lines have become increasingly common; they appear as early as 1523 in Cavazzoni's *Recerchari, motetti, canzoni*. (For examples of 16th-century leger lines, see fig.119 below, and *see* LEGER LINE.) In practice more than five leger lines are seldom found, notators preferring to transpose very high or very low passages one or two octaves towards the central range and to use abbreviations such as '8va' or '8va bassa', except in orchestral parts. Some keyboard music since the 18th century has, however, occasionally been written on three or more staves (see §(viii) below).

The standardization of clefs since the 19th century, and their consequent predictability, has allowed notators unusual licence. Some 20th-century notation, for example, includes the simultaneous use of treble and bass clefs on a single five-line staff for notating widely-spaced strands of the texture, when there is no possibility of misunderstanding (see fig.112, from Debussy's *Voiles*, from *Préludes*, i, 1910). Simple horizontal wedge-shapes represent the treble clef when next to the second line and the bass when next to the fourth (for further details of these and other notational licence, see Read, 1964, 2/1969, pp.59ff).

A number of notational reforms proposed since the 19th century have concerned the staff. Of these the most radical is the Klavarskribo system (fig.79), in which the staves run vertically rather than horizontally in order that the appearance of the music may more closely resemble the layout of the piano keyboard, on which the system is based; accordingly, bar-lines are horizontal. Another staff reform based on the keyboard is that of W. Steffens (1961). Other reforms have often necessitated a change



112. Two contradictory clefs on the same staff, each referring to a different strand of the texture (Debussy, 'Voiles', from 'Préludes', i; Paris: Durand, 1910)



113. Comparison of (a) conventional 19th- or 20th-century notation and (b) the Notagraph system of Constance Virtue; the 'le' and 'C' signs are the equivalents of key signatures, and the three Notograph clefs are illustrated

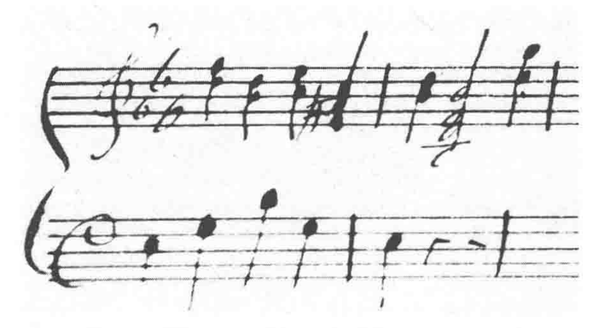
in the number of lines in the staff; Equitone (fig.79) uses two lines to the octave, with notes in five possible positions relative to them: with the lines running through the notes, or tangential to them, or with the notes (touching neither of the lines) closer to one or other of the lines, or midway between them. The use of full and void notes in these positions yields 12 different possibilities to the octave, for the 12 semitones of the equal-tempered system. The Notagraph system (fig.113*b*) of Constance Virtue uses a seven-line staff, with the space between staves divided proportionately to permit further representation of intervals for the most part without leger lines; the staff covers an octave, the step from a line to the adjacent space representing a semitone, and different octaves are distinguished with special clefs (V, O and inverted V, variously placed).

For the use of curved staves and other devices for representing tempo fluctuations, see §(iii) above.

See also CLEF and STAFF.

(vi) Accidentals, key signatures. The sharp and flat signs, inherited from medieval notation, were supplemented from the late 15th century by the natural sign; this had at an earlier period been an alternative form of *b quadratum* and like the sharp and flat was derived from a version of the letter 'b'. In medieval notation, as still during and perhaps after the 16th century (particularly in vocal music), these signs signified that the notes to which they applied were to be solmized using the syllable *fa* (for the flat) or *mi* (for the sharp). Some of these accidentals are 'cautionary signs', warnings that a rule of *musica ficta* was for the occasion to be suspended. When a distinction was drawn between sharp and natural and three signs were used, however, there may have been a change in the significance of the accidental: it then came to signify the raising or lowering of pitch (*see* MUSICA FICTA, §2(iv)). The use of all three signs did not become general until the 18th century. Any lowering of pitch was generally indicated by a flat and any raising by a sharp; the notator's intention was usually clear (at least to contemporaries) until remote chromatic chords became part of the normal musical language and until 'orthography' in accidentals became a concern (see below). The older notation lacking the natural may be found until the end of the Baroque period and, in isolated cases (e.g. fig.114, dating from *c*1841) even later; it survives strongly in a modified form (the sharp and flat being replaced by '+' and '–' signs respectively) in 20th-century jazz and popular music notation (see §(viii) below).

For a similar reason, and because bar-lines were not used in the modern way until a late date, absolute consistency in the notation of accidentals – with a rule that accidentals are required only as shown, and that they hold good until the end of the bar – is not generally found before the 18th century or even the 19th. An accidental before the late 18th century generally applies only to the note next to which it is written or to notes in its immediate vicinity (see Donington, *Interpretation*, 3/1974, pp.131ff). Even as late as the early 19th century, for example in keyboard music printed in London, accidentals may be provided for only one note of an octave, with the performer expected to supply the second. Here as in other



114. A sharp used for a natural in an English manuscript of about 1841, written by an inexpert hand (private collection)



115. Three model cadences (voices written successively) exemplifying special accidentals for micro-tonal intervals (Vicente Lusitano, 'Introdutione facilissima'; Venice, 2/1558); the double cross raises a note by a minor semitone (4 commas), the quadruple cross by a full tone (9 commas)

aspects of the notation simplicity was thought more desirable than precision.

Initial flat signatures (indicating transposition down a 5th once with one flat and twice with two) had been usual in the Middle Ages; signatures with sharps appeared (apart from isolated examples as early as the Middle Ages) in the 17th century, and like flat signatures at this date are to be regarded as key signatures in the strict sense. Nevertheless, Baroque composers often wrote the accidentals of key signatures in more than one octave, contrary to modern practice: this may represent an archaism (medieval signatures may be presumed to refer only to notes at the pitch specified, with octave transpositions remaining unaffected in the absence of any indication to the contrary). Baroque key signatures often contain one flat or (more rarely) sharp fewer than would be included in modern practice, particularly in minor keys, perhaps (as Donington suggested) because G minor, for example, was thought of as the Dorian mode in which the E was theoretically natural, or perhaps because a piece in G minor might have E naturals at least as often as E flats.

The double sharp and double flat, like sharp key signatures, were mainly products of the tonal system in the 17th century. Donington provides tables showing different forms used for writing the natural, sharp, flat, double sharp and double flat in the 17th and 18th centuries (3/1974, p.127). Since that time, there has never been total consistency about the method of cancelling double accidentals: a natural alone, a sharp or flat alone, or (most commonly) a natural with a sharp or flat have all been used.

From the Middle Ages various signs were invented for representing intervals supposed to be those of the enharmonic and chromatic genera of the ancient Greeks. Besides those of Marchetto da Padova, the use by NICOLA VICENTINO (*L'antica musica ridotta alla moderna prattica*, 1555) of dots over notes to raise them by a diesis (*see* DIESIS (ii)) and the special signs (fig.115) of Lusitano (*Introdutione facilissima*, 1553, 2/1558) may be mentioned. Microtonal intervals have also been represented with special signs (see below).

Until the 19th century accidentals were often notated without theoretical accuracy, for the sake of convenience: for example, in the Buxheimer Orgelbuch, where E♭ is notated as the form for *Dis* (D♯), A♭ analogously as G♯ etc., regardless of the incongruity of the notation from a theoretical point of view. Similar considerations, no doubt, led some 17th- and 18th-century notators to write enharmonic equivalents of double sharps or double flats (e.g. G for F double sharp), and sharps for ascending chromatic semitones and flats for descending, as a rule of thumb not based on theoretical considerations. With the appearance in the 19th century of theories of harmony supposedly based scientifically on acoustical laws, 'orthography' – the notation of accidentals according to harmonic grammar – seemed important enough to some to outweigh considerations of practical convenience. According to Lussy, for example, 'every chromatic note, or note foreign to the key or mode in which a melody is constructed, is accented' in certain circumstances (Eng. trans., p.142), and thus the presence of an accidental has rhythmic and accentual implications. Accordingly, the traditional lax notation was misleading for expressive purposes; Lussy (p.151) criticized Beethoven's notation in op.26 (fig.116), submitting that B♮ should be substituted for C♭ in the first chord of the example. (For a more detailed investigation of Beethoven's 'unorthographic' notation in his piano sonatas and string quartets, see Van der Linde, 'Die unorthographische Notation in Beethovens Klaviersonaten und Streichquartetten', *Beethoven-Studien: Festgabe*, ed. E. Schenk, Vienna, 1970, pp.271–325.)



116. Example from Beethoven, Piano Sonata op.26, cited by Lussy as an example of notation incorrect both theoretically and for expressive purposes (M. Lussy, 'Traité de l'expression musicale'; Eng. trans., London, 1885)



117. *Comparison of harp and piano notation: each plays the same chords, but the harp part is notated with performance rather than theoretical orthography in mind (Ravel, Piano Concerto, G; Paris: Durand, 1932)*

For a similar reason Lussy called for 'correctness' of notation in key signatures, since an incorrect key signature would misrepresent the accentuation:

> In the overture to 'Zampa', which starts in D with two sharps, the Prayer is introduced in the key of B♭. The composer, by retaining the signature of D for these sixteen bars, is forced to use about a hundred flats and naturals ... In such cases as this the chords preceded by accidentals do not require forcing.

Despite the general avoidance since the late 19th century of gross incongruity in the notation of accidentals, 'convenience' notation of accidentals, primarily according to the manner of playing the notes, is still required in special notations (such as that of harp music, because the instrument, with a natural scale in C♭, is easier to play in flat keys: in fig.117 the harp and piano parts largely correspond, but the notation of accidentals is different).

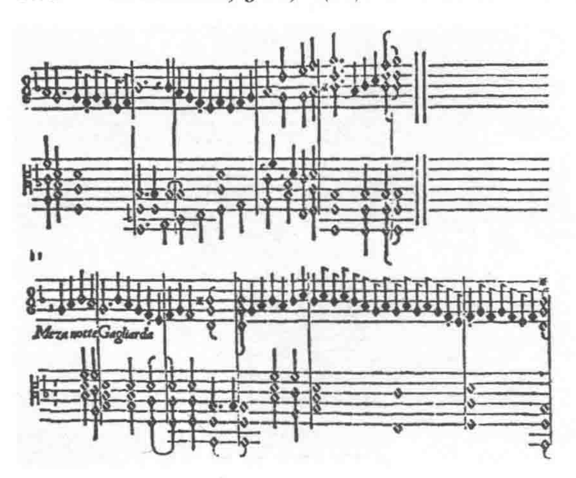
Since the late 19th century notational practice with accidentals has changed chiefly in music where conventional major-minor tonality has been weakened or jettisoned. The simultaneous use of different key signatures is occasionally found, as in Bartók's *Mikrokosmos* or Britten's *Peter Grimes*. Sharps and flats in signatures may be placed at unconventional pitches, indicating a return to the medieval conception of the signature affecting only one pitch, not octave transpositions (for example in *Mikrokosmos*). In works not in the major-minor or any other diatonic system, where key signatures have naturally been abandoned, it has often been found convenient to return to the convention that an accidental applies only to the note to which it is joined; this renders the natural sign redundant, as is stipulated in Busoni's *Sonatina seconda*, 1912: 'die Versetzungszeichen gelten nur für die Note, vor der sie stehen, sodass Auflösungszeichen nicht zur Anwendung kommen'. In some music of the 1960s and 70s, every note is preceded by a sharp, flat or natural sign.

Microtonal intervals have been the subject of speculation in European music for centuries (*see* MICROTONE). For much of the 20th century, composers concentrated on divisions of the equal-tempered semitone, with such intervals as the quarter-tone and the sixth-tone being notated by various altered forms of the sharp and flat signs (see Read, 1964, 2/1969, p.145, and Risatti, 1975, pp.16–17). Fig.118, an example from Hába, one of the earliest 20th-century experimenters, illustrates one such system. With later work on divisions of the octave in which the notes do not always coincide with the 12-note scale (the 20- and 31-note scales, which fall into this category, are both in use, as are many others), this type of notation is not always convenient. Some composers have used up- and down-arrows and/or '+' and '–' in conjunction with signs based on the sharp and flat; such symbols are also found in transcriptions by ethnomusicologists. An alternative is to use a numerical system, in which fractions or cent values make obvious series within the octave; and some composers have used a mixture of numerical and symbolic signs, the latter still based on the sharp and flat (see Darreg, 1975, and 1979; Blackwood, 1991).

Notation of accidentals with signs other than the traditional medieval ones still in normal use is occasionally encountered in keyboard mensural notation, or the mensurally notated sections of Old German organ tablature. In the Buxheimer Orgelbuch, for example, downward stems from notes are to be understood as accidentals rather than indications that notes are lengthened. In some early 16th-century keyboard sources, dots above or below notes are also used for this purpose: examples are Cavazzoni, *Recerchari, motetti, canzoni* (1523), the volumes of keyboard music printed by Attaingnant, and



118. *Special accidentals for quarter-tones (Hába, String Quartet no.2; Vienna: Universal, 1921)*



119. Accidentals notated with dots under the notes (bar 1), or ordinary accidental signs next to the notes (bar 5), fairly close to them (end of bar 1, bass line) or above them (final bar) ('Intabolatura nova di ... balli'; Venice: Antonio Gardane, 1551)

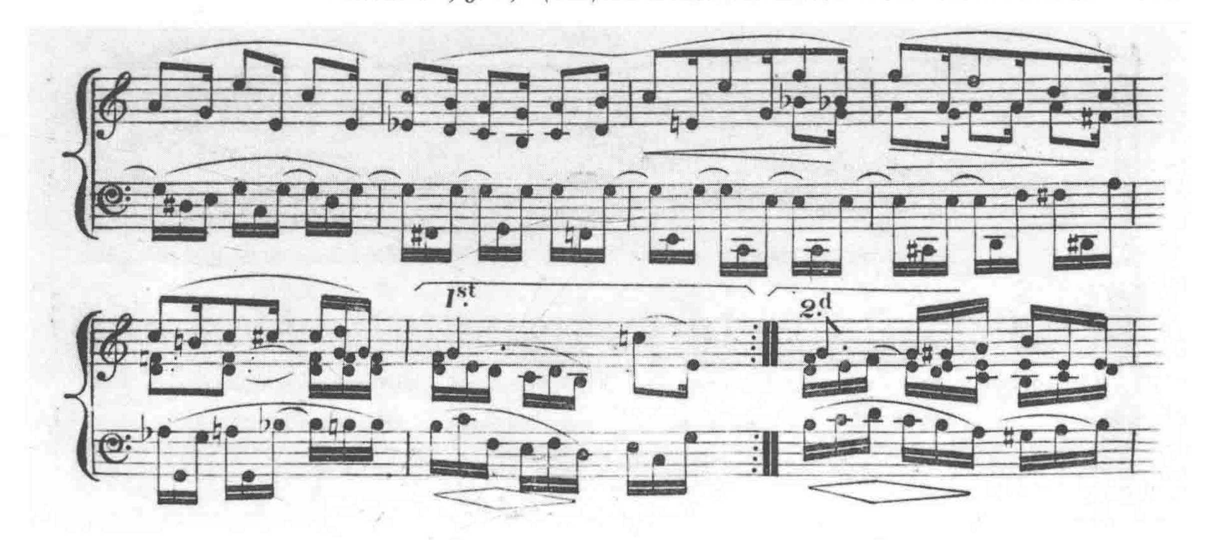
the anonymous *Intabolatura nova di varie sorte de balli da sonare* (1551; fig.119; this volume uses both this notation and conventional accidentals).

See also ACCIDENTAL.

(vii) Dynamics. Indications of dynamics are rare before 1600. The rubric 'tocca pian piano' occurs in Vincenzo Capirola's lutebook (*c*1517; fig.120), but seems to be an isolated example until the polychoral and echo effects of the late 16th and early 17th centuries suggested the exploitation of dynamics; specific indications occur in the *Sonata pian e forte* (1597) by Giovanni Gabrieli and other works of the period. Mazzocchi (*Madrigali*, 1638) used abbreviations for *forte*, *piano* and so on and for crescendo and diminuendo effects; otherwise diminuendo effects in the 17th and early 18th centuries are generally indicated by a series of dynamic markings (e.g. 'lowd–soft–softer' in Matthew Locke's music for *The Tempest*, 1674; and 'forte–piano–pianissimo' in the pastorale from Corelli's Christmas Concerto op.6 no.8, posthumously published in 1714). Later in the 18th century these were supplemented with the modern 'hairpin' symbols for crescendos and diminuendos (Geminiani, *Prime sonate*, 1739, a revision of his op.1, 1716). These 'hairpins' are in early 19th-century music often combined into a characteristic lozenge shape (fig.121), indicating a crescendo immediately followed by a diminuendo, but this sign is invariably divided into two separate signs in modern editions. (It should also be noted that it is frequently difficult to distinguish between diminuendo signs and wedge-shaped accents in the notation of such composers as Berlioz and Schubert.)

In 19th-century practice the superlatives of loudness and softness (*fff*, *ppp*) were extended, with composers prescribing down to *pppppp* and up to *ffff* (Verdi, Tchaikovsky), and a scale of 12 or more imprecise degrees of loudness was constructed. These degrees were specified

120. Italian lute tablature with the dynamic indication 'tocca pian piano' (Capirola Lutebook, c1517; US-Cn Case MS VM C.25, f.49v)



121. Characteristic lozenge-shaped sign combining crescendo and diminuendo in early 19th-century notation (below bottom staff) (Beethoven, Piano Sonata op.111; London: Clementi, 1823)

with great care in some early 20th-century works, where almost every note has its own dynamic marking; in some later 20th-century practice, dynamic markings were graded numerically for greater precision. Other 20th-century devices to make dynamic indications more precise or to give them greater visual impact include the use of progressively fuller note heads on a scale where a void note is inaudible and a full note *fff* (Schäffer), the use of signs (unfortunately resembling accents) to represent various increases in loudness (Stockhausen, *Klavierstück XI*), and the relative size of note heads (see Risatti, 1975, pp.29ff); the last device was proposed in 1903 by Abdy Williams (p.212).

See also TEMPO AND EXPRESSION MARKS.

(viii) Scores; harmonic and descriptive notations. Although score notation had been abandoned in polyphony with the adoption of Franconian notation in the 13th century, it lingered in certain peripheral areas of medieval notation until the 15th and 16th centuries (see §3 above). Instrumental notation may be considered a particular case of score notation, in both its tablature form and its purely mensural score form, such as the Faenza Codex (*see* SOURCES OF KEYBOARD MUSIC TO 1660, §2(i)). Instrumental notation of the late Middle Ages, like later scores, frequently includes the visual separation of 'bars' or other metric units by bar-lines or spaces.

Early 16th-century score notation, apart from that in tablatures, some keyboard music (e.g. Cavazzoni, Attaingnant) and surviving medieval repertories in Bohemia, is mostly didactic and intended for inexperienced musicians, as in Agricola's *Musica instrumentalis deudsch* (1529), which illustrates how to put music into tablature. From this period to the second half of the 18th century at least, there is evidence of the use of the *tabula compositoria*, a device with staff-lines and vertical bar-lines, on which polyphony could be written in score to facilitate copying or composition and then erased to permit re-use. Bermudo (1555) claimed that organists played, according to their ability, in descending order of competence, from choirbooks, tablatures and scores.

The first complete surviving scores proper are the *Musica de diversi autori ... partite in caselle* (2/1577[11]) and *Tutti i madrigali di Cipriano di Rore a 4 voci* (1577); printed scores are attested not much later outside Italy (M. Gomołka, *Melodie na psalterz polski uczynione*, Kraków, 1580, in score without bar-lines, fig.122; *Balet comique de la Royne*, Paris, 1582). Some of these were intended for keyboard and other instrumental performance, and were compiled after the parts had been completed. The same is true of less comprehensive organ parts, supporting the lowest-sounding voice throughout vocal and instrumental pieces, which are attested from 1587, in a 40-part motet by Alessandro Striggio (i). Such an organ part was often termed a PARTITURA (or *spartitura*), another respect in which it resembles a score.

In the early 17th century THOROUGHBASS notation developed from these organ parts and it too was early associated with the score. It became almost universal in every type of polyphony except that for solo instruments in the 17th and early 18th centuries, whether in score or parts, after which time it declined in secular polyphony. In essence it represents an abbreviated notation for chords, associated with a single bass line in ordinary mensural notation. The symbols used, as with those of *musica ficta*, are often warnings against adopting a particular course of action. The abbreviations are in the form of numerals representing the intervals to be played above the bass line, often supplemented with accidentals. Such accidentals are occasionally found in a partitura comprising the outer voices, as in Banchieri's *Concerti ecclesiastici* (1595) where, as in later practice, they distinguish major and minor chords; numerals as well as accidentals appeared around 1600 in the thoroughbasses of the earliest operas, which were printed in score (Peri, Caccini: see fig.70). Unlike later thoroughbass notation, the early operas often contain numerals in excess of 9, and they thus specify the octave for the elaboration of the bass (in Caccini the numerals extend to *15* and in Cavalieri even beyond that; see fig.109). Not all early thoroughbass sources include numerals and accidentals, partly because of the difficulties of setting them in type.

The placing of the accidentals in early thoroughbass notation is not always consistent; they may appear in almost any position fairly near to the numerals they

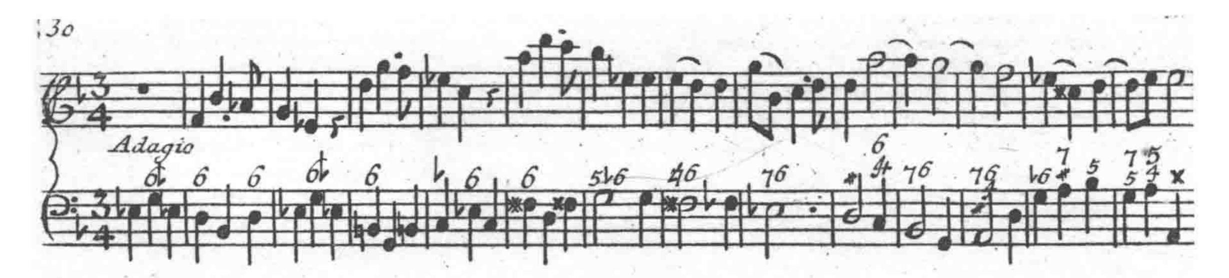


122. *Early score notation without bar-lines (M. Gomołka, 'Melodie na psalterz polski uczynione'; Kraków: Lazarus, 1580)*

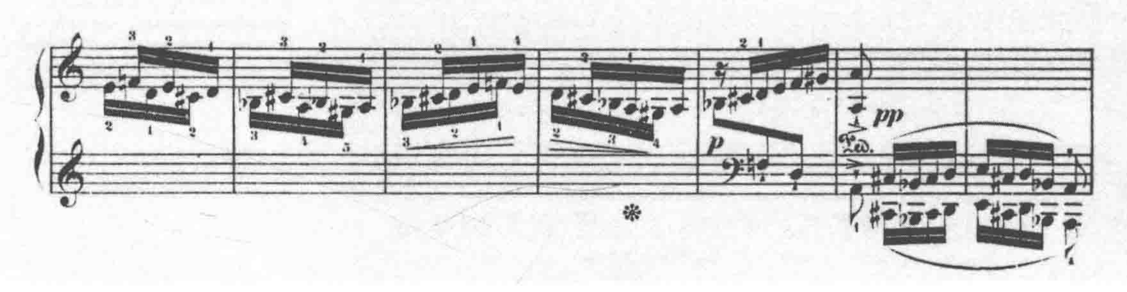
qualify. As in the ordinary staff notation of the period, sharps and flats refer respectively to any raising or lowering of a note. A stroke through the numeral *6* instead of a sharp next to it, signifying that it is to be raised a semitone, was introduced by Scheidt (1622) but not generally adopted until the second half of the 17th century (e.g. by Rosenmüller, 1652), when it was supplemented by a *6* with a flat sign through it as a direction to lower the 6th by a semitone. This practice was extended to other numerals (*4*, *5* etc.) in some of Roger's editions of Corelli, and became general in Italian and Italian-derived practice of the 18th century (fig.123). In the second half of the 18th century a diagonal stroke was introduced (Kirnberger, 1781, p.74, referring to Graun's practice; this sign is also cited by C.P.E. Bach, together with alternatives, *Versuch*, ii, 1762, Eng. trans., 1949, p.196) to be placed under appoggiaturas in the bass to signify that the following bass note was to be harmonized in advance; but this practice is not often attested. For *tasto solo* (i.e. a direction to leave the bass line unharmonized), practice varied in 18th-century thoroughbass notation: some notators used a verbal direction, some staccato dashes (perhaps equivalent to the figure *1*), some the figure *0* and so on.

Thoroughbass was popularized in Germany especially through the diffusion of Viadana's *Centum concerti ecclesiastici* (first published 1602); in England the practice appeared in publications from the 1630s and in France from the 1650s. French thoroughbass used horizontal lines at an early date to indicate the retention of previous harmony, a device used internationally in the 18th century. By the end of the 17th century French thoroughbass notation had developed a good number of distinctive and inconsistent traits, such as inconsistent notation of sharps or the use of strokes through numerals to signify, variously, both diminished and augmented intervals. Many of these traits were tabulated by Rameau (*Dissertation sur les différentes méthodes d'accompagnement pour le clavecin, ou pour l'orgue*, 1732). Some French notational characteristics are occasionally found in German figured basses from about 1750.

While thoroughbass was still mainly a practical, rather than a didactic or theoretical, device, occasional abortive attempts were made to reform its notation. Rameau



123. *Thoroughbass notation with special signs through numerals, including strokes for sharps (bar 10), and simplified flat signs (bar 1; also used in the key signatures) (Corelli, Sonatas op.5; Amsterdam: Roger, c1708)*



124. Direction of stems and beaming used for distinguishing between notes for the right or left hands in piano music (Liszt, 'Rhapsodie espagnole'; Leipzig: Siegel, 1867)

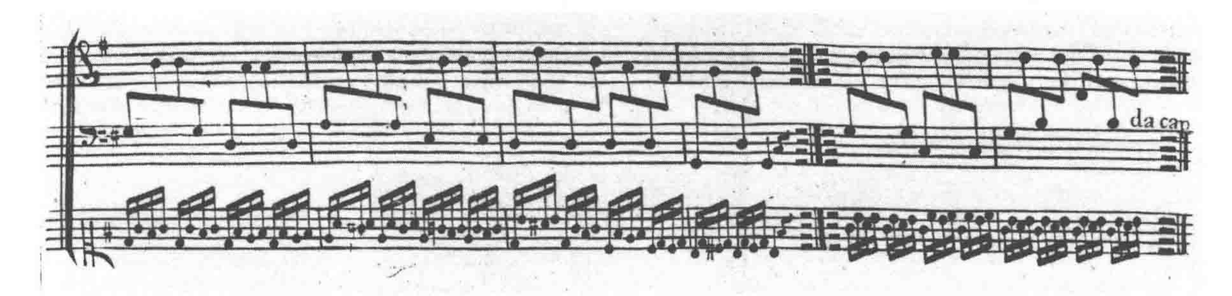
(1732) proposed a system based on his harmonic theories (see Wolf, ii, 327) but later dropped it; Telemann (preface to *Musicalisches Lob Gottes*, 1744) proposed a system of numerals supplemented with horizontal, diagonal and curved strokes, in order to achieve a 'happy mean' between basses with too few figures and those 'resembling an arithmetic book'.

During the 17th century, score notation was used in other areas of the polyphonic repertory, such as solo songs and cantatas. Some of these scores were intended to facilitate conducting, though until the 19th century (and in some areas later) conducting scores might contain little more than a first violin part, or a figured bass supplemented with cues, recitatives in full and so on; the latter type, when intended for a conductor, might be labelled 'M[aestro] D[i] C[appella]'. The keyboard score also spread beyond Italy in the 17th century (M. Rodrigues Coelho, *Flores de musica*, 1620; Scheidt, *Tabulatura nova*, 1624). In 17th-century scores, bar-lines became usual, though not always consistent, at a relatively early date. In early scores they extend only through a single staff; they were extended throughout each system by Bach and others in the 18th century, but the practice was not standardized until the 19th. Similarly, the order in which the parts are set out varies until well into the 19th century (*see* SCORE). For clef reform in score notation, see §(v) above.

Keyboard score notation developed characteristics of its own, some deriving from tablature, from the 17th century onwards. As early as the 17th century some notators avoided pedantic accuracy in the notation of polyphonic textures, omitting rests and simplifying note lengths especially in inner parts, but Bach sometimes maintained the older practice of using precise note lengths even within a complex polyphonic texture. A thoroughgoing adoption of the simpler practice is found in Liszt's notation, with the abandonment of rests or precise note values where these were unnecessary to the performer. Other devices used by Liszt to clarify complex textures include the broken subsidiary beaming of short note values (see §(iv) above), and the use of the direction of note stems to distinguish strands of the texture or the notes to be played by the right or left hands (see fig.124, from his *Rhapsodie espagnole*). Other composers used comparable devices such as the extensive use of small notes (see §(ii) above).

The use of more than two staves in keyboard scores other than partituras, again in the interests of clarity in complex textures, is occasional before the 19th century, usually to distinguish lines for separate manuals, separate instruments or (for the organ) pedals. One of the earliest examples of modern keyboard notation in which three staves are intended to be played by a single performer on a single manual of a keyboard instrument is found in G.J. Vogler's 'Marlborough' variations (fig.125: the clef forms are typical of Austrian and south German usage at this period). This practice too was adopted and extended by Liszt, with piano music written on three or four staves, and appears in the piano notation of Debussy and Rachmaninoff.

The specialization of keyboard score notation is reflected also in the adoption of fingering indications, found regularly from the 19th century but quite often before that, especially in tablatures; it is also occasionally found from the 16th century in other instrumental music. 19th-century piano music had two distinct fingering conventions: the 'continental', with numerals from *1* to *5* for the thumb and fingers; and the 'English', with a '+' sign for the thumb and numerals from *1* to *4* for the fingers. The latter system, now superseded by the former, was still used well into the 20th century. Pedalling has been shown in piano music since the early 19th century



125. Notation of single-manual keyboard music on three staves (G.J. Vogler, 'Variations sur l'air de Marlborough': Speyer: Bossler, 1791); the two upper staves are to be played by the right hand



126. *Parallel presentation of a melody in ancient Greek and contemporary notation (A. Kircher, 'Musurgia universalis'; Rome, 1650)*

by a number of special signs. Comparable instructions for physical actions, to produce special effects of many kinds, have multiplied since the 19th century in instrumental music: these include signs for playing harmonics and for special methods of attack in string and harp music, bowing in string music and percussive key-clicks in woodwind music (see Karkoschka, *Schriftbild*, 1966; Read, 1964, 2/1969; and Risatti, 1975).

Specialist notations of other kinds have been used in scores to assist the abstract study of music. Descriptive notation for analytical purposes had been part of the European tradition since the Renaissance but had not required material modifications to normal notation: thus Kircher presented a (spurious) 'Pindaric' melody in normal notation (fig.126, from *Musurgia universalis*, 1650) and Hebrew melodies, in which he had been preceded by Johannes Reuchlin (*De accentibus et orthographia linguae hebraicae*, 1518) among others. The great increase from the second half of the 18th century in historical and analytical musicology, and the broadening interests of scholars, prompted notational modifications. Early examples of specialized descriptive notations and formats include the miniature score (an early example is a 19th-century edition of Haydn quartets by Pleyel). Both performing and study scores came to be provided with bar numbers or letters for easy reference, though the numbering of bars, every 50, is found as early as 1688 (William Nott, *A Collection of Simphonies*).

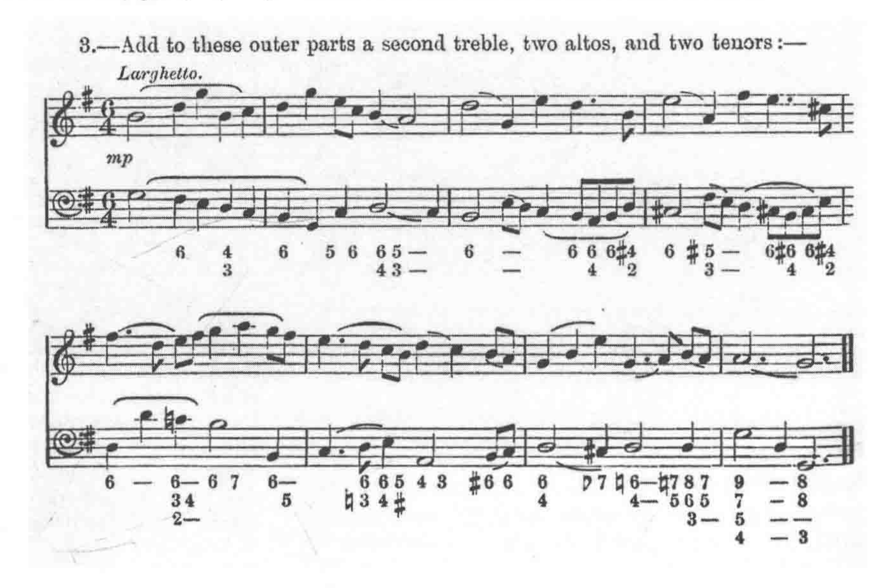
Specialist score notations for presenting the results of analysis were also developed from the early years of the 19th century (e.g. Momigny, 1803–6). In the 20th century, analytical notation was developed into systems of great subtlety, for example by Schenker (*see* ANALYSIS, §II, 4). Non-Western music was presented for European readers in a kind of score comprising the original notation in parallel with a transcription by F.J. Sulzer (fig.127, from *Geschichte des transalpinen Daciens*, 1781–3); this represents one of the earliest ethnomusicological notations. The preparation in the 19th and 20th centuries of the great historical editions of early music (*see* EDITIONS, HISTORICAL) has made standard many novel practices, such as the use of a squared slur to link notes joined in ligatures in the original, or the use of small notes or parentheses to distinguish editorial additions. Ethnomusicological notation has adopted many novel signs to express, for example, intervals outside the European system. For attempts to devise machines to notate melodies, and the notations adapted to them, see §6(i) below.

In the 19th century thoroughbass notation lent itself to adaptation for analytical and other didactic purposes: by this time it was no longer extensively used in practical music-making. The modifications made to it in the 19th century tended mainly to improve it as a theoretical harmonic notation; Honoré Langlé, for instance, proposed a system of nomenclature that would be primarily chordal rather than intervallic; major, minor, diminished and augmented chords, and the various 7th chords, were consistently distinguished, and the relationships between inversions and root positions were shown, with a modified thoroughbass notation including symbols such as '+', '–', '=', circumflexes, inverted circumflexes and dots (*Nouvelle méthode pour chiffrer les accords*, 1801). The figured bass survived in its older traditional form well into the 20th century, however, both as a shorthand harmonic notation and (as in Prout, *Harmony: its Theory and Practice*, 1889 and later editions) as a device for teaching harmony by the advance identification of chords in harmony exercises (see fig.128, from an Oxford DMus examination paper of the early 20th century).

Other types of chordal notation, using letters or numerals for the chords and supplementary symbols to distinguish different types of chord, developed from the early 19th century. The degrees of the scale and the chords based on them were denoted by Roman numerals as early as 1800 (G.J. Vogler, *Choral-System*); H.C. Koch (*Musikalisches Lexikon*, 1802, 'Klangstufe') wrote of indicating 'each note of those of a key, arranged in a scale, by means of a number associated with it'. In *Versuch einer geordneten Theorie der Tonsetzkunst* (1817, 3/1830–32), Gottfried Weber distinguished major and minor chords and keys by the use of upper- and lower-case letters (i.e. as in modern German practice) with superscript numerals to denote diminished chords, 7ths and so on. His proposals were widely adopted and extended (e.g. with the symbol '+' to distinguish an augmented triad, and with distinctions



127. *Parallel presentation of a melody in Byzantine and contemporary notation (F.J. Sulzer, 'Geschichte des transalpinen Daciens'; Vienna, 1781–3, iii)*



128. Thoroughbass notation as used in early 20th-century harmony exercises (E.A. Dicks, 'A Handbook of Examinations in Music'; London, 1912)

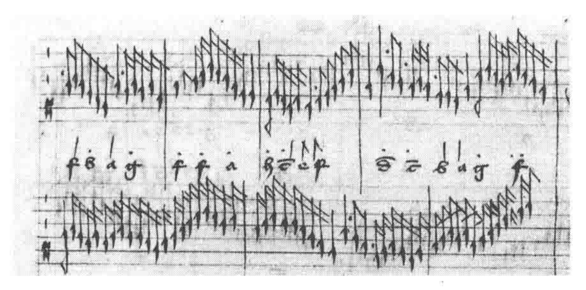
drawn between the inversions of chords, by E.F.E. Richter, *Lehrbuch der Harmonie*, 1853, and Otto Tiersch, *Kurze praktische Generalbass-, Harmonie- und Modulationslehre*, 1876). In accordance with Moritz Hauptmann's view of minor chords as inversions of major chords (*see* HARMONY, §4), Arthur von Oettingen used letters of the alphabet with a superscript '+' sign for major chords and a superscript zero for minor chords; in minor chords the 'root' is reckoned as the top note of the triad (e.g. G in a C minor triad) (*Harmoniesystem in dualer Entwickelung*, 1866). Hauptmann and Oettingen also distinguished between notes (for acoustical reasons, depending on the way they were theoretically generated) by using upper- and lower-case letters.

Later in the century Hugo Riemann invented a system of chordal notation which he termed 'Klangschlüssel' (*Skizze einer neuen Methode der Harmonielehre*, 1880; *Musik-Lexikon*, 1882, 'Klangschlüssel'). Intervals were shown by numerals, those of major chords by Arabic ones, as in thoroughbass but always reckoned from the root of the chord upwards, and those of minor chords by Roman, reckoned from the root (in Hauptmann's and Oettingen's sense) downwards. The roots of the chords were identified alphabetically. Intervals shown by simple numerals were perfect or major, except for the minor 7th; major and minor triads were distinguished, when necessary, with Oettingen's symbols. Horizontal strokes above and below the numerals denoted that the note in question was in the bass or in an upper part; the notation, unlike thoroughbass, was in principle independent of a mensurally notated bass line. The sharpening or flattening of notes was shown by wedge shapes, resembling accents in ordinary mensural notation, either in normal form or reversed. In later works Riemann went on to develop a system of 'functional notation' or 'Funktionsbezeichnung' (*Vereinfachte Harmonielehre*, 1893), where he abandoned letters representing pitches in favour of the letters *T*, *D* and *S*, representing tonic, dominant and subdominant functions, qualified as *Tp*, *Dp* or *Sp* as necessary, the *p* (*Parallelklang*) indicating that the 5th above or below the root of the chord had been replaced by a 6th.

Similar systems have been the stock-in-trade of most harmony textbooks since the late 19th century; some of the more influential ones were those of Sechter, Grabner, Prout, Macpherson and Schoenberg. Possibly through their influence some popular music of the 20th century also adopted chordal notations for guitar, keyboard and other 'continuo' instruments, which generally resemble Gottfried Weber's system. This notation has yet to be studied historically. Chords are commonly identified by a letter for the root, qualified with 'mi' for a minor chord or a superscript zero or '+' sign for a diminished or augmented chord; the letter alone represents a major chord. Superscript numerals and accidentals are used as in thoroughbass notation (i.e. the numerals are reckoned as diatonic intervals from the note named, and qualified by accidentals) and, also as in thoroughbass notation, the rhythmic realization is left to the performer to supply from his knowledge of the appropriate style. Common alternatives for accidentals are '+' and '–' signs, used in the same way as sharp and flat signs in the 17th century – to signify any raising or lowering. A tabulation of various types of sign, made in an attempt to introduce uniformity of practice among professional copyists, may be found in Roemer (1973, p.137; see also Read, 1964, 2/1969, pp.410–11, and Brandt and Roemer, 1975). For an example of simple chordal notation of this type, see fig.129. For the notation of pitch (including distinctions



129. Notation for voice and guitar: letters signify major chords unless qualified ('m' and '+' mean minor and augmented chords; numerals, extra notes) (P. Smith, 'Faith, Folk and Clarity'; Great Yarmouth: Galliard, 1967)



130. *Old German organ tablature: the top voice is notated on a staff, the lower voices alphabetically (Buxheimer Orgelbuch, D-Mbs Cim.352b); the alphabetical notation is supplemented with rhythm signs and with lines drawn over letters to indicate a higher octave*

between different octave repetitions of the same pitch) *see* PITCH NOMENCLATURE.

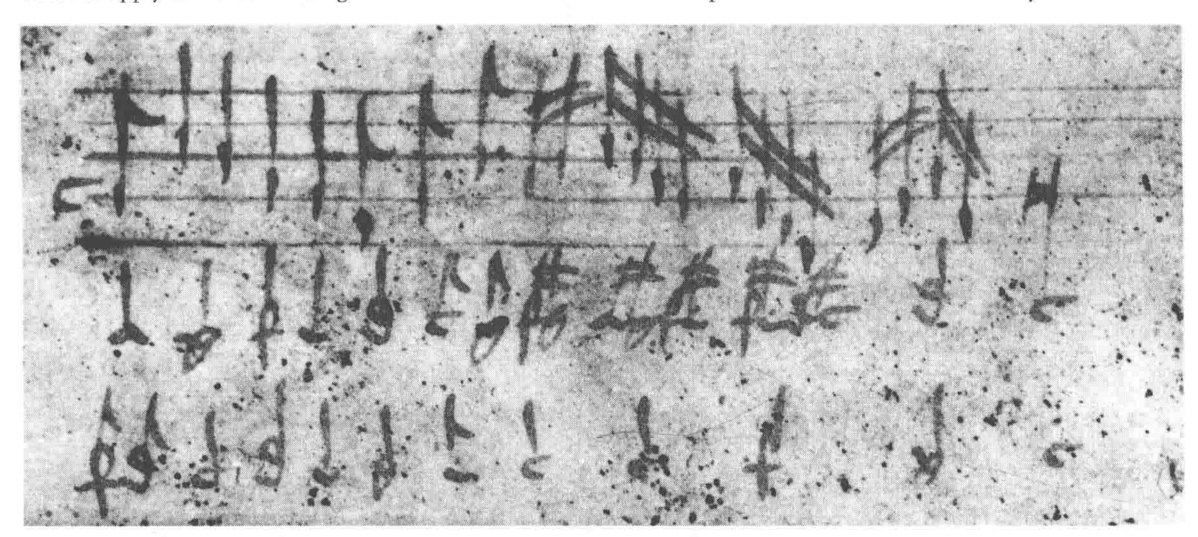
For bibliography see end of §6.

5. ALPHABETICAL, NUMERICAL AND SOLMIZATION NOTATIONS. The most important type of notation to be considered here is TABLATURE, which is fully discussed in its practical aspects under its own heading. For more detailed information the reader is referred to Wolf's *Handbuch der Notationskunde* (1913–19), Apel's *Notation of Polyphonic Music, 900–1600* (1942, rev. 5/1961) and Rastall's *Notation of Western Music* (1983 rev. 2/1998).

(i) Keyboard tablatures. Wolf suggested that a passage in the treatise of Anonymus 4 (*c*1275) implies the existence of instrumental notation in the 13th century (Wolf, 1919, 5, referring to the passage in Reckow's edition, *Der Musiktraktat des Anonymus 4*, 1967, i, 40, ll.24ff). No known example survives from that date, but the earliest known keyboard sources are nearly all in tablature, which is a distinctive instrumental notation. The term 'tablature' generally signifies a notational system using letters of the alphabet or other symbols not found in ordinary staff notation, and which generally specifies the physical action required to produce the music from a specific instrument, rather than an abstract representation of the music itself. The latter qualification, though perhaps the primary one, does not apply to the German organ tablatures of the late Middle Ages and later: in these, letters are used to identify pitches rather than finger positions.

Most surviving keyboard sources up to the early 16th century are notated in the so-called old German organ tablature. This term is used even though the earliest source of all, the 14th-century Robertsbridge Codex (*GB-Lbl* Add.28550), is of unknown origin and has features of 14th-century Italian mensural notation (*see* TABLATURE, fig.1). 15th-century German tablatures include those of Adam Ileborgh (1448, in a private collection; TABLATURE, fig.2) and Conrad Paumann (1452, Fürstliche Stolberg'sche Bibliothek, Wernigerode, Zb 14), and the Buxheimer Orgelbuch (*D-Mbs* Cim.352b; fig.130). Virdung's *Musica getutscht* (1511) and Schlick's *Tabulaturen etlicher lobgesang und lidlein* (1512) are the earliest known printed keyboard music and there are several early 16th-century manuscript tablatures from the regions of Switzerland and Germany near the Rhine (e.g. fig.131) and from Poland (the tablature of Jan z Lublina): for further details *see* SOURCES OF KEYBOARD MUSIC TO 1660. Each of these early sources generally displays notational idiosyncrasies, but in all of them the top voice is notated in a void or full mensural staff notation and the other voices in alphabetical notation, the letters corresponding with the names of the notes. In both parts of the notation accidentals are specified; in the mensurally notated voice, this may be with unusual signs such as downward stems with slashes. As in most later tablatures special rhythm signs above the letters specify the durations of the notes; they were sometimes joined with beams, as in the 15th-century Buxheimer Orgelbuch.

The number and variety of keyboard sources increase rapidly for the period after 1500. In Italy and France there are printed keyboard sources, using mensural notation throughout, as in the earlier Faenza Codex (*see* SOURCES OF KEYBOARD MUSIC TO 1660, fig.1). Examples are Cavazzoni's *Recerchari, motetti, canzoni* (1523) and the series of keyboard collections published in France by Attaingnant from the 1530s (fig.132). This keyboard mensural notation is closer in a number of respects to 19th- and 20th-century mensural notation than to contemporary vocal notation, for example in the use of bar-lines, but complex score notation was not very well suited to



131. *Old German organ tablature: both the staff notation for the upper voice and the rhythm signs for the lower voices use beams (early 16th-century fragments, GB-A)*



132. *Keyboard notation on two five-line staves, using void notation but without beams ('Dixneuf chansons musicales'; Paris: Attaingnant, 1531); accidentals are indicated by dots under notes*

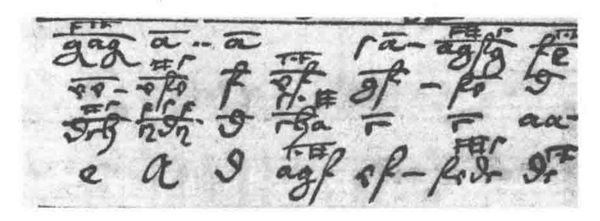
movable-type printing and came into its own only after the introduction of music engraving. Nevertheless score notation remained normal in French and Italian keyboard music, as it was later in English keyboard sources (*see* SOURCES OF KEYBOARD MUSIC TO 1660, §2(vi)); it was cultivated either in the modern two-staff form or as the partitura (see §4(viii) above).

From about 1570 the old German organ tablature was superseded in German-speaking areas by a new German organ tablature, in which letters were used as in the earlier system but now for the highest voice as well as the others (fig.133). This alphabetical notation was supplemented by a uniform system of rhythm signs, derived from those of Italian lute notation. The change may have been due in part to the difficulty and cost of printing the mensurally notated top voice. This system became widely diffused in northern Germany in the 17th century and survived into the 18th, latterly mostly in manuscripts written by organists, including J.S. Bach, for their own use (*see* BACH, §III, 7 and fig.7). It was used by Buxtehude for vocal and single-line instrumental as well as keyboard music (for illustration, *see* BUXTEHUDE, DIETERICH, and Winternitz, 1955, ii, pl.7). A curious mixture of this system, used only for the pedal line, with ordinary mensural notation occurs in the *Tabulatuur-boeck van psalmen en fantasyen* of Anthoni van Noordt (1659; facs. in Wolf, ii, 263); fig.134 shows another curious and in several respects anomalous alphabetical (?) keyboard notation from early 17th-century France.

The only other major keyboard tradition to use tablature was that of Spain. In Bermudo's *Declaración de instrumentos musicales* (1555) various systems are mentioned, using numerals to represent the keys of the keyboard. The latter may be numbered consecutively throughout, or the white keys may be numbered consecutively and the others provided by supplementary accidentals; or the white keys within each octave may be numbered from 1 to 7, with accidentals and octaves distinguished by diacritical marks. Rhythm signs are placed above the music, defining the durations in the fastest-moving part (*see* TABLATURE, fig.3). Such systems are also found in Italy, in the Spanish-influenced *Intavolatura de cimbalo* of Antonio Valente (1576), and they persisted into the 17th century. There is also slight evidence of the use of comparable tablatures with letters or numerals for psaltery music.

(ii) Tablatures for plucked string instruments. Petrucci's early 16th-century publications include four books in so-called Italian lute tablature (1507–8), of which the second gives rules for playing from the tablature, evidently for the benefit of performers without knowledge of musical theory or notation. The printing of Italian tablatures continued until 1616; manuscript Italian lute tablatures are attested until the mid-17th century. The principles on which Petrucci's tablatures rest remained fundamental to Italian lute tablature: six lines of a 'staff' represent the six courses of the lute, with the course lowest in pitch at the top. Numerals placed on the lines then indicate the fret to be stopped on the relevant course, zero being used for open strings, and rhythm signs placed above the 'staff' indicate the durations of the shortest notes within the texture at any point (*see* TABLATURE, fig.5). These rhythm signs no doubt derive from mensural note shapes but lack the note heads; they were joined with beams as early as the first half of the 16th century. The rhythm signs appear in Petrucci's prints above each note or chord, but even in the early 16th century the notation is sometimes simplified by omitting rhythm signs unless there is a change in note value. The system of rhythm signs normally precludes the specification of simultaneous notes of different durations, but some tablatures employ a cross or sharp-like symbol after numerals to indicate that the note in question is to be prolonged beyond the next note or chord (e.g. fig.135, from Antonio Rotta, *Intabolatura de lauto*, 1546); this device also occurs in German tablature (e.g. Judenkünig, 1523). Normally these Italian tablatures are accommodated on a single 'staff'; a vocal part, if included, is usually but not invariably notated mensurally on a separate staff. Spinacino occasionally placed even the upper voice of a lute piece on a separate staff for the sake of convenience. (For another example of Italian lute tablature, see fig.120).

A similar tablature notation was used in Spain for the vihuela. In the earliest surviving example, Luys Milán's



133. *New German organ tablature: all voices are notated alphabetically, with octaves distinguished as in fig.130 (W. Schonsleder, 'Architectonice musices universalis'; Ingolstadt: Zeller, 1684); metric units are divided by spaces or bar-lines, and rhythm signs (when used) are joined by beams*

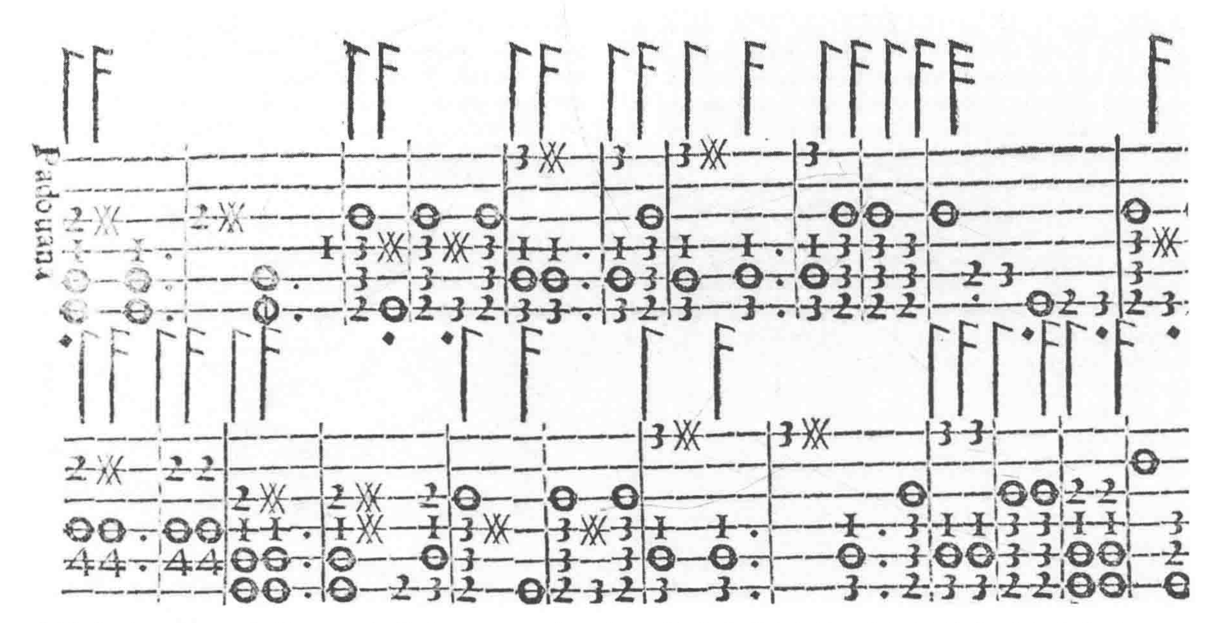


134. *French 17th-century keyboard notation, with letters placed on staves but without precise indications of rhythm (GB-A, MS bound with a copy of Arcadelt's 'Primo libro di madregali', 1561)*

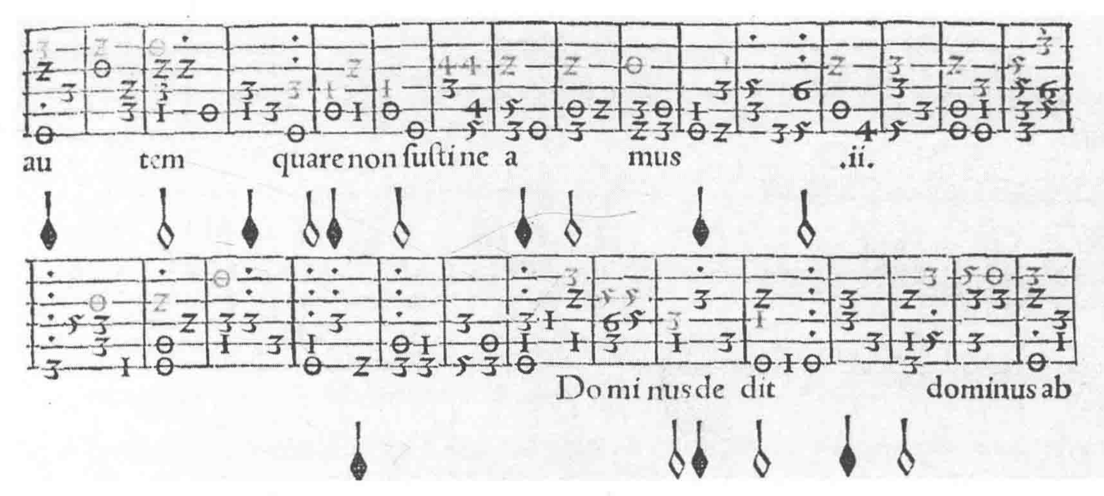
El maestro (1536; *see* TABLATURE, fig.6), and according to Bermudo in other 16th-century Spanish vihuela music the sequence of courses is reversed, so that the highest-sounding course is represented by the top line. Normally, however, Spanish practice and Italian correspond in this respect. Milán and others used complete note shapes for rhythm signs, in a manner otherwise similar to Italian practice; vocal lines are occasionally included in the tablature staff and distinguished from the instrumental accompaniment by being notated in red (fig.136), or (Esteban Daza, 1576, the latest known source) with dots above the numerals for alignment.

The series of printed French lute tablatures, like the Italian, has as one of its earliest examples a publication giving instructions for beginners in playing from tablature: Attaingnant's *Très briefve et familière introduction* (1529: *see* SOURCES OF LUTE MUSIC, fig.3), published only a few months after his *Dixhuit basses dances*, is the earliest surviving source. The 'three short rules' of the *Introduction* establish the principles found in later French tablatures. The chief differences from Italian lute tablature lie in the use of five rather than six lines in the staff, even though there are already six courses, the sixth being given a 'leger line' when necessary; the arrangement of the lines with the highest-sounding course represented by the top rather than the bottom line; and the use of an alphabetical sequence of letters, rather than numerals, for the frets, with 'a' for open strings. Rhythm signs generally correspond with those of Italian lute tablature; fingering is indicated by dots (fig.137), later by numerals. Other later developments in French lute tablature include the adoption of a six-line staff; this is used in isolation in an Attaingnant publication of 1530, but not generally adopted until after the publication of the *Pratum musicum* of Emanuel Adriaenssen in 1584, and then used almost without exception. Various expedients were adopted to notate up to two extra bass courses before the end of the century, and further bass courses introduced during the 17th century and played as open strings (*see* TABLATURE, fig.7; SOURCES OF LUTE MUSIC, fig.8). For details of other subsidiary signs in 17th-century French lute tablatures *see* LUTE, §6.

French lute tablature declined in popularity in France from the early 18th century but had spread to England, the Netherlands, Germany and elsewhere, and it persisted especially in Germany, where French tablatures continued



135. *Italian lute tablature: double crosses signify that notes are to be prolonged (A. Rotta, 'Intabolatura de lauto'; Venice: Antonio Gardane, 1546[32])*



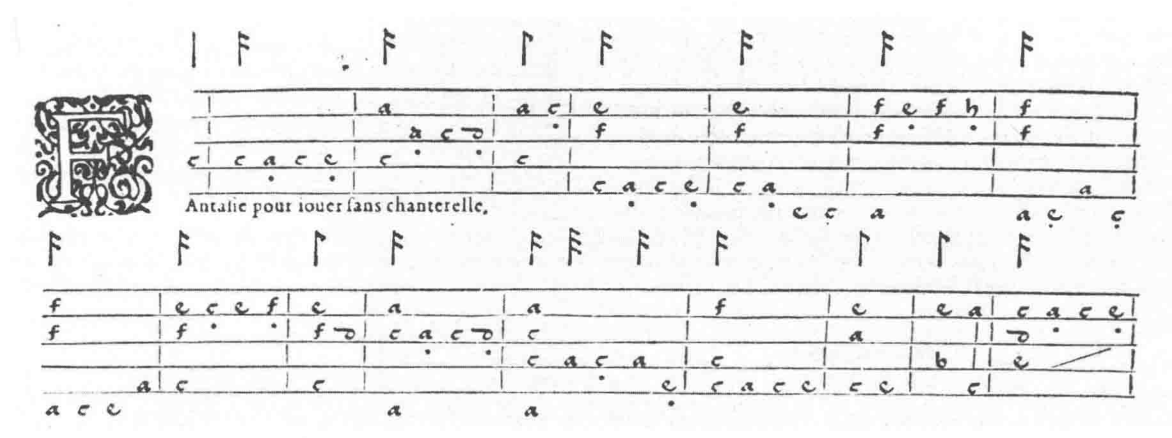
136. *Spanish vihuela tablature, with the vocal line in red (here grey) (E. de Valderrábano, 'Silva de sirenas', ii; Valladolid: Fernandez de Cordova, 1547)*

to be printed until 1771 and to be produced in manuscript until the 1790s. Music for other string instruments such as cittern, bandora, mandore, mandolin, colascione and angélique, was notated in tablatures of this kind, though sometimes with fewer lines if the instrument had fewer courses than the lute.

Before the introduction of French lute tablature to Germany, lutenists there had used a German tablature, said by Agricola to have been invented by the blind 15th-century organist Conrad Paumann. The first surviving printed sources of this tablature are in Virdung's *Musica getutscht* (1511; see TABLATURE, fig.4) and Schlick's *Tabulaturen* (1512), and German tablature persisted for about a century, when it was finally superseded by the French tablature, which had first appeared in German prints during the 1590s. German lute tablature is based on a five-course lute, but early sources are for six-course instruments: the frets of the top five strings are designated by letters of the alphabet, supplemented with a few other symbols, reading across the first frets of all five courses, then across the second frets and so on rather than by a series of symbols repeated for each course. Thus each fret on the instrument has a unique symbol; the necessity for a staff in the French or Italian manner is eliminated, at the cost of increased complexity in the notation. The lowest course, presumably added after the establishment of the notation, is assigned a series of letters independent of the rest of the notation. Open strings are shown by numerals for each course (fig.138; see SOURCES OF LUTE MUSIC, fig.2).

Guitar music from around 1550 is notated in either Italian or French lute tablature; as in tablatures for other instruments, the number of staff-lines varies according to the number of courses. 17th-century guitar tablatures developed features of their own, no doubt because the constant repetition of chords prompted an abbreviated notation. Of the two principal methods the Italian, attested from 1606, uses capital letters to represent single chords (see TABLATURE, fig.8), and the Spanish, attested from 1626, uses numerals for the same purpose (fig.139). These abbreviated systems were used at times in combination with the earlier lute notation (for further details see Wolf, ii, §I, chap.3). Tablatures for guitar remained in use until the late 18th century, when they yielded to ordinary mensural notation on a single staff, written an octave higher than sounding (fig.140).

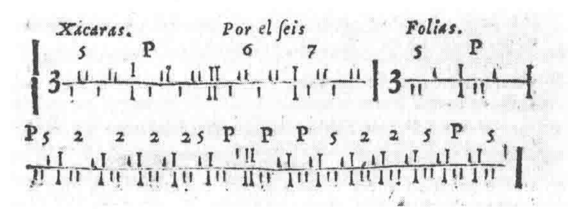
For much of the 20th century tablatures of a new type were in use for the guitar and ukulele in popular music, with a grid of six vertical and four horizontal lines (guitar) or four vertical and four horizontal (ukulele), providing a



137. *French lute tablature, with regular bar-lines, dots for fingering and oblique strokes to signify the prolonging of a note (A. de Ripa, 'Quatriesme livre de tablature de leut'; Paris: Fezandat, 1554)*

Adieu mes amours.

138. *German lute tablature, with regular bar-lines and rhythm signs (H. Gerle, 'Tablatur auff die Laudten'; Nuremberg: Formschneider, 1533)*



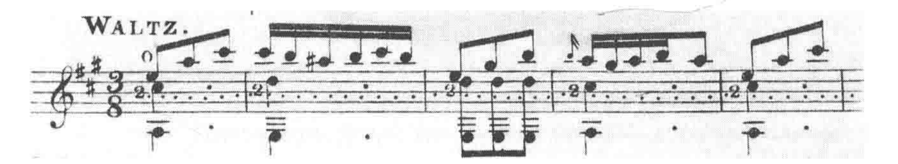
139. *Spanish abbreviated notation for guitar chords: the numerals, letters etc. stand for chords (e.g. '5' for D minor, 'P' A major, '6' A minor) (L. Ruiz de Ribayaz, 'Luz y norte musical'; Madrid: Alvarez, 1677); the vertical strokes show the direction of attack*

schematic picture of the fingerboard; dots represent the positions of the fingers (fig.141). This tablature chord notation, like the abbreviated representation of chords by capital letters (an alternative to it: see §4(viii) above), lacks any indication of rhythm within the duration of each chord, which is to be supplied by the performer from his knowledge of the style. Some 20th-century guitar music, mostly of a popular nature in the so-called 'finger-picking' styles, uses another type of tablature notation, closer to the lute tablatures of the Renaissance. Many publications of the 1960s and 70s reflect this notation. A six-line staff is used, corresponding to the strings of the instrument; as in French lute tablature the top line represents the string of highest pitch, and as in Spanish vihuela tablature numerals are the basis of the notation. Time signatures, bar-lines and so on are as in staff notation; the letters 'TAB', written vertically, often replace a clef, presumably for ready identification of the tablature when both staff and tablature notation appear in the same book. Otherwise there is no standard practice: the numerals in some tablatures represent the frets, in others the fingering, the notes being identified in some other way (e.g. by capital letters for chords). Rhythm signs are freely used: a vertical or diagonal dash for a crotchet, and stems (without note heads) with flags and beams as in staff notation for quavers, semiquavers and so on. Part-writing may be specified far more precisely in this tablature than in any Renaissance one (fig.142). Special signs are used for ornaments and other effects.

Harp tablatures are also attested from the late Middle Ages, and Spanish vihuela tablature was intended also for the harp. Irish manuscripts have various notational systems, perhaps for harp music; one from the Elizabethan period has various combinations of acute and grave accents, circumflexes and rhythm signs; another has a series of symbols, in part resembling those of Greek notation, representing successive notes in a diatonic series. 17th-century Welsh manuscripts, including that copied by Robert ap Huw (*GB-Lbl* Add.14905), contain another tablature for the harp, which like German organ tablatures uses the letter-names of the notes. It is closer than the Irish sources to other contemporary notation, being written in score with bar-lines and rhythm signs like those of other tablatures of the period (fig.143). Extravagant claims of antiquity have been made for both the Welsh and Irish tablatures and their repertories, but without firm evidence.

French and German harp music appears to have been notated in various ways: alphabetical tablature (Agricola, *Musica instrumentalis deudsch*, 1529, f.XXXII); normal mensural notation; with numerals corresponding to the strings (Mersenne, *Harmonie universelle*, ii, 1637, bk.3, p.171); or by lute tablature. These possibilities are not represented by surviving examples.

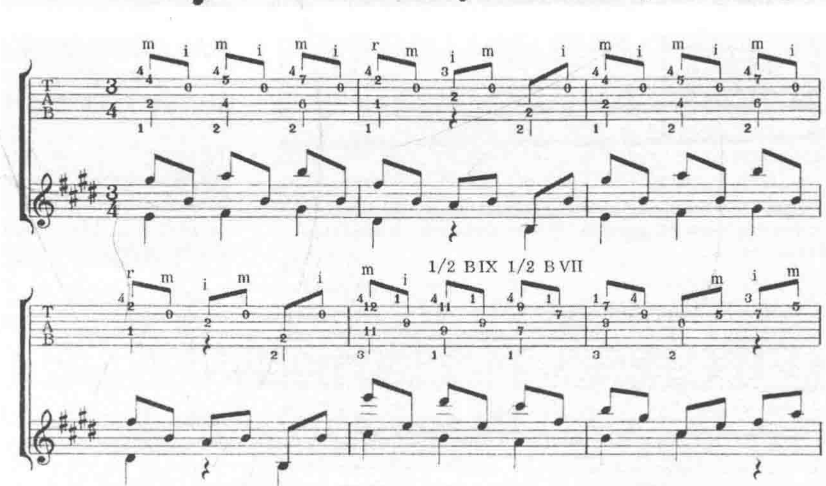
(iii) Tablatures for other instruments. Viol music has normally been notated in ordinary mensural notation, but tablature is occasionally encountered, mostly in didactic



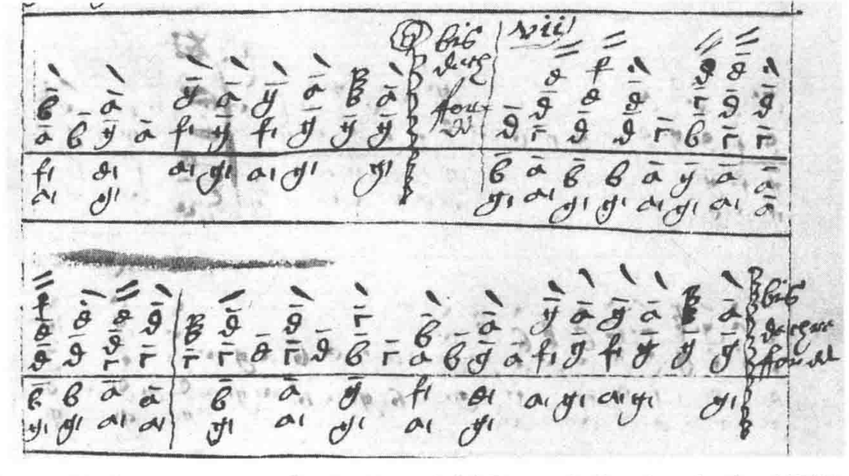
140. *Early 19th-century guitar notation, with detailed fingering (F. Sor, 'Six Divertimentos'; London: Regent's Harmonic Institution, c1820)*



141. Early 20th-century popular song notation, including ukulele tablature and supplementary Tonic Sol-fa notation for the vocal part (M. Wayne, 'Ramona'; London: Francis, Day & Hunter, 1927); tablature symbols are provided only at chord changes

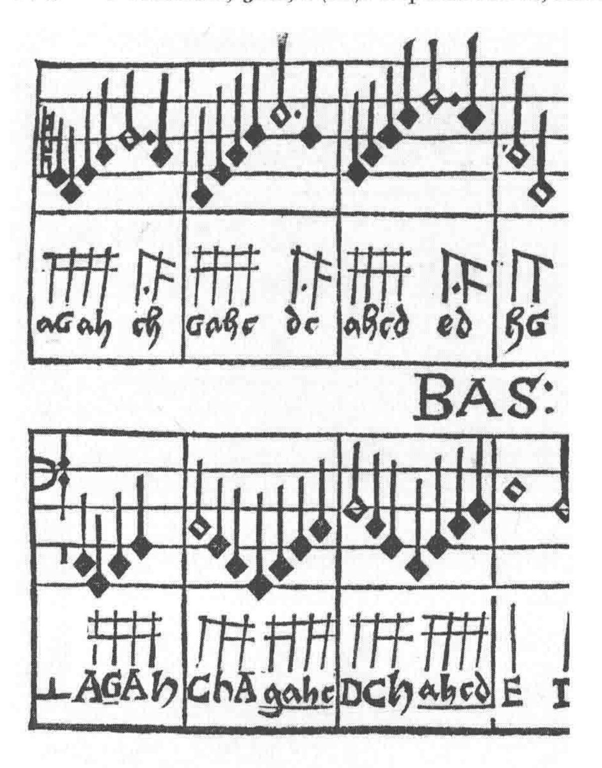


142. 20th-century finger-picking guitar tablature, with staff notation: numerals represent the frets; letters and other numerals above and below the staff represent the fingering (H. Vinson, 'A Folksinger's Guide to the Classical Guitar'; New York: Oak Publications, 1971); special symbols refer to the 'barre' or finger placed flat across all the strings (bar 2); stems in both directions and rests show simultaneous conflicting rhythms



143. Welsh harp tablature: the octaves are distinguished by horizontal and vertical strokes, and the parts for left and right hands by a continuous line; the oblique strokes over the score are rhythm signs (Robert ap Huw MS, 17th century, GB-Lbl Add.14905, f.22r)

works. The earliest sources are German (Virdung, *Musica getutscht*, 1511; Agricola, *Musica instrumentalis deudsch*, 1529; Gerle, *Musica teusch*, 1532) and are notated in German lute tablature or other alphabetical notation (fig.144, from Agricola). In Italy viol tablature is found first in Ganassi dal Fontego's *Regola rubertina* (1542), corresponding in essence to the Italian lute tablature though with modification because of the greater number of frets required (in both types of tablature single symbols, rather than numerals, were used for numbers greater than



144. *Tablature notation (here for bass viol) with its equivalent in mensural notation (M. Agricola, 'Musica instrumentalis deudsch'; Wittenberg, 1529)*

9, in order to avoid ambiguity) and for precision of fingering. In France, in the few instances where mensural notation was not used, French lute tablature was used for viol music (fig.145), sometimes with ancillary signs for special effects, and it was also employed for music for other related instruments such as the *viola bastarda*. French lute tablature was also used for the English lyra viol repertory.

Modified lute tablatures of various national types were occasionally used also for violin music, but with only four staff-lines, corresponding to the strings of the instrument. In the absence of frets, the series of numerals or letters used were not bound to correspond to semitone steps: Italian violin tablatures, from Gasparo Zanetti's *Scolaro . . . per imparar a suonare di violino, et altri stromenti* (1645; fig.146), use numerals to specify diatonic steps, with accidentals added for the semitones as in mensural notation. This notation persisted for more than a century and is still attested in Pablo Minguet y Yrol's *Academia musical* (1752); comparable modifications of French lute tablature were also made, with the letters representing diatonic steps. The older lute notation based on semitone steps also continued to be used for violin music.

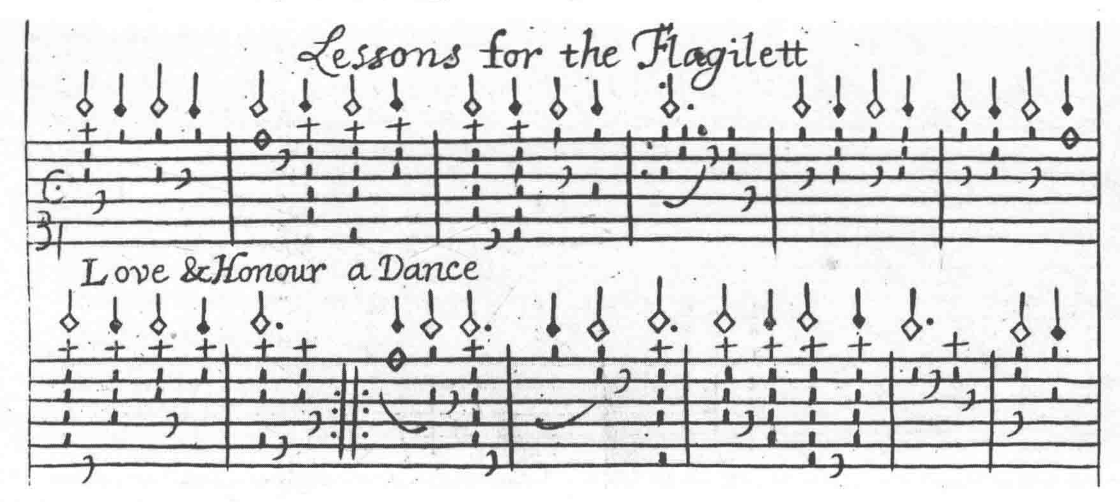
Wind music has nearly always been notated mensurally, but tablatures are occasionally attested, based on the positions of the fingers. A recorder tablature is found in Virdung (1511), using numerals and diacritical marks. Thomas Greeting in his *Pleasant Companion* (1682 edition) used a six-line staff for the six holes of the flageolet with vertical lines for covered holes, crosses for half-covered holes and commas for ornaments (fig.147); Pablo Minguet y Yrol (*Academia musical*, 1752) used an



145. *French lute tablature for viol music; the treble and bass voices are printed in mensural notation, with the tablature equivalent given for didactic purposes (T. Mace, 'Musick's Monument'; London, 1676)*



146. *Italian violin tablature using numerals to represent diatonic steps on each string (from G. Zanetti, 'Scolaro ... per imparar a suonare di violino, et altri stromenti'; Milan: Comagno, 1645)*



147. *17th-century flageolet tablature in which each line of the 'staff' represents a hole in the instrument (T. Greeting, 'The Pleasant Companion'; London: J. Playford, 1682 edition)*



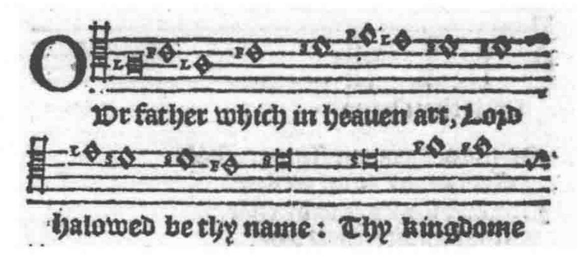
148. *Solmization notation with numerals, with mensural notation above, supplemented by solmization syllables (P. Davantes, 'Pseaumes de David, … avec Nouvelle et facile methode'; Geneva, 1560)*

eight-line staff, with the spaces representing the seven holes, and full, void and half-void circles representing covered, open and half-covered holes. Other tablatures were devised for wind instruments such as the musette in 17th-century France, and tablatures have been attested for brass fanfares; numerical tablatures were used in the 19th century for the accordion and other popular instruments.

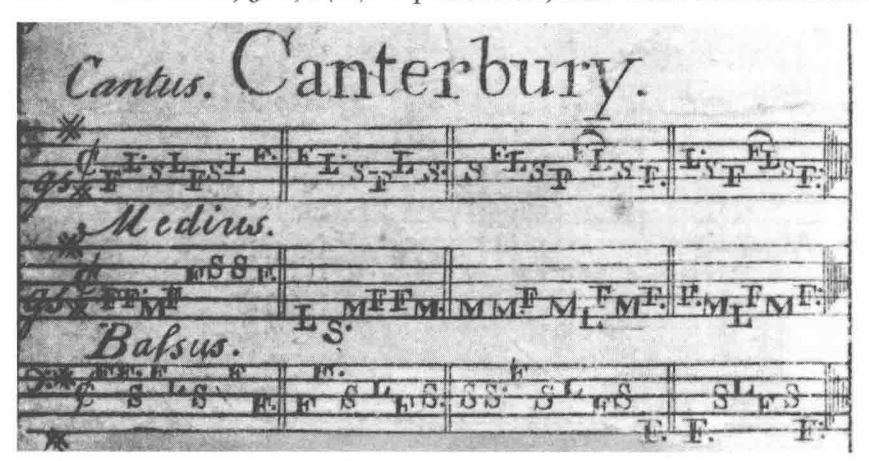
(iv) Vocal notations. Since the 16th century, periodic attempts have been made to construct simple systems of vocal notation, often based on the practice of SOLMIZATION, for the benefit of the musically uneducated. Many of these indicate pitch redundantly in two different ways: by conventional mensural notation supplemented by some alternative means of identifying the pitches, either with the letter-names of the notes or with solmization syllables; or with distinctive note shapes or numerals representing the solmization syllables. These systems multiplied from the 18th century, mainly where rapidly acquired musical literacy was sought, or in pioneering or mission areas, and are associated mainly with popular music (hymns, psalms, ballads etc.).

An attempt to develop a simplified solmization notation with numerals was made by Pierre Davantes (*Pseaumes de David, … avec Nouvelle et facile methode pour chanter chacun couplet des pseaumes sans recour au premier*, Geneva, 1560; fig.148). Numerals from 1 to 9, supplemented by the letters A and B, represent the notes in an ascending sequence beginning on E, C or B (the latter either B♭ or B♮ depending on the hexachord); the numbers are reckoned as in the natural hexachord if written without dots, in the hard hexachord if followed by a dot and in the soft hexachord if preceded by a dot. Vertical dashes are used for rhythm signs. A simpler solmization notation was adopted in a number of psalm books published by John Day in the 1570s, with abbreviations of the solmization syllables joined redundantly to conventional notes on staves (fig.149; see Krummel, 1975, pp.71ff).

Specific solmization notation was uncommon in England. The FASOLA solmization system, later known as 'Lancashire sol-fa', used a reduced series of solmization syllables; it was expounded in popular publications from the early 17th century until the late 19th, as in John Playford's *Breefe Introduction to the Skill of Musick* (1654), and was normally a sight-singing system applied to music in ordinary mensural notation. In America, however, it gave rise to a number of distinctive notational systems for hymn and psalm books, beginning with that of John Tufts (*An Introduction to the Singing of Psalm-Tunes*, 1721; earliest extant edn, 5/1726), in which the letters *M*, *F*, *S* and *L* (for the solmization syllables *Mi*, *Fa*, *Sol* and *La*) are placed on a conventional staff, with dots for rhythm signs (two dots for a breve, one for a semibreve and none for a minim; fig.150). Comparable systems multiplied in the 19th century. In the south and mid-west USA, a number contained distinctive 'shape-notes' (i.e. notes of four different shapes, each representing one of



149. *Metrical psalm notation with a solmization letter by each note 'whereby thou mayst knowe how to call every Note by his right name' (Sternhold and Hopkins, 'The Whole Book of Psalmes'; London: John Day, 1574)*



150. American notation: letters represent solmization syllables, dots duration (J. Tufts, 'An Introduction to the Singing of Psalm-Tunes'; Boston, MA, 1738 edition)

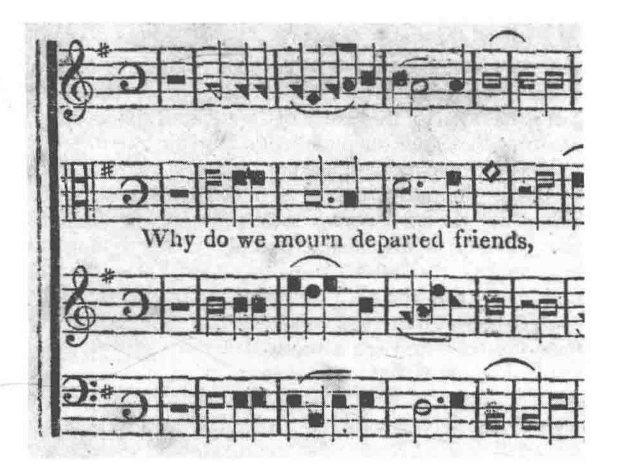
the four fasola syllables); these may have first appeared in Little and Smith's *The Easy Instructor* (1801), whose system eventually prevailed over other early 19th-century systems (fig.151). Such systems are known also as 'patent', 'buckwheat' or 'figured' notes, and the shape-notes have survived into the 20th century. (*See* SHAPE-NOTE HYMNODY; also §4(iii) above.)

From the 17th century many numerical notational systems have been proposed as alternatives to or replacements for conventional mensural notation. One of the earliest was that of William Braythwaite (*Siren coelestis*, 1638; see Krummel, 1975, pp.100ff, including facsimiles), comprising numerals for notes and various different types of comma for rests; other early numerical systems are those of Kircher (*Musurgia universalis*, 1650, ii, 46ff) and Giovanni d'Avella (*Regole di musica*, 1657). Such systems in the 17th century and later relied mainly on numerals, with or without letters of the alphabet, and some used conventional rhythm signs to fix the durations of notes; most used the numerals to count diatonic intervals arithmetically from a given note or notes. An exception is Mersenne's proposal (*Harmonicorum libri XII*, vii, 1648, pp.148ff) to represent notes by inverse intervallic ratio as calculated by the length of string required to produce the note, rather than by frequency; the basis was *c′*, taken as an arbitrary 3600.

Rousseau, in his *Projet concernant de nouveaux signes pour la musique* (1742/*R*) and elsewhere, used the numerals 1 to 7 for the diatonic scale of C major, placed on, above or below lines to distinguish between different octaves; this notation was designed for complex pieces. A second system, for simple melodies, dispensed with lines, using dots over or under numerals to indicate a move to a higher or lower octave (shown with only the first note in the new register). Simple integers were used for time signatures, rather than conventional fractional signatures; subdivisions of a bar, if unequal, were indicated by commas and by horizontal lines over or under groups of notes, functioning like beams in mensural notation. Rhythm signs in the usual sense were thus dispensed with, as in the most influential 19th-century solmization and alphabetical notational systems. Rousseau's notational proposals, though not widely adopted at the time, were taken up on a relatively large scale in the 19th century in France in the GALIN-PARIS-CHEVÉ METHOD, whose influence extended to other European countries (Germany, the Netherlands, Denmark and Russia).

In the English-speaking world notational systems were developed in the 19th century based on seven-syllable solmization systems, which had been advocated from the 18th century as theoretically superior to fasola. The most important of these systems was the TONIC SOL-FA system, perfected by John Curwen from a method of sight-singing. Like some of the 18th- and 19th-century American notational systems described in Marrocco (1964), Tonic Sol-fa jettisoned the staff and conventional note shapes, using instead letters as abbreviations of the syllables representing the degrees of the major scale, with changes of vowels for accidentals. The necessity for rhythm signs, found in most earlier notational systems in which conventional note shapes were abandoned, and even for time signatures, was obviated by the expedient of making the distance between symbols proportional to the duration of the notes, with dots and colons used to separate beats. The notation is supplemented in teaching with hand signs and a device known as a Modulator (*see* MODULATOR).

This economical and ingenious system was well suited to relatively uncomplicated vocal music. Associated in England at first largely with nonconformity, it was adapted for use in Germany and Poland; it was widely diffused through Christian missionary work and popular ballads (in printed popular ballads it sometimes supplements ordinary staff notation: see fig.141 above). Tonic



151. American shape-note notation: distinctive note shapes each represent one solmization syllable (W. Little and W. Smith, 'The Easy Instructor'; Albany, NY, 1808 edition)

"Bow down before the King of Glory-BIEURRAR"

1st Tune: d:· m: s: d:· :· m:r: d: d: t: d:- :-
d:· m: s: d: :- s: s: f: m: s: s:- :· :
d:- m: s: d ·:· s: s: f: m: s: s: f: m: r:-
d:- m:s: f:- :- d: m: r: d: d: t: d:- :-

2nd Tune: d:· d: r: m :- d: d: f:- m: r: r:- d:-
s:- m: d: f:- m.- m:- r: m· s: fe:- s:-
d:- t: d: l:- s: s: d:- r: m: m:- r:-
s:· d: d: m: r: r: r: m:- d: r: r:- d:- :-

LWWOJJTTAT GORRALLAL ABBULLAL
SAFFURRA AWWOJJLLAL BLLULLAL
OSSAJJTTAT ALLOLLOL RABBLLAL
ALLOLLOTTAJJ WOJJTTAT BULLAL
BURRAR.

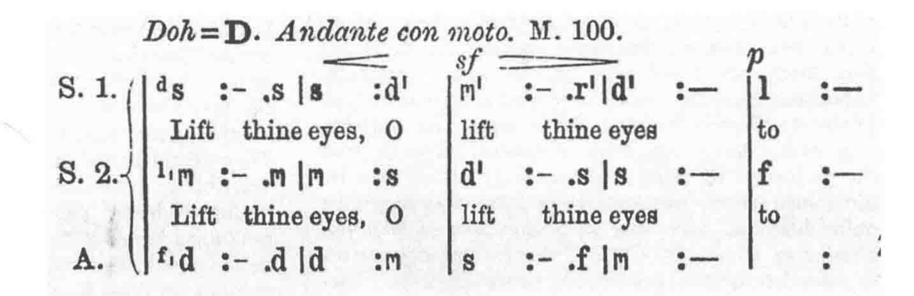
152. Simplified sol-fa, outside white influence, in an English-speaking Aladura church hymnal (for non-Yoruba-speakers in West Africa); the words are holy names, governed by special pronunciation rules ('Hymnbook of the Church of the Lord Aladura'; Ijebu Ode, Nigeria, c1958)

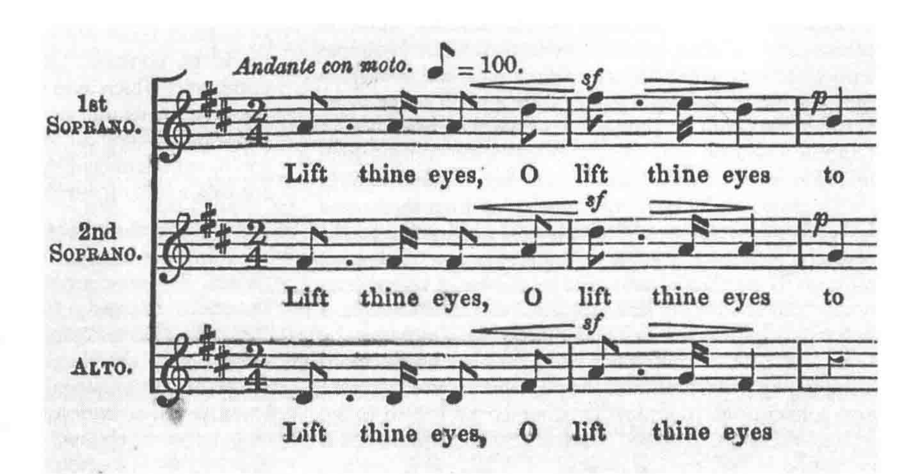
Sol-fa has become independent of white musicians in various parts of the world; it is widely used by African musicians, for example, for vocal music, often without the precise spacing and distinctions between different octaves of 19th-century Tonic Sol-fa (fig.152). A derived notation, using the numerals from 1 to 7 (and 0 for rests) instead of the sol-fa symbols from *d* to *t*, was developed in Japan and is widely used in 20th-century printed music in China and Japan (see L.E.R. Pickens, *NOHM*, i, 1957, 83–104, esp. 101); bar-lines are used as in sol-fa, but bars and double bars underneath the numerals, rather than punctuation marks, show the subdivision of the bars (for a related example see fig.153).

Although Tonic Sol-fa is used by those without musical education, it should not be regarded as a simple rule-of-thumb notation like some other alphabetical notations. Helmholtz, for example, considered it superior to staff notation for theoretical reasons, believing that it was a better means of producing correct intonation from singers (see *Die Lehre von den Tonempfindungen*, Eng. trans., 1875, appx 18). Fig.154 shows Tonic Sol-fa as applied to a fairly complex tonal piece; most of the notational features are self-explanatory.

お　　　　○お＝琴柱の左糸を押さえる
| 88 88 8 7 | 88 87 6 — | 5 77 88 77 | 88888- |
てる てる ぼうず てる ぼう ず あ した てんきに しておくれ

153. Notation for toy koto: the notes are represented by numerals, elsewhere equated with Japanese phonetic equivalents of sol-fa syllables (explanatory leaflet; Ina: Japanese Violin Research Institute, n.d.)





154. (a) Classic 19th-century Tonic Sol-fa and (b) its equivalent in contemporary mensural notation; the sol-fa letters have distinctive forms (Mendelssohn, 'Elijah'; London: Novello, (a) Tonic Sol-fa Edition, n.d., (b) 1903)

Since the late 19th century the limitations of Tonic Sol-fa have become more apparent because of its clumsiness when the music modulates rapidly and its inapplicability to non-tonal music. Notators accordingly have often preferred conventional mensural notation, which has ousted Tonic Sol-fa even from areas in which it had been well-established, such as English choral music. On the other hand, attempts to construct notational systems based on solmization with more than seven syllables to the octave have had no general success. Such systems include the EITZ METHOD, the systems of J.L. Acheson (*Douzave System of Music Notation*, 1936) and of L. Benke (1967).

For the syllabic notation employed by Scottish pipers to record pipe music ('canntaireachd') *see* SCOTLAND, §II, 6(i).

For bibliography see end of §6.

6. NON-MENSURAL AND SPECIALIST NOTATIONS.

(i) 20th-century non-mensural notation. Although the mensural notational system proved adaptable to the requirements of 20th-century music, there are some areas where it proved less effective. This occurred where the music makes relatively little use of notes of definite pitch or definite duration, or of traditional temperament systems. It occurred also in prescriptive notation for indeterminate music, when precise specification is at a minimum; and, perhaps paradoxically, also in descriptive notation at the other end of the spectrum of precision, when scientific accuracy of notation is required – as, for example, in ethnomusicological notations.

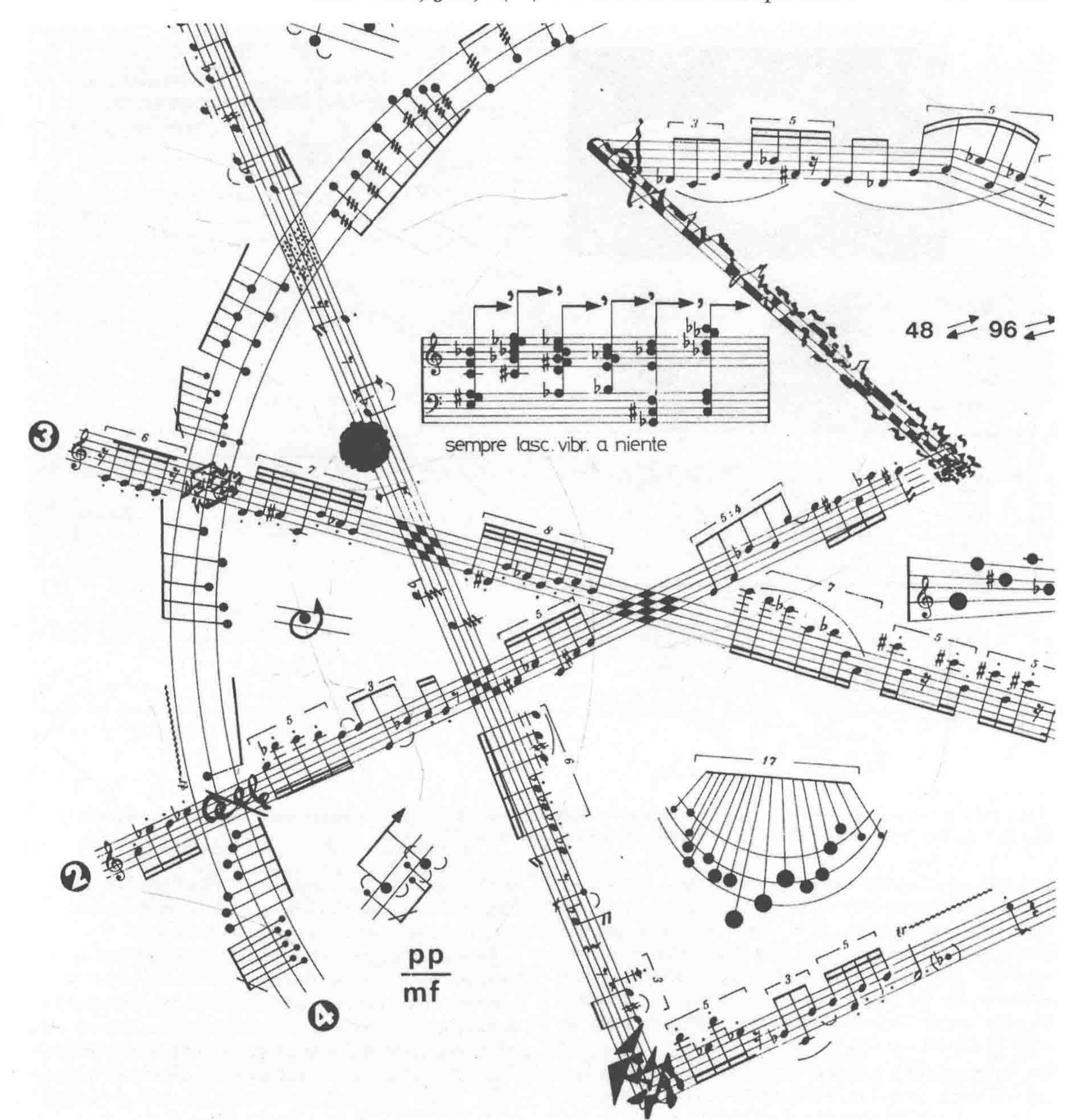
A move away from mensural notation occurred with so-called action notation: expansions of the verbal directions found in earlier notation, or symbols replacing them (e.g. the abbreviations for pedalling, fingering etc.) at the expense of the mensural aspects of the notation. From this, perhaps, developed the graphic notations particularly associated with indeterminacy (graphics, implicative graphics), which were used at least as early as 1950–51 (Morton Feldman, *Projections*). This notation is generally designed to evoke a musical response from the performer by non-specific analogy rather than by direct instruction; thus any two performances should be quite different. According to Karkoschka (*Schriftbild*, 1966, Eng. trans., 1972, p.77), graphic notation strives to 'stimulate without constricting the imagination'. Theoretically, any type of visual pattern may be used, though a certain degree of influence of conventional notation often seems evident, particularly in the choice of shapes associated with articulation and dynamics, and in the idea that a score represents a graph with a pitch range as its vertical axis and a time-scale as its horizontal axis. Graphic notation may be combined with conventional notation within a single score, as in figs.155 and 156. In some cases, such as in the works of Logothetis and Cardew, particular emphasis is placed on developing the aesthetic aspects of graphic notation. The use of abstract patterns as graphics is paralleled by the use of verbal texts not as instructions but as a 'notation' intended to evoke a musical response (as in the *Concert for Orchestra* by George Brecht, whose score comprises the single word 'exchanging'). An intermediate position between graphic and conventional notation is occupied by the so-called 'frame' notation, in which relatively free interpretation is permitted within certain prescribed boundaries; sections of scores in this notation may literally be notated within frames (fig.157).

Notation has sometimes been used for electronic music, although when such music is composed on tape the necessity for notation is not always present. Some pieces have been notated in order that the composer may be protected by copyright; or to provide a study score; or to provide a cue-sheet for performers when electronic music is combined with live performers. Scores of electronic music may thus be either prescriptive or descriptive, and may not always contain representations of every aspect of the music. The notation used may draw on the resources of conventional mensural notation, in so far as these are usable for the purpose, and on those of graphic notation. Proposals have been made for notational reform and notational standardization in electronic music (Fennelly, 1968).

Another area in which mensural notation is clearly inadequate is the precise recording of musical data, particularly those of non-Western music and folk music. Attempts to record music as it is being performed have been made since the mid-18th century, for example by attaching recording machines to keyboard instruments; these were termed 'melographs' at least from 1828, and it was hoped to record improvisations on them. One such instrument, from 1780, survives at the Deutsches Museum, Munich (inventory no.43872). Shorthand notations for recording music at speed were also devised (see §6(ii) below). No wholly satisfactory method was available until the invention of machines to record sound, and even then transcription into visual notation was seldom sufficiently precise for ethnomusicological material, even though efforts were made from the 1920s to divorce ethnomusicological transcriptions from Western mensural notation. But in the 1950s an improved MELOGRAPH (see illustrations in that article) was developed by Charles Seeger. This machine now provides immediate transcriptions of music in threefold graphic form; one section of the 'melogram' represents a pitch-time graph, another an amplitude-time graph and the third a timbre-time graph. The resemblance of this notation to the graphic notation described above is clear.

Unprecedented precision has also been required of notation adapted to the digital computer. If notation is to be converted into a computer programme, ambiguity and redundancy must be eliminated; such programmes have been used for the stylistic analysis, along statistical lines, of various repertories. Accordingly attempts have been made to construct methods of notation adapted to computers which lend themselves readily to transcription between mensural or other notation and a computer programme (see for example Symposium II in Brook, 1970, with details of some of the problems and proposals for solving them; see also Cole, 1974, pp.117ff).

(ii) Musical shorthand. Before the invention of sound recording, a musical equivalent of shorthand was required. The first attempts to devise one were made in France in the early 18th century (e.g. Joseph Sauveur, *Principes d'acoustique*, 1701), though the earliest systems are scarcely shorthand in a practical sense since they either are alphabetical systems or draw heavily on the resources of conventional notation. As late as 1805, P.J. de La Salette claimed as a shorthand system one that required letters of the alphabet, horizontal and vertical

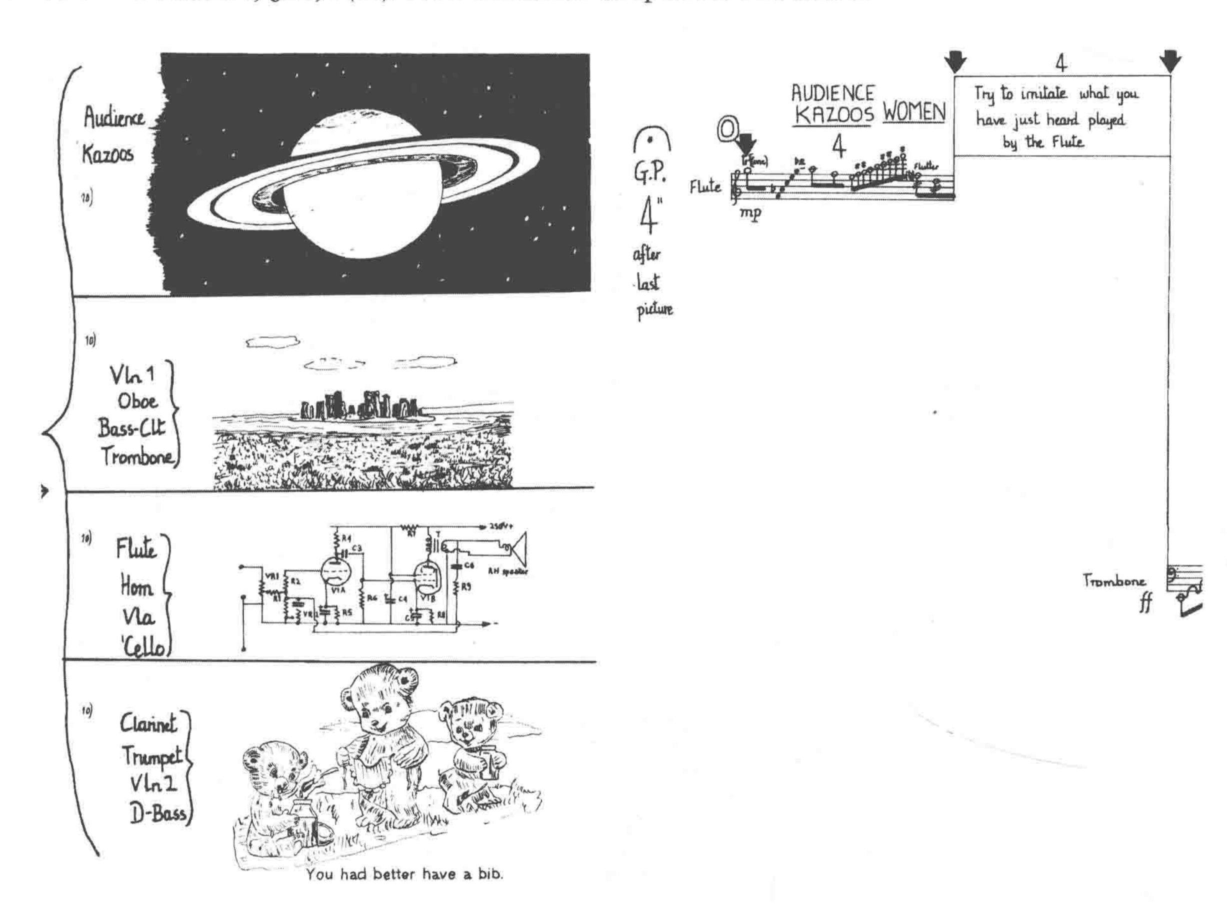


155. Mensural notation combined with graphic notation, which itself is here frequently placed on a 'staff' (B. Rands, '... as all get out ...'; London: Universal, 1975)

strokes for rhythm signs and simplified signs for accidentals (*Sténographie musicale*).

Démotz de la Salle in the 1720s proposed signs more suitable to a shorthand system, which were capable of being rotated and reversed (*Méthode de musique selon un nouveau système*); they were derived from mensural notation, but later systems used simpler geometrical signs (e.g. J.L. Riom's *Sténographie musicale*, 1833), dots, curved lines and so on. All the early systems used separate signs for each note, but Hippolyte Prévost attempted to overcome this drawback by a system in which complete bars could be written as single multiple signs; the system required the use of a five-line staff with two auxiliary dotted lines above and two below. A similar notation was devised to record accompanying harmonies (fig.158, from *Sténographie musicale*, 1833).

(iii) Notation for the blind. Like musical shorthand, musical notation for the blind first developed in the 18th century and the first attempts at it were hampered by too close an adherence to the conventional mensural system. Rameau (*Code de musique pratique*, 1760), Tans'ur (*Elements of Musick*, 1772) and others envisaged, broadly speaking, a conventional notation placed in relief so that it could be read by touch, with note shapes somewhat altered to facilitate their recognition by touch. Several other notations for the blind were devised in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, but the most important was that devised by Louis Braille (*Anaglyptographie*, 1829), which



156. *Graphic notation: the performers (including the audience, as indicated) play what the pictures suggest and imitate passages played from semi-mensural staff notation (D. Bedford, 'With 100 Kazoos'; London: Universal, 1975)*

departed entirely from the conventional signs. Embossed dots were arranged in two adjacent vertical rows of three each, with the upper four dots referring to pitch and the lowest two to duration (for further details of this system, *see* BRAILLE NOTATION). This has superseded all other notations for the blind; revisions of it have not all been adopted universally, and different forms are used in different places.

(iv) Cryptography. From the 17th century at least, musical notation has occasionally been used as a secret code for conveying messages. Even earlier than that, the association of notes with solmization syllables had occasionally suggested their use as a pun, as for example in the use of an interpolated B♭ (= *fa*) replacing the syllable 'fa' in Du Fay's name (*GB-Ob* Can.misc.213); this too is a type of cryptography, and has many later parallels. Many musical codes equate single notes and note shapes arbitrarily with individual letters of the alphabet; there are German examples from the 17th century and later (e.g. Kircher, Gaspar Schott, J.B. Friderici, Michael Haydn), which are comparable to the system described in John Wilkins's *Mercury, or the Secret and Swift Messenger* (1641; see fig.159 and Krummel, 1975, p.128).

Another type of cryptography is represented by the use of motifs comprising notes whose letter-names (or letters derived from them, e.g. E♭ = Ger. Es = S) spell words (for example the use by Bach and other composers of the motif B–A–C–H, that is B♭–A–C–B♮ in German terminology; Schumann's 'Abegg' Variations, 1830; Ligeti's *Fragment*, 1961). These examples belong to the history of composition, however, rather than to that of notation.

An ambitious 'universal' musical language was essayed by Jean-François Sudre (*Langue universelle*, 1867), which was intended to express definite extra-musical ideas in a manner intelligible to all, of whatever nationality. Motifs were associated with ideas (fig.160) and were communicable through performance, notation, cheironomy and in other ways. Although the system achieved surprisingly wide acclaim in France at the time, it soon sank into oblivion.

See also CRYPTOGRAPHY, MUSICAL.

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& (we (are like) dead Whoshout (Ghost) atOne (voiceless) O

157. *'Frame' notation: the temporal position of each frame is fixed, but the performers may choose the grouping of the musical material within each frame; the thickness of the boundary depends on the 'intensity' of the 'action' (Berio, 'Circles'; London: Universal, 1960) (see also Karkoschka, 'Schriftbild', Eng. trans., 1972)*

Signes des Notes.

Ut Ré Mi Fa Sol La Si.

158. *Musical shorthand in the Prévost system, with its equivalent in mensural notation printed above it; the melody is represented by the upper line of the shorthand and the chordal accompaniment by the lower (H. Prévost, 'Sténographie musicale'; Paris, 1833)*



Where the five Vowels are represented by the Minnums on each of the five lines, being most of them placed according to their right order and consequence, only the letters K, and Q. are left out, because they may be otherwise expressed.

See Dem. Consul 94. According to this Alphabet of Notes, these words, *Gloria Deo soli*, must be thus contrived.



159. John Wilkins's musical cipher ('Mercury, or the Secret and Swift Messenger'; London, 1641)

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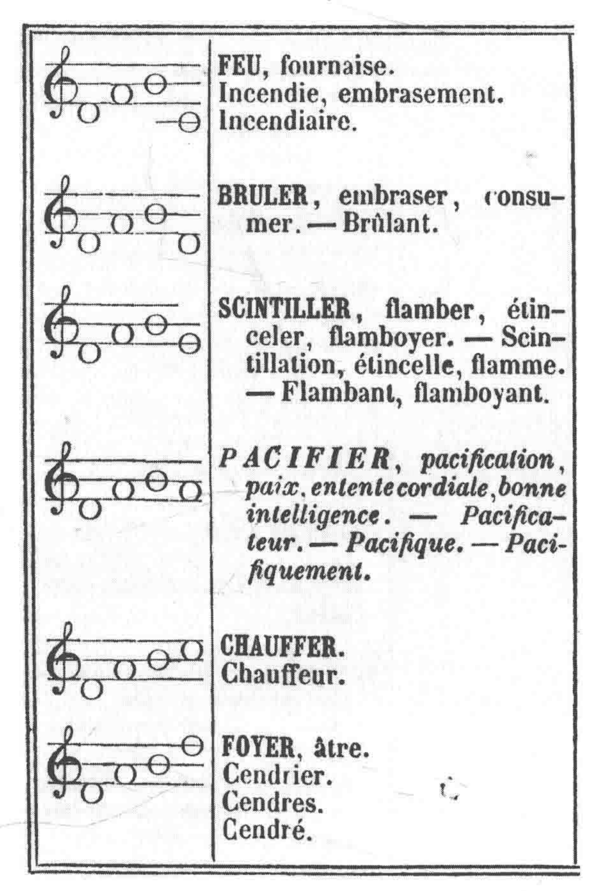
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160. Combinations of notes available in notation (or otherwise) to express concepts; the resemblances between different combinations are generally related to the resemblances between the ideas they represent (J.F. Sudre, 'Langue universelle'; Paris, 1867)

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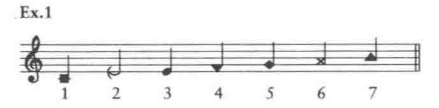
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IAN D. BENT/DAVID W. HUGHES, ROBERT C. PROVINE, RICHARD RASTALL (I–II, with ANNE KILMER, I, 2), DAVID HILEY, JANKA SZENDREI (III, 1), DAVID HILEY/THOMAS B. PAYNE (III, 2), MARGARET BENT (III, 3), GEOFFREY CHEW/RICHARD RASTALL (III, 4–6)

Notation monogammique (Fr.). A form of musical notation in which differently shaped note heads are employed to distinguish between the degrees of the scale (ex.1). As its



name implies, the same series is equally applicable to any key, the note numbered 1 always being the major tonic, 2 being the supertonic and so on. Devised by Pierre Galin's pupil Edouard Jue de Berneval for his own singing classes in Paris, details of the notation were first published in his textbook *La musique apprise sans maître* (1824). Fétis stated (*Biographie universelle*, 2/1862) that Jue was teaching in London in 1827 and that an English version of his manual was published as *Music Simplified* in 1832. However, internal evidence shows that the book, though undated, was not published until 1840; and Jue began to teach in London at the RAM only in May that year, holding the post until 1842.

Although conceived independently, Jue's notation has clear affinities with the 'buckwheat' or 'shaped' notation popular among gospel singers in Alabama, Tennessee and Georgia, USA (*see* SHAPE-NOTE HYMNODY).

BERNARR RAINBOW

Notched flute. An end-blown flute (open or stopped) with a V- or U-shaped notch cut or burnt into its upper rim to facilitate tone production. No clear line can be usefully drawn between rim-blown flutes (e.g. many used in panpipes) having gently cupped rims and 'notched' flutes with shallow U-shaped notches. An enormous variety of notched flutes used as solo and ensemble instruments are found widely distributed across Africa, East Asia, the Pacific Islands and Central and South America. Notched flutes of bone, with three equidistant finger-holes, were used in the Chavín culture of Peru (900–200 BCE). The coastal Chancay culture of Peru (1300–1438), noted for its white-on-black pottery, produced cane or clay notched flutes with four to eight finger-holes. The modern Chinese XIAO, of bamboo, has its notch cut into a natural node forming the upper end of the flute, the node serving, like the player's lower lip in other varieties, to seal off the upper end of the flute. Thus the *xiao* is intermediate between notched and duct flutes.

See also SHAKUHACHI; for illustrations *see* FLUTE, fig.1*d* and fig.2*c*.

PETER COOKE, JOHN M. SCHECHTER

Note (i). A symbol denoting a musical sound; also in English usage the sound itself.

Note (ii). A term used by Johannes de Grocheio and in several French lais, apparently describing form. *See* LAI, §1(iii).

Note cluster. *See* CLUSTER.

Note de rechange (Fr.). *See* NOTA CAMBIATA.

Note row. *See* SERIES.

Note sensible (Fr.). *See* LEADING NOTE.

Notes inégales (Fr.: 'unequal notes'). A rhythmic convention according to which certain divisions of the beat move in alternately long and short values, even if they are written equal.

1. Definition and early history. 2. French practice. 3. Application outside France. 4. Jazz.

1. DEFINITION AND EARLY HISTORY. As it existed in France from the mid-16th century to the late 18th the convention of *notes inégales* was first of all a way of gracing or enlivening passage-work or diminutions in vocal or instrumental music. As styles changed and the figurations born of diminution entered the essential melodic vocabulary, inequality permeated the musical language. Its application was regulated by metre and note values; it always operated within the beat, never distorting the beat itself. (An anomalous instance of alteration of the beat appears in Gigault; see §2.) The degree of inequality (i.e. the ratio between the lengths of the long and short notes of each pair) could vary from the barely perceptible to the equivalent of double dotting, according to the character of the piece and the taste of the performer. Inequality was considered one of the chief resources of expression, and it varied according to expressive needs within the same piece or even within the same passage; where it was felt to be inappropriate it could be abandoned altogether unless explicitly demanded.

Inequality is usually defined as the uneven performance of evenly written values. Although the practical problem is certainly that of deciding when to alter what appears on the page, the rhythmic convention itself is independent of questions of notation. French composers frequently wrote out inequality with dotted figures, sometimes to resolve doubt, sometimes to ensure a sharply dotted effect, and sometimes for no apparent reason. Outside France, where performers could not be counted on to alter the rhythm in given situations, a composer who particularly wanted inequality had to indicate it. To insist that *notes inégales* are, by definition, always written equal is to insist that a style of performance has no existence apart from notation: that this style is, in fact, a matter of notation. It is, furthermore, to hobble and skew research in the subject (Fuller, 1981 and 1989).

Although the history of *notes inégales* may stretch back to the modal rhythms of the Middle Ages, the first explicit description was by Loys Bourgeois (1550), who explained it in its essential features as an embellishment of diminutions, linked to metre and conferring upon singing a *meilleure grâce*. Similar accounts are to be found in Spanish treatises by Tomás de Santa Maria (1565), who mentioned the short–long alteration of quavers as well as the usual long–short kind, and Cerone (1613), and there are examples of dotted diminutions in manuals by Ganassi dal Fontego (1535), Ortiz (1553), Conforti (?1593) and others. Chailley's thesis (1960) that inequality arose from French declamation cannot be sustained, since it was typically applied not to successions of syllables but to decorative prolongations of single syllables; moreover the Spaniards, whose language was spoken very differently from French, wrote of it in the same terms. Nor is the hypothesis that inequality resulted from paired keyboard fingerings (Babitz, 1969 etc.) a plausible explanation. A closer connection exists between inequality and the tonguing of wind instruments (Haynes, 1997), but *notes inégales* did not originate with any instrumental technique. There are sporadic references to both long–short and short–long inequality in Italian sources of the first half of the 17th century (Caccini, 1601/2; Frescobaldi, 1615; Puliaschi, 1618) and brief mentions of long–short inequality by Bernhard (1657) and Burwell (*c*1660–72; see Dart, 1958), but if the momentum of unequal diminution established in the 16th century continued in the art of performers of the first two-thirds of the 17th, it was largely undocumented by theorists. Parallel to but separate from the performing conventions of inequality, however, there developed a compositional, that is, a written 'dotted manner', like *notes inégales* owing its origin to Renaissance diminutions, but absorbed and transmitted through the concertato style of Monteverdi and his contemporaries and engendering a long line of sometimes obsessively dotted pieces as diverse as the second partita from Biber's *Harmonia artificiosa-ariosa*, Contrapunctus II from Bach's *Art of Fugue*, sonatas by Benedetto Marcello and even the second movement of Schumann's *Phantasie* op.17. The chief characteristic of this style is a relentless nervous energy quite unlike the grace or piquancy which is the normal effect of *notes inégales*; nevertheless there must have been some interaction between the two styles in the 17th century and it is not now possible to draw a clean line between them (Fuller, 1985).

2. FRENCH PRACTICE. More than a century elapsed between Bourgeois' description and the next mention of inequality in French writings. In the preface to his first *Livre d'orgue* (1665) G.G. Nivers recommended that the quavers in a short fugue in the time signature **C** 'and other similar pieces' should be played as if 'half-dotted'. Bacilly (1668) recommended a similarly gentle inequality in divisions; and in explaining that the dotting was left unwritten for fear of tempting the singer to an excessively jerky delivery in the manner of 'the old method of singing that would be very disagreeable today', he provided us with a rare clue to what seems to have been an early or mid-17th-century style of violent inequality, at least in vocal music. Burwell around 1670 (Dart, 1958) and Perrine in 1680 provided evidence of inequality in lute music and Rousseau (1687) in viol music. Although a gradual systematization of the relationship between inequality and metre is discernible in treatises and prefaces from the last two decades of the 17th century, rules were slow to evolve, partly as a result of uncertainties concerning metre and measure – reflected in a chaotic treatment of barring and signatures – at a time when the transition from Renaissance mensuration to modern metre was not quite complete. The modern performer cannot depend on a code that was not yet fully formulated for decisions about inequality in the music of Lully, Charpentier, Louis and the young François Couperin, the young Marais, Mouton, Grigny and others at the pinnacle of French classicism. It is particularly the 'quarter-beat rule' in **C** (see below) whose application is uncertain. Nivers was not the only one to suggest unequal quavers (i.e. half-beats) in that metre; Jullien (1690) did the same. Loulié admitted them ('sometimes' in 'any' metre) and some

scores seem to demand them – notably the offertory from François Couperin's *Messe des paroisses* for organ (1690). Rousseau (1687) was the first to say that quavers were equal in **C**; he also said that one should 'mark' the odd-numbered semiquavers. It is not clear, however, that 'mark' meant 'lengthen' here; it may simply have meant 'emphasize'. Saint Lambert (1702) wrote explicitly of making quavers alternately long and short except in **C**, where it was the semiquavers that were unequal.

A collection of 180 organ pieces from 1685 by Nicolas Gigault (*c*1627–1707; said to have been one of Lully's teachers) amounts to an encyclopedia of applied inequality for this period. The inequality is completely written out with dots but is presumably meant to be treated flexibly according to the expression of the music. The rhythms have been discussed in detail and the arguments presented for accepting this dotting as notated inequality by Pyle (1991) and Fuller ('Notes and *inégales*', 1989 and 'Gigault's Dots', 1994). The most important general observations are: (1) Inequality is the norm for the principal moving values of a piece or passage and even motion the exception. (2) Dotting is applied to the half-beat (quaver) in two-thirds of the pieces in **C** (providing further evidence that the 'quarter-beat rule' was not yet solidified). In two pieces in **C** it is applied, exceptionally, to the beat itself (crotchet) – this in addition to the usual application to semiquaver motion (quarter-beats) under this signature. (3) Dotted and even notes of different values and in different parts are freely mixed. As melodic motion shifts from one value to another (e.g. to a passage in semiquavers in a predominantly quaver motion) or from one part to another, the dotting may shift with it. (4) Even notes may be introduced for short passages or a whole section, apparently for the sake of variety and contrast. (5) Dotting is not affected by the intervallic character of the melodic movement: wide leaps are dotted as well as stepwise movement. (6) Except in crotchet motion in 6/4, the first note of a ternary group is normally dotted. (7) Syncopated notes are not normally dotted, though there are exceptions. (8) Slow accompaniments to expressive *récits* are usually undotted, though imitations of the solo will preserve the solo dotting. (9) *Contrepoint simple* (chordal texture) is not dotted. (10) A four-part *Fugue poursuivie à la manière italienne* (68 bars of densely imitative, more or less *stile antico* counterpoint) is not dotted. There appears to be some connection between learned counterpoint and even rhythm in this collection, though it is not consistent. (Gigault's music shows no trace of the Corellian style that was felt later by most to be incompatible with *notes inégales*; Corelli was only just becoming known in France in the 1680s.) The most illuminating and useful observations concern reversed, or short–long inequality, a subject touched only glancingly by writers. It is found in a little over a third of the pieces, under any signature, in any part and in any style, as occasional and unpredictable rhythmic 'seasoning', most often as a single instance of semiquaver–dotted quaver, rarely demisemiquaver–dotted semiquaver. Two short–long figures in a row always descend scalewise and are most characteristically found in '**C**3' (3/4 time). If there are three, the last two descend scalewise. Only when short–long figures are part of a fugue subject do they dominate the movement of a piece.

Towards 1700, this fluid approach to inequality began to crystallize into a set of rules. These are found first of all in performance manuals in connection with *mesure*, i.e. time beating and metre. The manuals describe in varying detail what note values were normally unequal and occasionally under what conditions. The number, distribution and consistency of these accounts show beyond any possible doubt that inequality was a normal component of musical instruction in France in the 18th century. Further explanations and examples exist in dictionaries, treatises and *avertissements* to editions. The note-by-note treatment of whole pieces can be studied on barrel organs and in instructions for making them. The scores themselves supply examples of notated inequality and written directions for the treatment of particular pieces. Finally, dotted and undotted versions of the same passages may be taken as evidence that the undotted versions were dotted in performance, even though other explanations (such as a change of mind) cannot be ruled out.

The code that emerges from the many dozens of French manuals and treatises that appeared between about 1700 and the Revolution seems at first acquaintance to be remarkably uniform, rational and even 'scientific'. The uniformity extends over all media; there was, astonishingly, almost no evolutionary change from the 1720s to the 1770s to match the innovations in compositional styles and the changing play of foreign influences. These books, however, were addressed to children, amateurs and their teachers: they vary enormously in completeness and competence; they are rarely concerned with the analysis and description of professional performance; and they rarely answer any but the easy questions, leaving to the instructor or to that imaginary oracle, *le bon goût*, the hard ones, such as how unequal the inequality should be, whether it should be consistent and above all, what to do when passages of apparently redundant dotting are mixed with plain notes that the rules say should be played unequally. (See below for further discussion.) Not all performing treatises of the period dealt with the question of inequality, but the ones that did (the majority of those for voice and strings, especially during the middle 50 years of the 18th century) concerned themselves chiefly with listing the note values that were equal and unequal in the different metres; it is this aspect, in which there is (with certain exceptions) general agreement, that lends them an air of authority and system. These lists run to as many as six values and 20 signatures, many of them purely hypothetical (Borin, 1722), seemingly designed as much to impress as to instruct; Dard (1769) specified unequal hemidemisemiquavers in 2/16. In many cases this is all we learn, as if the listed values were unequal in all circumstances without regard to style or expression. In others, inequality is associated with certain genres, ways of cancelling it are described, triplets are mentioned and other problems are discussed, but sporadically and with much disagreement among sources. Many of the treatises rely on great numbers of exercises (*leçons*) with little or no explanation, on the probable assumption that they were to be mastered with the help of a teacher. A few writers discussed one or two aspects – never all – in depth and with intelligence: these included Démoz de La Salle (1728), La Chapelle (1736–52), David (1737); Vyon (1742 and 1744, with an unusual wealth of examples from major composers), Denis (1747, 1757), Labadens (*c*1772), Azaïs (1776) and Mercadier de Belesta (1776). Some, such as J.-J. Rousseau (1768), went no further than

to say that in French music one always dotted quavers a little except in C.

The core of the doctrine was what one might call the 'quarter-beat rule' for duple metres; for triple or compound metres, the rule (never summarized in these terms) was that notes whose value was half the smallest value grouped in three were unequal. Occasional disagreements arose from continued differences about how time was beaten. In simple metres with two or four beats to the bar, notes of the value of a quarter of a beat or less were unequal. Thus quavers were unequal in 2 (2/2) and in ¢ when taken in two beats, and semiquavers were unequal in C (4/4), ¢ when taken in four beats, also in 4/8, which was taken in two beats. Semiquavers were unequal in 2/4 according to most writers, though Loulié (1696) specified unequal quavers.

In the 17th century the time signature '3' could mean any simple triple metre. In the 18th it usually meant only 3/4 and implied the French style; the signature '3/4' was associated at first with Italian style and therefore could be taken to exclude inequality, but as '3' dropped out of use '3/4' gradually lost this connotation. Triple metre could be taken (as today) in one or three beats, depending on the tempo, or in two unequal beats. 6/8, 9/8 and 12/8 were beaten in two, three and four respectively. No matter how beaten, however, in triple metres values of half the denominator were normally unequal. The principal exceptions were courantes in 3/2, in which quavers, not crotchets, were unequal, and sometimes 3/4, which a few writers of the mid-18th century distinguished from 3 in specifying equal quavers and sometimes unequal semiquavers. 'Croches blanches' (whitened quavers and semiquavers with the value of crotchets and quavers) had no special rhythmic significance, as far as can be determined (for three pieces in this notation see *Les folies françoises* in François Couperin's *Troisième livre*, 1722). Underlying all these rules was probably the assumption that the principal unit of melodic movement in a piece corresponded to the theoretically unequal one for that metre. If there were smaller values, they became unequal; this might be called the 'rule of descending inequality'. There was disagreement, however, about what happened to the original values. Some said they became equal, as would appear logical if they occurred simultaneously with the smaller ones in another part. But Morel de Lescer (*c*1760) gave examples of melodies with mixed unequal values: in a very slow 3/2, 'crotchets and quavers are unequal'; in 6/4 with *mouvement marqué*, 'quavers and semiquavers are unequal'. Inequality did not (at least in the 18th century) move up to values larger than the theoretically unequal ones. A useful table summarizing the unequal values for each metre in a selection of sources throughout the period of these manuals is given by Neumann (1965, p.322; reproduced in Hefling, 1993).

It is extremely difficult to evaluate the roles of theory and practice in all of this. To some extent writers were trying to describe usage in a number of well-defined rhythmic styles, each associated with a certain metre and genre. The rules themselves must have influenced practice to some extent among the musicians who grew up with them. But there are many references to how hard it was to give general principles (e.g. Bailleux, 1770) and to the fact that style and taste were the final arbiters. Occasionally an author spelt out exceptions, as did Démoz de La Salle (1728, p.166):

> In the expression of declamatory *airs*, in recitatives, or in solos [*récits*] measured *in two or three simple beats*, theoretically unequal quavers are very often performed equal according to the expression of the words and the style of the melody. And in recitatives, bass solos, or other [pieces] measured *in four simple beats*, quavers which are naturally equal in their motion are, on the contrary, often sung unequal, also according to the style of the melody, and according to how regularly these kinds of *airs* are written and how well they express the text.

What is certain is that inequality suffused French thinking about performance, in which it constituted one of the most important and difficult questions. Borin (1722, p.26) summed it up: 'Expression ... consists principally in knowing what notes are equal or unequal'.

The careful composer who wished to ensure inequality or equality in doubtful situations used symbols or written directions. The dot of addition was the usual sign for inequality; very occasionally, in order to suggest gentle inequality, there was no compensatory shortening of the second note of the pair (Nivers, 1667; Perrine, 1680). The reasoning of Bacilly (1668) with regard to dots has been noted above: they were normally left unwritten in order to avoid tempting the player to jerkiness. He explained written dots in a particular example, however, as a warning 'not to omit them in singing, which would [otherwise] lack all grace' (p.233). La Chapelle (i, 1736), on the other hand, said that dots indicated a greater inequality than usual: to perform plain semiquavers and demisemiquavers in C 'one dwells on the first and takes the second quickly, but when they are dotted one dwells a little longer'; the reason for dotting is 'to indicate those on which one should dwell the most'. The symbol for equality was dots over the notes (hereafter 'equality dots'); strokes meant equal and staccato. The simplest written directions were 'notes égales' or 'croches égales' to cancel inequality, and 'pointé' (sometimes qualified) to ensure it. Most other terms are ambiguous. 'Piqué' as an adverb heading a piece meant sharply (over-)dotted; as an adjective, 'notes piquées', it meant staccato (Rousseau, 1768, 'Piqué'). The expression 'passer les croches', whose strict meaning in this context is simply 'execute the quavers', was used on rare occasions to mean 'execute the quavers unequally'. 'Louré' meant slightly unequal to Loulié but legato and in the style of a loure (the dance or bagpipes) to others. 'Mesuré', 'marqué' and 'martelé' had meanings of their own which might or might not imply equality in a given situation. 'Gracieusement' probably implied inequality where metre and note values permitted.

There was a broad but variable and inconsistent association between articulation and equality or inequality. Detached delivery was associated with equality, as reflected in one or two cases by the use of the term *notes détachées* as a virtual equivalent for *notes égales* (e.g., Labadens, *c*1772), more often in scattered remarks and music examples in treatises. (*Détaché* meant detached by silences, not the modern string *détaché*, for which Labadens's idiosyncratic term was *notes articulées* or *notes assemblées*, and which demanded inequality.) The association of connected delivery with inequality was mostly implicit in the treatment of equality as an exception imposed by detached or *marcato* articulation. The relationship between intervals and inequality was more complicated. In the 18th century inequality was associated with conjunct motion. A few writers (e.g. Couperin, 1717) said so explicitly, and examples of inequality given in the treatises are usually conjunct. It followed that disjunct motion was equal, but statements to that effect

are rare. Montéclair gave a rule of restricted application: 'When the melody proceeds by disjunct intervals, the quavers are ordinarily equal in 3/4' (ex.1).

Ex.1 Montéclair: *Nouvelle méthode* (Paris, 1709), p.15



This was partly a matter of style: the lines in the new Italianate string music were typically far more disjunct than traditional French melody –much more likely to outline chords or imply two parts by leaping between them – and Italian music was (according to most but not quite all) played as it was written. Even when the motion in a recognizably Italian style was conjunct, it was still equal, especially the walking basses imitating those of Corelli's *grave* movements and much cultivated by Couperin and others. Batteries (arpeggios, broken-chord figures, rapid repeated notes, *bariolage* and similar string effects), Alberti basses and similar keyboard accompaniments, all were played evenly. A whole vocabulary of analogous keyboard figuration invented (according to his own claim) by Rameau and imitated to excess by his followers, involving throwing the left hand back and forth over the thumb as well as rapid alternation of the hands, also demanded equality, if only because of its speed (e.g. *Les niais de Sologne* and *Les cyclopes*, 1724, and the *Gavotte avec 6 doubles*, *c*1729–30). The difficulty comes when leaps or arpeggios occur in music that is not obviously Italian. The 17th and early 18th-century repertory for bass viol includes much highly disjunct melodic writing. This was imitated in organ music in the 1650s by Louis Couperin (also a viol player) and cultivated by French organists for 100 years. As has been noted above, Couperin's contemporary Gigault, who did not, to be sure, compose division basses, dotted the most extravagant and rapid leaps without hesitation. Yet it is by no means clear whether this sort of inequality extended to other and later genres.

Only the most careful composers made their intentions clear regarding exceptions to the metrical rules. Cappus (1730) observed after explaining 'equality dots' that 'it would be desirable if all composers took this trouble' (pp.16–17). François Couperin, who considered the French habit of writing one rhythm and expecting another a 'defect', indicated exceptions only sporadically and inconsistently. In ex.2, from a piece (one of *Les folies*

Ex.2 F. Couperin: *Pièces de clavecin, troisième livre* (1722), 'Les vieux galans et les Trésorieres surannées'



françoises) whose main idea is the contrast between equal and unequal motion, redundant dots of addition are used for passages that would normally be unequal anyway and 'equality dots' are placed over the plain notes, even though their equality could have been inferred from the surrounding dotting or the disjunct intervals. His *Les guirlandes* (*Quatrième livre*, 1730), a long piece in 2/4 time moving throughout in semiquavers, is dotted in the predominantly disjunct *première partie* (in which there is much leaping between the parts) while the conjunct

Ex.3 Rameau: *Nouvelles suites de pièces de clavecin* (Paris, *c*1728), Courante p.4



deuxième partie is undotted (the equality is emphasized by the heading *coulament*: 'flowing'), thus reversing the usual relationship between intervals and inequality. In Rameau's magnificent A minor Courante (ex.3), where metre (effectively 6/4) and the predominantly conjunct motion decree *notes inégales*, 15 or so arpeggios suggest *croches égales*. Does one change back and forth according to the intervals? Or is the whole piece either equal or unequal? Rameau's own arrangement of *La Livri* from his *Pièces de clavecin en concerts* (1741) in *Zoroastre* (1749) shows that unequal performance of such arpeggios was not unacceptable to him; it may suggest but does not prove that he expected them to be played unequally in *La Livri* or the Courante (see illustration). Ex.4 shows a type

Ex.4 Lully: *Armide*, passacaille, Act 5 scene ii



of figuration often introduced during the course of chaconnes and *passacailles*. Corrette (1741) and others cited it as cancelling inequality of the quavers (which would in any case be impossible on account of the bass line) but they did not say whether in this case the semiquavers would become unequal in accordance with the 'rule of descending inequality'.

Modern discussions of inequality often list additional contra-indications which are either based on a single, sometimes dubious source or are outright fabrications: the presence of syncopated notes (Lacassagne, 1766, as reported in Borrel, 1934); the presence of rests of the same value as the notes in question (Borrel); the fact that the notes are in an accompanying part (Emy de l'Ilette, *c*1810, as reported in Borrel); allemandes (Dolmetsch's misreading of the sources, 1915); repeated notes, slurs over more than two notes, and motion that is too fast (Quantz, 1752, as reported by Borrel and others); motion that is too slow (Saint Lambert, 1702, as reported by Donington, 3/1974). None of these has the force of a rule and most are refuted by sources. Only the long slur seems at times to be intended to cancel pairing and to suggest to the player that only the first note should be emphasized.

The theory has been advanced that dotting the approach to a cadence compensates for an otherwise unrecorded convention of easing up on inequality at the ends of sections (Newman, 1992). Occasionally in French music (and elsewhere, notably in music by Handel) there are



Rameau's rondeau gracieux 'La Livri': (a) original from 'Pièces de clavecin en concerts' (Paris, 1741); (b) as arranged for Act 3 of 'Zoroastre' (Paris: Boivin, 1750)

dots in the first bar or two of a piece which disappear thereafter, even though the same theme or figures continue; in such cases the dotting is meant to continue as well, according to one or two theorists. That *notes inégales* entailed overdotting is confirmed by at least four French theorists (see Hefling 1993, p.68) and implied by many more. In ex.3, if the running quavers are unequal, then the quaver–dotted crotchet figures would be overdotted. Such overdotting is not dependent on inequality in an accompanying part to 'legitimize' or measure it, however, since the dot itself (or a rest of the same value) is counted as the first of an unequal pair. It is governed by all the considerations that affect inequality in general.

Reverse inequality or 'Lombardic rhythm' (i.e. short–long alteration) had a shadowy existence in French theory. Its use by Gigault has been described. It was mentioned as an afterthought by Loulié (1696, p.71) that in 3 (3/4) the first halves of beats may be made shorter than the second halves. François Couperin's sign for it was a dot over the second of two slurred notes. His heading 'pointé-coulé' for a *courante à l'italienne* (*Concerts royaux*, no.4, 1722) has been cited as a direction for reversed inequality. It is possible that plain slurs over pairs of notes, particularly if they descend stepwise, were sometimes meant to be read as reversed inequality. Couperin's example and explanation were copied by Pierre-Claude Foucquet (*Les caractères de la Paix*, 1749), while Dupuits (1741) used a slur with the dot over the first note. Both signs are extremely rare.

According to most descriptions, the degree of inequality ranged from that of a pair of notes of which the first was 'a little longer' than the second through 'almost as if it were dotted' to the 3:1 ratio of normal dotting. Couperin asked for semiquavers in a harpsichord Allemande to be 'un tant-soit-peu pointées' ('very slightly dotted'; *Premier livre*, 1713). But an anonymous, late 17th-century manuscript treatise seems to go well beyond 3:1 ratio: in a very slow-moving organ trio, 'dotting must be executed with great fire and boldness, because it is the piece that most needs to move, and only dotting will do it ... thus one cannot dot it too much' (see Pruitt, 1986, p.247). Although sharp overdotting was certainly not what was ordinarily meant in the descriptions of *notes inégales*, its occasional use is implied for the earlier 17th century by Bacilly (cited at the beginning of this section) and later by use of the direction 'piqué'. It may also be what was intended for certain pieces (such as ex.2 and *Les guirlandes*) with written dotting of values that would be played unequally even if undotted. For the only French attempt at the analysis of actual performances, including the variable ratios of long to short, one must turn to Engramelle (1775) and his chapter in Bédos de Celles (1778) on the pinning of barrel organs, where he described a method of obtaining ratios of inequality as subtle as 9:7. Such ratios – sometimes varying in the same piece – can be heard on surviving instruments, mostly in clocks (Fuller, 1979 and 1980; Houle, 1987, p.120). Cossart-Cotte (1969) found only one example of unvarying inequality in 500 samples

taken from late 18th-century barrel organs. Although some of this irregularity was doubtless caused by faults in the mechanism or carelessness in pinning the cylinders, it is likely that much of it was intentional. Inequality not only varied in sharpness, it came and went altogether, as in ex.2.

The alteration of ternary groups was generally discouraged, most writers who discussed them at all expressly excluding it from triplets or the quavers in 6/8 etc. But Mercadier de Belesta (1776) and a few others allowed the first note to be lengthened at the expense of the second, producing the rhythm of a French gigue. According to Cappus (1730), quaver triplets were 'most often' even, but 'it sometimes happened' that they were played 'as if the last two quavers were semiquavers, or finally, as if the first had a dot and the second were a semiquaver'. A topic which is often improperly included in discussions of *notes inégales* is the assimilation of duple to triple rhythm (*see* DOTTED RHYTHMS). That this was a widespread habit in all countries in the Baroque period cannot be disputed. But there is a fundamental difference between this kind of alteration and *notes inégales* as defined in this article. The long–short pairing that results cannot vary with the requirements of embellishment or expression, since it must be synchronized with a rhythm that already exists elsewhere in the texture; it does not add a fresh nuance; and its origin and purpose are different (see Collins, 1966). The performance of gigues in 4/4 time or other duple metres raises problems of rhythmic alteration which are again not those of *notes inégales*. Such gigues are common in mid-17th-century French lute music where they are closely related and sometimes identical to the allemande; they are also found in English, French and German sources later in the century and beyond, the best known being those in Bach's First French Suite and Sixth Partita for harpsichord. The only French theoretical source to discuss them says that they can be 'very easily reduced to 3/4 or 3/8, which may suit them better' [than duple execution]. It adds a caution that could be applied to the whole subject of rhythmic alteration: 'to understand this kind of gigue properly you must have played or heard one' (Cleret *fils*, 1786, p.407; see also McIntyre 1965).

The classification of notes into metrically strong and weak ones was a feature of music theory in all countries throughout the 17th and 18th centuries and has occasioned enormous difficulties for those who argue about *notes inégales*. Notes on first beats, first parts of any beat, or first parts of parts were strong in relation to a succeeding note of similar value. Thus notes whose value was half that of the next larger metrical unit (this would exclude, for example, quavers in 6/8) proceeded in strong–weak pairs beginning at the bar-line. At first glance the system appears to have much in common with the convention of inequality, but the differences are fundamental. The strong–weak classification applied to notes of almost any value in any style, and it was an analytical distinction independent of performance. The terminology varied: the French said 'first' and 'second' or 'strong' and 'weak'; the Italians 'good' and 'bad'; the Germans any of these and also, after Printz (1668), 'intrinsically long' and 'intrinsically short'. Walther's explanation ('Quantitas notarum', *Musicalisches Lexicon*, 1732) of these last invites misunderstanding: 'according to [its extrinsic quantity], each note is equal in length to similar ones in performance; according to [their intrinsic quantity], however, [the notes are] of unequal length' – i.e. they are defined metrically as long and short even though they are played equal (for the opposite interpretation see Collins, 1967, p.483). French writings on inequality did not normally appeal to the strong–weak distinction to explain the phenomenon, but Mercadier de Belesta (1776), after a very lucid presentation of strong–weak, continued with a kind of transition to the usual rules for *notes inégales* (p.67, ¶151) that suggests a connection. Nevertheless, inequality was restricted in its application, decorative or expressive, and easily heard, while the strong–weak distinction was universal, structural, and did not need to be heard at all, though attention to it served to enhance performance.

Except for scattered echoes, *notes inégales* disappeared from French theory and pedagogy towards the end of the 18th century; the rhythms persisted, however, in performance and composition, particularly in opera and military music, and not only in France. What changed were musical styles and attitudes to notational exactitude. But even while the practice of inequality was still alive, an ambivalence about unnotated dotting cropped up occasionally, and nowhere more strikingly than in the anonymous treatise here tentatively ascribed and dated as ?Labadens (MS, *c*1772, *F-Pn*). After stating that 'articulated [here meaning 'connected'] notes are always alternately ... long and short', the author continued in the following paragraph: 'The principle of making audible ... the longs and shorts, being contrary to the rules of good taste, should only be used in learning the music, to distinguish essential from passing notes .... No more should one make the notes unequal unless their values are different [the redundancy results from the careless handling of the distinction between 'intrinsic' and 'extrinsic' quantity]; there are, however, many passages in a given piece of music where one should make articulated notes unequal without it being indicated, but this knowledge is only acquired by experience'.

3. APPLICATION OUTSIDE FRANCE. Whether the conventions of *notes inégales* should be applied to the music of non-French composers, particularly J.S. Bach, is a question which has engaged the attention of scholars and performers ever since Dolmetsch (1915) recommended it for parts of Handel's *Messiah* and Bach's *St Matthew Passion*. After World War II a number of writers (Babitz, Donington, Dürr, Geoffroy-Dechaume, Sachs and others) took up and enlarged on Dolmetsch's views, analysing early fingering, bowing and tonguing, amassing instances of passages in both dotted and undotted versions, and combing the theorists in order to show that inequality was a normal resource of Baroque music in all countries (though not in all styles), and therefore that one might, should or must – depending on the recklessness of the argument – sometimes alter evenly written notes in non-French music. Then Frederick Neumann (1965) dismantled the entire structure of post-Dolmetsch research on inequality, piece by piece. This unleashed a controversy lasting several years during which the 'left', represented chiefly by Donington, Collins and Babitz (in order of increasingly vehement advocacy of a broad application of *notes inégales*), were stimulated to uncover a great deal of new evidence in their favour, while Neumann on the 'right' resolutely defended Germany and Bach against the alien taint by discrediting their authorities and refuting their evidence. The battle – which seems to have engaged

the passions of few outside the English-speaking world – never entirely died down, and it flared up again in 1988, reaching a climax with the publication of Hefling (1993), which occasioned an acrimonious exchange whose resonance continued beyond Neumann's death and had not ended at present writing (1999). The entire controversy, though distorted by arbitrary assumptions on both sides (especially the assumption that *notes inégales* are by definition written equal) and weighted down by futile struggles over isolated authorities such as Quantz, is indispensable reading for anyone wishing to pursue the subject.

The real issue was not whether Bach and other non-French composers used *notes inégales* – countless scores show that they did. Although never clearly stated, the issue was rather whether they ever failed to write them out when they wanted them. The evidence is different for different countries. Purcell's normal treatment of running quavers in 3/4 time was to dot them (examples include 'Thou tun'st this world' and 'The Airy Violin' from the *Saint Cecilia Ode*, 1692). English harpsichord music from Locke onwards is full of written inequality, most commonly in preludes and allemandes (Alcock, Clarke, Croft, Felton, Gunn, Richard Jones, Moss, Nares, Roseingrave [Introduction to Scarlatti's sonatas], J.C. Smith, Symonds); pieces by G.B. Draghi and Handel (e.g. the opening movements of the sixth, seventh and eighth suites of the *Suites de pieces pour le clavecin*, i, 1720) are in this tradition. But unwritten inequality too is suggested by multiple versions of pieces from Jenkins to Handel (Johnson, 1967, found that the most frequent discrepancy in mid-17th-century English ensemble manuscripts involved even quaver figures in one source appearing as dotted figures in another), and dotting was explicitly recommended by Burwell and North – 'tho' not express'd', to give 'a life and spirit to the stroke' (see Wilson, 1959). Whether these references are to isolated pairs or continuous inequality is not certain; but Corrette (1740), who had been to England, clearly meant the latter when he stipulated that quavers were to be dotted in English 'vaudevilles and contredances' in 6/4, such as *Bartholomew Fair*, *Hunt the Squirrel*, *Lilliburlero* and *Hoopt Pettycoat*. Versions of pieces by Handel for automatic instruments also show some added inequality, both in the scores (Squire, 1919) and on the instruments themselves, for instance the last movement of op.4 no.2 on a late 18th-century barrel organ (Fuller, 1974 and 1980). In 1771 Anselm Bayly advised unequal quavers as possible in an anthem by Greene (see Pont, *JAMS*, xix, 1966).

The French influence was strong in the low countries, not only in French-speaking regions but among the Dutch as well, as can be seen from the correspondence of Constantijn Huygens from the mid-17th century and the activity of the Amsterdam presses later on. A treatise in Dutch by Frischmuth (1758) specified unequal semiquavers for allemandes and unequal quavers for courantes.

French dance music had become thoroughly naturalized in Italy by the 1660s, as specific labels and styles of pieces by Uccellini, Giuseppe Columbi, G.M. Bononcini (i) and G.B. Vitali show – the aria and allemande especially being frequently dotted (Klenz, 1962). The recommendations of Frescobaldi and others have been noted. Lorenzoni (1779), who cited Loulié, Rousseau and Quantz, recommended normal inequality to enhance the distinction between 'good' and 'bad' notes, and many more clues to rhythmic alteration have been collected by Collins, Pont, Donington and others. But none of this adds up to an expected norm of inequality, and certain typical italianisms expressly demanded that at least the quavers should be even, as in 'walking' basses and vigorous allegros. French authors disagreed with each other and sometimes with themselves about Italian music. In *L'école d'Orphée* (1738) Corrette said of the metre ¢ that it was 'much in use in Italian music .... The quavers are played equal and second semiquavers are hurried'. A similar rule (i.e. specifying unequal semiquavers) was given for 3/8 time, and Handel, Giovanni Bononcini, Pepusch, Alessandro Scarlatti and Porpora were cited for examples. At the same time the French 3 with unequal quavers was distinguished from the Italian 3/4 with unequal semiquavers. In Corrette's flute tutor (1740) the wording was much the same, except that 'semiquavers are also sometimes played equally in the allegros and prestos of sonatas and concertos'. In his cello method (1741) the reference to unequal semiquavers in 3/4 was dropped, and the courante from Corelli's op.5 no.7 was cited as a piece in 3/4 where the quavers must be equal – not a contradiction but a shift of emphasis.

Loulié (1696), Brossard (1703) and Rousseau (1768) excluded inequality from Italian music; others besides Corrette seem to admit it (Mussard, 1779; Rollet, 1760). Azaïs (1776) wrote that foreigners in France played unequal quavers in 3/4. The uncertainty about foreign music must have reflected a diversity of practice among musicians in Paris. There are so many imponderables – not least the possibility that some visiting Italians may have tried to please French audiences by adopting their style of playing – that it is advisable to keep an open mind on the subject. In French music composed under Italian influence the situation was still more complicated, as there were real efforts at stylistic synthesis from Lully onwards. What Couperin expected from his players in *Les goûts réünis*, an essay in the combination of French and Italian styles, and what Mondonville meant when he wrote that in his *Pièces de clavecin avec voix ou violon* (1748) one must 'distinguish the phrases which are in French style from those which require the Italian style', are among the problems posed.

French dancing-masters, musicians and their music spread over Germany from the early 17th century, and knowledge of French performing style kept pace. In 1664 Johann Caspar Horn published five ballets 'to be played in French style', and much later Marpurg (1749) remarked on how Quantz, Benda and Graun played 'in a very French manner'. Georg Muffat (1698) explained *notes inégales* clearly and authoritatively to the Germans, and direct French influence on Froberger, Kusser, J.C.F. Fischer, J.S. Bach and a legion of others is documented. (It is worth noting, however, that when Bach and Walther copied Grigny, Le Roux, Dieupart and Clérambault, they did not translate *notes inégales* into dotted notation.) The French overture became an obsession; Telemann is estimated to have composed some 1000 overture-suites. Yet although Printz (1678) recommended inequality as a device to keep the tempo under control, and C.P.E. Bach (1753–62) as a way to treat two semiquavers following a quaver in the accompaniment of an adagio, only one German writer besides Muffat treated the convention in terms approaching those of the French, that is, as a normal way of playing a substantial amount of music;

this was Quantz (1752). As he did not say that his remarks applied only to French music – indeed they include no mention of French music at all – his passage has acquired a kind of scriptural status for those who wish to alter even rhythms in Bach, and it has become a principal target of attack by the right. But even the most subtle exegesis cannot make Quantz say that Bach wanted his rhythms to be altered in performance; the most that can be concluded is that Quantz himself might have played Bach that way, and perhaps that the trio sonata from *The Musical Offering* was subjected to inequality when (or if) it was played at Potsdam. On the other hand the best efforts of a Frederick Neumann can produce nothing but silence to prove that Bach did not want alteration.

The ubiquity of *notes inégales* in French performance of the 17th and 18th centuries is beyond dispute, yet at the end of the 20th century there was still, even among the most brilliant and historically informed specialists, a reluctance to apply them with anything resembling the frequency with which all the evidence indicates that they were applied in earlier times. The visceral revulsion felt by the great musicologist Charles Van den Borren (1936) when he declared himself 'literally overwhelmed at the thought that anyone could reconcile the finicky requirements that Muffat [1695] enumerates with the style, so simple so sober, so genuinely inspired by the *grand siècle*, that Lully offers us throughout his work', and in particular, at 'that deformity, devoid of logic, which consists in the unequal performance of equal quavers' (a revulsion that informed the researches of the indefatigable Frederick Neumann) still inhibits efforts to discover the elixir of vitality that must have enlivened the old performances. The favourite recipe in recent years has been sheer velocity. The secret must lie elsewhere, however: in the subtlety and variability that is only hinted at in the verbal descriptions but is made more concrete, if crudely, in automatic instruments. As noted below, something comparable may be heard today in jazz, but the incorporation of *notes inégales* into the performance of early music can only be accomplished by experimentation, and specifically through practice in executing ratios of long to short that are less or much less than the 3:1 of strict dotting and then in varying these ratios in response to the expression. Sharper inequality should not be neglected, but it is much easier.

Modern discussions of inequality in Baroque music often conclude with an appeal to 'good taste' as the final arbiter in good performance. The idea comes directly from innumerable similar appeals by 18th-century French writers, and is dangerously misleading. It is indeed taste that decides, but the taste of the period when the music was written. Alien taste is laboriously acquired, and never completely so except by imitation; one need only imagine with what degree of authenticity some future musician might succeed in reproducing the 'taste' of a Charlie Parker from written documents alone. Taste is the most inconstant of values, and it was a conflict of taste far more than of objective findings which lay at the root of the inequality controversy of the 1960s and fuelled its partisan zeal.

5. JAZZ. *Notes inégales* may have lived on in France after the 18th century in the semi-popular styles of *opéra comique*; in any case they reappear in a context far removed from the elegance of the *ancien régime* (though not nearly so far from the French opera of New Orleans) – in American jazz. Here they permeate a living tradition of improvised diminution whose rhythmic conventions are remarkably reminiscent of the old French code. Jazz is organized rhythmically in layers corresponding to chord changes at each half-bar or larger unit, a crotchet beat, and a melodic line in mostly smaller values. Inequality operates only at the last level but there it was until the 1940s, and with many players still is, virtually omnipresent on duple subdivisions of the beat, even when the motion is extremely rapid. As with the old code, the degree of inequality is freely variable from extremely subtle to pronounced. But with the exception of triplets, quintuplets etc., which are played evenly, strict equality must be expressly demanded in a written part by some direction like 'straight eighths' – an exact American equivalent for 'croches égales'. The peculiar syncopation so often cited as characteristic of jazz is the result of a rhythmic shift of the syncopated note corresponding to the displacement of metrically weak values caused by the inequality. In the 1940s, with the style known as 'bebop', the second note of a pair was often deliberately accented; later this effect was mixed freely with other dynamic shapings. Although 'solos' are improvised, they are often transcribed from recordings for purposes of study and teaching; such transcriptions rarely show the inequality, and yet no musician would think of playing the notes in their exact values. To do so would negate the style of the music.

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Notes portées (Fr.). *See* PORTATO. *See also* BOW, §II, 3(iii).

Note values. The various systems of letters, neumes and other symbols used for the notation of Western monophonic and polyphonic music before about 1150 did not indicate exact note values or exact pitch. Such systems served merely to remind the performer of the melodic outline of musical phrases that had already been memorized. With the increasing development and sophistication of polyphony in the late 12th century, the need arose for a system of notation in which the relative values of the different symbols were more precisely defined. After the formative period of 'square' notation (*c*1175–*c*1225), the two single-note neumes of the later neumatic system, the *virga* and *punctum*, became the *longa* (long) and *brevis* (breve) of early mensural music. Although the new forms retained the outward appearance of the neumes from which they derived, they acquired for the first time an exact metrical relationship to each other.

The transcription of the music of this period in accordance with the theory of RHYTHMIC MODES results in a basic relationship of three breves to each long (*see* NOTATION, §III, 2). By the end of the 13th century the use of the *maxima* (large) and the *semibrevis* (semibreve) was admitted, although the latter value was found only in pairs or sets of three, four, and so on, and not yet as an independent unit. The introduction of the *minima* (minim) was a feature of early 14th-century music, with the *semiminima* (crotchet) following later in the century. The *fusa* (quaver) and *semifusa* (semiquaver) date from the 15th century.

The notation of the period from the 13th century to the 16th century is known as 'mensural' (i.e. measured) notation, so as to distinguish it from that of plainchant (*see* NOTATION, §III, 3). During this period the interrelationship of the various note values was codified in the treatises of Franco of Cologne (*c*1260) and other theorists. For much of this time a note would have been equal in value to either two or three of the next smaller value, depending on the mensuration of the composition. Such a system was in marked contrast to modern 'orthochronic' notation, in which a fixed duple relationship always obtains between any note value and its next larger or smaller value.

Although the evolution of clearly defined note values developed primarily within staff notation, the conventional note forms were retained to indicate note values in some of those tablatures in which the pitches themselves were indicated exclusively by letters or numbers. However, the overwhelming majority of tablatures used an extension of this system, whereby note values were indicated by the use of dots or vertical strokes with flags (i.e. standard note shapes but without heads). In all lute tablatures, and in some keyboard tablatures, the value of only the shortest of the notes to be played simultaneously could be notated precisely.

The notational system used for Western medieval music did not include the dotted note as such, although the prevailing ternary metre results in modern transcriptions in compound and triple times. When, later, a note could be divided into either three or two, according to the mensuration in force, a two-beat note could be increased in value by one half by the addition of a dot (*punctum additionis* or *punctum augmentationis*), found in sources of the 15th century onwards. The use of the tie, permitting the addition of the values of two or more successive notes, was important in licensing a range of hitherto unavailable temporal values, although in its earliest uses (in early 16th-century keyboard scores) it did form values that were otherwise available.

The notation of the last 700 years has been characterized by a general trend towards the adoption of smaller note values as the basic unit of movement. As a result much early music has been printed in modern editions with the note values reduced to conform to the wide (though by no means universal) acceptance of the crotchet as the standard pulse. The extent of this reduction varies between one-sixteenth for early medieval music to a half for music written in the 16th century. This practice, however, was

TABLE 1

Latin	*American*	*English*	*French*	*German*	*Italian*	*Spanish*
maxima	–	large	maxime	–	massima	maxima
longa	–	long	carrée à queue	–	longa	longo
brevis	double whole note, double note	breve	carrée, brève, double-ronde	Doppelganze (-Note), Doppeltaktnote	breve	breve
semibrevis	whole note	semibreve	ronde	Ganze (-Note)	semibreve	redonda
minima	half-note	minim	blanche	Halbe (-Note)	bianca	blanca
semiminima	quarter-note	crotchet	noir	Viertel (-Note)	nera	negra
fusa	eighth-note	quaver	croche	Achtel (-Note)	croma	corchea
semifusa	16th-note	semiquaver	double croche	Sechzehntel (-Note)	semicroma	semicorchea
fusella	32nd-note	demisemiquaver	triple croche	Zweiunddreissigstel (-Note)	biscroma	fusa
fusellala	64th-note	hemidemisemiquaver	quadruple croche	Vierundsechzigstel (-Note)	semibiscroma	semifusa

challenged in the last quarter of the 20th century and many editions now use the original note values.

Before Beethoven's time a given note value usually indicated only its nominal duration, with little or no attempt being made by the use of rests to distinguish between those parts to be apportioned to sound and silence respectively. In practice the duration of a musical note is frequently less than its written value, although the extent to which this is so depends on the degree of articulation involved. Many 20th-century composers have found conventional notation insufficiently precise to indicate the exact durations desired, and this has resulted in widespread experimentation in the visual representation of musical duration. Perhaps the most useful result of this experimentation has been the duration line, which makes both note heads and rests unnecessary. However, despite its use in some particularly efficient notations, such as Equitone (*see* NOTATION, §III, 4(iii), fig.79), it has not gained general acceptance. Attempts to introduce irregular divisions of the semibreve (one-fifth, one-seventh, etc.) using special note head shapes such as the lozenge and the triangle have also failed to become widely used.

The modern international nomenclature of the various note values is usually based on one or more of three systems. The names for the larger values often derive directly from medieval Latin, while those for the smaller values are frequently based on the physical appearance of the note forms (black, white, hook, etc.). In standard German and American usage the note values are expressed as an arithmetical fraction of a semibreve, the referential unit of much early temporal theory. This system, the only completely consistent and logical one, has also been used in France. The original Latin names, together with their main European and American equivalents, are given in Table 1; alternative names for the values of a semibreve or less are also listed in individual articles.

See also NOTATION, §III and RHYTHM.

JOHN MOREHEN/RICHARD RASTALL

Notker (*b* nr St Gallen, Switzerland, *c*840; *d* St Gallen, 6 April 912). Monk of the Benedictine abbey of ST GALLEN, poet and scholar. The *Casus monasterii Sancti Galli* of Ekkehard IV of St Gallen (*c*1040) paints a lively picture of the monastery school while Notker and his fellow monks Ratpert and Tuotilo were active. Although the two latter are known to have composed music, Notker (called *Balbulus*, 'the stammerer') seems to have been only exceptionally active as a composer of chant, if at all. The work for which he is best known in the history of music is the *Liber hymnorum*, a collection of texts set to the melodies of liturgical sequences, organized in a cycle for the Church year. This was completed in 884. Other important works include a *Vita Sancti Galli* (life of St Gallus) in verse, the *Gesta Karoli* (the deeds of Charlemagne), and a martyrology.

Of particular interest for the study of musical notation is Notker's *Epistola ad Lantbertum*, in which Notker explains to a monk Lantbert what the supplementary letters for neumatic notation signify ('quid singulae litterae . . . significent'); in the *Casus monasterii Sancti Galli* their invention was attributed to one 'Romanus', which has led to their common designation today as 'Romanian' or SIGNIFICATIVE LETTERS. (Original source *CH-SGs* 381, facs. in PalMus, iv, 1894/*R*, pls.B–D, and Arlt and Rankin, 1996; critical edn, Froger, 1962.) One of the principal St Gallen chant books, the cantatorium *SGs* 359, which is particularly rich in significative letters, was written during Notker's lifetime. Notker is nevertheless not known as a music scribe. However, he was one of the leading scribes of literary texts in the monastery and his hand has been identified in numerous sources (Rankin, 1991).

Although Ekkehard IV ascribed the sequence melodies 'Frigdola' and 'Occidentana' to Notker, these melodies are also known from contemporary West Frankish sources, and it seems certain they were part of a widely known corpus originating some time earlier. The hymn *Ave beati germinis* is attributed to him in *SGs* 381 (second quarter of the 10th century). The antiphon *Media vita* is not by him, being first attributed to him in 1613 by J. Metzler, historian of St Gallen.

In the preface to his collection of sequence texts (ed. von den Steinen; for translation *see* SEQUENCE (i)) Notker explains how as a boy he had difficulty in remembering the 'melodiae longissimae' but saw in the chant book of a monk from Jumièges fleeing from the Norsemen how verses could be set to them, making them easier to remember. He decided he could write better texts for the melodies and received advice on his first efforts from his teacher Iso. His teacher Marcellus had the finished pieces copied out and given to the boys to sing. Notker names his first two texts, *Laudes Deo concinat* and *Psallat ecclesia*, and gives the melody titles of two others for which he provided words.

From this preface it is clear that Notker's texts were the first to find a permanent place in the liturgy at St Gallen. They quickly gained a dominant position in the chant repertory of Germany and Central Europe. For example, they had been adopted in Mainz by the third quarter of the 10th century (*GB-Lbl* Add.19768) and in Regensburg by the end of the century (*D-BAs* Lit.6). This was no doubt due in part to the outstanding quality of the texts. Not only do they approach the standard of classical Latin, but they are of substantial theological and exegetical complexity, exhibiting both considerable density of language and striking imagery, while fitting in sympathetic manner the contours and internal structure of the melodies to which they are sung. In all these respects they make a far more distinguished impression than almost any other early sequence texts.

Surviving manuscript sources of Notker's sequences date back to the end of his life or soon after (Rankin). The first full sequentiary from St Gallen, also bearing Notker's preface, dates from after his death (*SGs* 381) and already includes pieces not by Notker. The attribution of many texts to Notker, apart from those mentioned by him in the preface, rests on their unique style and quality. Von den Steinen established a canon of 32 sequences of the type with double verses and 8 shorter ones with a-parallel verses, and these have generally ben accepted as authentic (*see* SEQUENCE (i)).

No critical music edition of the sequences with Notker's texts has yet been attempted, although facsimiles or transcriptions of a number of sources have been published. In the context of a thorough re-examination of the early sequence, Crocker (1977) has studied Notker's pieces in parallel with West Frankish sequences having the same melody; he includes transcriptions of almost all recoverable items.

Notker was one of the leading literary figures of his time, known and admired at the imperial court: the *Liber hymnorum* was dedicated to the imperial chancellor,

Luitward, bishop of Vercelli; the *Gesta Karoli* were written at the behest of the Emperor Charles the Bald (876–87). Notker was canonized in 1513.

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Notker Labeo [Notker III, Notker the German] (*b c*950; *d* St Gallen, 29 June 1022). Monk and teacher at the Benedictine abbey of ST GALLEN. His many translations from Latin to Old High German are among the earliest German literary texts; of the 11 translations Notker reported making, four are extant and include two philosophical works by Boethius, two books of Martianus Cappella's *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*, and an interlinear psalter. Of special interest to music historians are five short essays in Old High German on musical topics, perhaps intended for elementary music instruction at St Gallen, where Notker taught and directed the school. A brief key in Latin to the meaning of the significative letters (*litterae significativae*; also known as Romanian or St Gallen letters) is sometimes ascribed to him, but belongs to his namesake of a century earlier, NOTKER, also of St Gallen.

The not entirely secure ascription of the five little essays to Notker rests principally on three points: the age of the five extant manuscripts (11th century); the language; and the preservation of the largest group (four out of five) in a St Gallen manuscript, whose text was published by Gerbert under Notker's name (*GerbertS*, i, 95–102), although the works are anonymous in the manuscripts. This ascription was later supported by Kelle on stylistic grounds. Of the five, the essays 'On the Eight Notes', 'On Tetrachords' and 'On the Eight Modes' are found only in the St Gallen manuscript. 'On the Monochord' is found in two other manuscripts only, and 'On the Measurement of Organ Pipes' in four of the five known manuscripts.

The monochord division results in a double octave with the pitches labelled according to the Greek Greater Perfect System, and in addition a cyclic alphabetical series from F (*proslambanomenos*) to F (*nētē hyperbolaiōn*) supplemented by another 'nameless note' below F. Notker's F must correspond to the A of our diatonic gamut. In the essay 'On the Eight Notes', the 'nameless note' is designated E, and the alphabetical notation serves to define the compass and final note of each of the eight church modes. The essay 'On Tetrachords', the briefest of all, contains especially interesting remarks on a three-octave lyre (*lirun*). The essay on modes (*modis* as opposed to the *tonis* of the second section) is also distinguished by its references to instruments, the lyre at the beginning and the organ at the end. This is odd in the context of a discussion of the ancient Greek octave species. The organ pipe measurements of the fifth essay produce a two-octave gamut from G to G. None of the sections, with the exception of that on the eight modes, seems to be directed towards sophisticated readers, thus suggesting that they are elementary lectures. At the same time, they are not a complete course in fundamental plainchant, and may therefore be either the surviving fragments of a larger work no longer extant or independent fragments of diverse origin.

Notker's translation of the first two books of *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* is important for having made Martianus Capella's opening allegory more widely available than would otherwise have been possible, and while Notker apparently did not translate book 9 (*De Harmonia*) of this work, the first two books contain passing references to music within the framework of a greater cosmology.

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LAWRENCE GUSHEE/BRADLEY JON TUCKER

Notot, Joseph Waast Aubert. *See* NONOT, JOSEPH WAAST AUBERT.

Notre Dame school. A name given by modern scholars to the group of musicians active in Paris between about 1150 and about 1250. Most were ecclesiastics, and would have been associated with the Cathedral of Notre Dame or with one of the group of churches that stood on the site before work on the cathedral began in about 1160, but some may have had affiliations with other churches in Paris, such as the abbey of St Victor, or with religious houses elsewhere in Europe. This 'school' cultivated, among others, the polyphonic genres of organum, conductus and the liturgical motet, producing large repertories that were collected in the so-called *Magnus liber organi* associated with the composers Leoninus and Perotinus. Perhaps the most important achievement of these musicians was their transformation of polyphony from a performing practice into 'composition' in the modern sense; from an idiom that had for the most part been generated extemporaneously in performance to one in which the music was 'composed' before its performance. There appeared in the music of the Notre Dame school an ordered system of consonance and dissonance and a coherent rhythmic language that for the first time in Western music was expressed in its notation. These developments laid the foundations of the contrapuntal and rhythmic practice that would prevail for the next three centuries, and paved the way for the mensural

notations in which late medieval and Renaissance music was written and transmitted.

See DISCANT, §I, 3–4; LEONINUS; MAGNUS LIBER; ORGANUM, §§8–10; and PEROTINUS.

EDWARD H. ROESNER

Nottara, Constantin (*b* Bucharest, 1/13 Oct 1890; *d* Bucharest, 19 Jan 1951). Romanian composer and violinist. He studied theory with Kiriac-Georgescu, composition with Castaldi and the violin with Robert Klenck at the Bucharest Conservatory (1900–07), and then continued his studies under Enescu and Berthelier (violin) in Paris (1907–9) and under Klinger (violin) and Schatzenhalz (composition) at the Berlin Royal Academy (1909–13). His career as a violinist embraced orchestral playing in the Bucharest PO (1905–7, 1918–20), leading a string quartet (1914–33) and teaching at the Bucharest Conservatory (1916–47). In addition Nottara was conductor of the Bucharest Municipal Orchestra (1929–32) and of the Radio Bucharest SO (1933–8). He was also active as a critic. His father had been a great actor, and Nottara was from the outset of his career attracted to writing for the theatre; his operas are strongly influenced by the *verismo* manner, but his ballets are more personal in their reference to Romanian folklore. This also formed the source for much of his concert music, which often has an idyllic pastoral serenity. His violin miniatures became deservedly popular.

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(*selective list*)

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Se face ziuă [At Dawn] (op, 1, Nottara, after Z. Bârsan), Bucharest Radio, 1943

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VIOREL COSMA

Nottebohm, (Martin) Gustav (*b* Lüdenscheid, Westphalia, 12 Nov 1817; *d* Graz, 29 Oct 1882). German musicologist, teacher and composer. After studying in Berlin (1838–9) and in Leipzig (1840–45), where he knew and was taught by both Mendelssohn and Schumann, he moved permanently to Vienna in 1846. There he gave lessons in theory and the piano, composed, and in later years devoted himself increasingly to various scholarly activities. His circle of friends included Brahms, Joachim and many of the important scholars of his day. Although Kalbeck, in his biography of Brahms, described Nottebohm's character in unflattering terms, Brahms and Nottebohm were frequent companions and even lodged together for a time in 1870. Brahms also referred private pupils to Nottebohm and recommended his scholarly articles to the publishers Rieter-Biedermann.

Nottebohm's compositions, mostly small piano pieces and chamber works with piano, achieved no lasting popularity, and it is for his scholarly accomplishments that he is remembered, though the full significance of his work has become somewhat obscured. At a decisive period for musicology, he and such contemporaries as Jahn, Köchel, Pohl, Thayer, Spitta and Chrysander developed a new approach to biography, based on documentary fact rather than personal reminiscence, and a new methodology for editing music through critical evaluation of all the available source materials. Nottebohm, one of the first acknowledged experts in textual criticism, was asked by Breitkopf & Härtel in 1862 to work on the revised edition of Beethoven's works, a project that extended to 1865. These editorial duties probably led to his preparing for Breitkopf & Härtel a thematic catalogue of Beethoven's works (published in 1868) to supplant the firm's anonymously compiled earlier catalogue (1851). This and Nottebohm's Schubert thematic catalogue, which appeared in 1874, remained standard reference sources until the 1950s, when they served as the bases for Kinsky's Beethoven and Deutsch's Schubert catalogues. From 1875 Nottebohm worked on the edition of Mozart's works; his death prevented him from supervising preparation of the Bach edition.

Nottebohm's most original work, however, resulted from his close study of Beethoven's manuscripts, above all the sketches and exercises. These had already attracted some attention as curiosities among collectors and had been consulted by Thayer and others for purposes of establishing the chronology of Beethoven's works, but Nottebohm was the first to study them systematically. He sought out the manuscripts in libraries and private collections and described them in a series of short articles dealing with points of textual, chronological and purely musical interest. In addition, he published two longer monographs which surveyed in detail the contents of individual sketchbooks. These articles and monographs provided procedural models and source materials for a century of further scholarship on Beethoven's sketches. Most of the short articles, which appeared originally in various journals, were later revised and incorporated into two books: *Beethoveniana* (1872) and *Zweite Beethoveniana* (published posthumously in 1887). A third book, *Beethovens Studien* (1873), elaborated a subject treated on a smaller scale in the articles, Beethoven's studies in counterpoint and declamation, clarifying the confused account that Ignaz Ritter von Seyfried had published in 1832.

Nottebohm's manuscript studies led to substantial revisions of the chronology of Beethoven's works and to an improved understanding of his creative processes. Although Nottebohm insisted that the significance of his observations was essentially biographical rather than aesthetic, it was musical curiosity that led him to examine the sketches and exercises, and it was his exceptional knowledge of Beethoven's works and his facility in relating the sketches to them that earned him the great respect of his contemporaries. Thayer deferred to him

openly in matters of musical judgment, and Nottebohm's work was assimilated almost at once into the biography of Beethoven begun by Thayer and completed by Deiters and Riemann.

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DOUGLAS JOHNSON

Nottingham. City in the English East Midlands. Records in the Corporation Archives beginning in 1464 show town waits, numbering three to seven men, appearing regularly (except during 1647–53 and 1672–1704) until 1836, when the office was discontinued. The records of the chamberlains of Nottingham for 1558–92 and 1614–40 show payments to the waits of 35 other towns for visits to Nottingham. Local patrons of music included Sir Henry Pierrepont (1546–1615) and Sir Francis Willoughby (*c*1547–96), who built Wollaton Hall near Nottingham, and whose Lute Book, compiled 1560–85, contains mostly anonymous English music. The Wollaton Hall organ was probably built in the second half of the 17th century. Records of music at the parish church of St Mary the Virgin date back to the late 16th century, and its musicians continue to play an active role in the city's musical life.

The earliest known public concerts were held during race week in 1707, 1709 and 1726. A theatre founded on St Mary's Gate in the early 1760s, also known as the 'Musick Hall', was a venue for concerts and musical entertainments. During the 1760s musical societies gave winter seasons of subscription concerts. William Hanbury promoted a music festival in 1763; the Nottingham General Hospital held an annual benefit festival from 1782, the year it opened. Samuel Wise (?1730–1801) was organist of St Mary's from 1755 and also a composer. From 1756 to 1787 he promoted annual concerts at the Ladies' Assembly Rooms on Low Pavement and in 1772 organized a music festival at the St Mary's Gate Hall. A cantata by Henry Hargrave, *On Wedlock*, addressed to the ladies of Nottingham, was performed in 1763.

The composer, violinist and conductor Henry Farmer (1819–91), author of popular violin tutors, published and sold music in the High Street from about 1840. Mary Bowman-Hart's Musical Guild offered singing classes to working-class men and women in the 1880s and had 400 members in 1886. The Nottingham Empire Theatre of Varieties, opened in 1898, featured leading music-hall performers and was open until 1958; it was demolished in 1969. The Albert Hall (cap. 2550) opened in 1876 as a concert hall and in 1902 became the Albert Hall Methodist Mission. It burnt down in 1906 and was rebuilt in 1909 (cap. 1400), then altered and refurbished in 1987–8 to form a Great Hall (cap. 700) and two smaller rooms. The Royal Concert Hall (cap. 2496), opened in 1983, is the northern base of the Royal Philharmonic Orchestra; the adjacent Theatre Royal, opened in 1876, houses Opera North's touring productions. The Midland Sinfonia (renamed the English Sinfonia in 1966), was founded in 1961 by Neville Dilkes, and was based in Nottingham until 1984 when it moved to Sandy in Bedfordshire. Formed in 1979, the Holme Pierrepont Opera Trust produced early English operas at the nearby Holme Pierrepont Hall, becoming in 1985 the touring company Opera Restor'd.

In 1846 the Mechanics Institution formed a Vocal Music Club, later the Sacred Harmonic Society. The present Nottingham Harmonic Society was established in 1856 by Alfred Lowe and was conducted from 1897 to 1902 by Henry Wood. The Nottingham Music Club (founded 1923) presents an annual chamber music season, and the Nottingham Bach Society (founded 1954) regularly performs large-scale choral works. The Nottingham Sinfonietta was founded in 1974, and renamed the Nottingham PO in 1985. There are two annual festivals: the Nottingham Festival (founded 1970) and the competitive Nottingham Music and Drama Festival (established 1902). BBC Radio Nottingham (established 1968) broadcasts a wide range of music. The University department of music, originally part of the department of education, became separate in 1925. From 1956 to 1982 the Nottingham University Opera Group produced a series of lesser-known operas, including the British premières of Dvořák's *Dimitrij* (1979) and Berwald's *Drottningen av Golconda* (1982). In 1994 the department moved to the University Arts Centre which includes the Djanogly Recital Hall.

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ROSEMARY WILLIAMSON

Notturno (It.: 'nocturnal'). Term used in the 18th century mainly for works performed outdoors, not in the evening but at night (generally around 11 p.m.). In Salzburg Mozart used the term as the title of his *Serenata notturna* K239 for double orchestra and his Notturno K286/269*a* for four orchestras: Hausswald suggested that he preferred this term for works elaborately scored, using 'Nachtmusik' for simpler ones (such as the Trio K266/271*f* and *Eine kleine Nachtmusik* K525; *see* NACHTMUSIK). The form is related to the SERENADE, as the style and sequence of movements in K239 and 286 make clear. Mozart later applied the term to vocal works, the *notturni* for three voices and wind instruments (K436–9, 346/439*a* (incomplete) and perhaps 549). For Michael Haydn, on the other hand, the title signified a soloistic work; his two string quintets of 1773 (ST187/P108 and ST189/P109) are both authentically called 'Notturno'.

Although Haydn's eight *notturni* of 1790 in two to four movements (HII:25*–32*), originally written for the King of Naples and later arranged for the London concerts which he organized with J.P. Salomon, should possibly be considered orchestral pieces, they are chamber-like in character; set for solo instruments, the *notturno* became popular among composers of southern Germany, Austria, Bohemia, northern Italy and Paris (including Boccherini, Bonnay, Johann Brandl, Camerloher, Ferrari, Ignaz Fränzl, Gyrowetz, Michael Haydn, Holzbauer, Kammel, Kirmayer, Kreubé, Maschek, M.L. Neubauer, Paluselli, Piombanti, Polz, Pugnani, G.B. Sammartini, Vanhal, Anton Wranitzky). Chamber works bearing the title 'notturno' either had more than five movements, like the serenade, or two to four movements, like the DIVERTIMENTO. In England the term usually signified a two-movement work, the first in moderate tempo (often in march rhythm), the second a slow minuet (for example J.C. Bach's *Six Trios or Notturnos* for two violins and viola or bass, op.2 (*recte* op.4), *c*1765).

The later NOCTURNE for solo piano had no direct connection with the notturno.

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HUBERT UNVERRICHT/CLIFF EISEN

Notula. A term used by Johannes de Grocheio and in several French lais, apparently describing lai form. *See* LAI, §1(iii).

Nouguès, Jean(-Charles) (*b* Bordeaux, 26 April 1875; *d* Paris, 28 Aug 1932). French composer. Born into a wealthy family, his overriding aim was to devote his life to the composition of operas and to obtaining their performance, although he also composed songs. Almost entirely self-taught, he studied for a short time with Gaston Sarreau. *Le roy du Papagey* was written before he was 16. Over 8000 performances of his works took place during his lifetime.

La mort de Tintagiles, a Maeterlinck setting following Debussy's *Pelléas* by only three years, shows little influence of the declamatory style of that opera. Maeterlinck's mistress, Georgette Leblanc, created the important role of Ygraine. *Quo vadis?* was Nouguès's most celebrated work and is a large-scale affair dealing with the plight of Christian martyrs in Rome. *La danseuse de Pompéï* is concerned with the destruction of Pompeii. Criticized for its lack of plot, it was Nouguès's last large-scale opera.

Nouguès's musical style is conventional and he attempted to emulate the style of several other composers. He was considered by some to be little more than an amateur who was trying his hand at naturalistic operas, a judgment hardly borne out by his undeniable success at having his works performed.

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Le roy du Papagey des papegais (op, 3), Bordeaux, Grand, 22 March 1901
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Quo vadis? (op, 5, H. Cain, after H. Sienkiewicz), Nice, Opéra Municipal, 10 Feb 1909, vs (Paris, 1908)
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La danseuse de Pompéï (opéra-ballet, 5, H. Ferrare and Cain, after J. Bertheroy), Paris, OC (Favart), 29 Oct 1912, vs (1912)
Narkiss (conte-ballet avec chant, 1, J. Brindejant-Offenbach and Mme Mariquita, after J. Lorrain), Deauville, Casino Municipal, 31 July 1913, vs (Paris, 1913)
L'éclaircie (op, H. de Forge and E. Bertrand), Paris, Antoine, 31 Jan 1914
Le Dante (op, 3, J. Nouguès), 1914, Bordeaux, Grand, 26 Jan 1930
Le mari trop avisé [L'homme qui vendit son âme au diable] (operetta, P. and S. Weber), Paris, Gaîté-Lyrique, 1926
Jean de France (op), Paris, Gaîté-Lyrique, 10 May 1931
Le scarabée bleu (operetta, A. Barde), 1931
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RICHARD LANGHAM SMITH

Nourrit, Adolphe (*b* Montpellier, 3 March 1802; *d* Naples, 8 March 1839). French tenor, son of LOUIS NOURRIT. He studied with the elder García for 18 months, initially against his father's wishes, then made his début at the Opéra in 1821 as Pylades in *Iphigénie en Tauride*. He was coached intensively by Rossini and created the roles of Néocles in *Le siège de Corinthe*, Count Ory, Aménophis in *Moïse et Pharaon* and Arnold in *Guillaume Tell*. Among the other roles he created were Masaniello (*La muette de Portici*; see illustration), Robert (*Robert le diable*), Eléazar (*La Juive*) and Raoul (*Les Huguenots*). From December 1826, when he succeeded his father as first tenor at the Opéra, until his resignation in October 1836, he created the principal tenor roles in all major new productions, generating an entire repertory for the acting tenor. His success in *Moïse* and *Le siège de Corinthe* was so great that in 1827 he was appointed *professeur de déclamation pour la tragédie lyrique* at the Conservatoire, where his most famous student was the dramatic soprano Cornélie Falcon.



Adolphe Nourrit as Masaniello in Auber's 'La muette de Portici': engraving by Pierre Maleuvre

Moïse marked a turning-point in singing at the Opéra, as the singers turned to the more open-voiced, italianate production favoured by Rossini. Here, as in all the scores written for Nourrit, the dynamics and the thickness of the orchestration below his voice part indicate that he could not have been singing in falsetto in his upper register (as has often been stated). He had a mellow, powerful voice that extended to *e♭″*; *d″* was the highest he ever sang in public. As Nourrit's status at the Opéra increased, so did his influence upon new productions. His advice and collaboration was sought by composers; he wrote the words of Eléazar's aria 'Rachel, quand du Seigneur' and insisted that Meyerbeer rework the love-duet climax of Act 4 of *Les Huguenots* until it met with his approval. He also wrote four ballet scenarios including *La Sylphide* (1832), whose combination of magic and Scottian realism was inspired by *Robert le diable*. In addition, he was concerned more broadly with the social aspects of singing, particularly with the missionary role of the performer. In the early 1830s he was involved with the ideas of the Saint-Simonians, and after his retirement dreamed of founding a grand *opéra populaire* which would introduce opera to the masses (see Locke).

About 1 October 1836, Charles Duponchel engaged Gilbert Duprez as joint first tenor at the Opéra. Nourrit accepted this arrangement in case he should fall ill (among other reasons). He sang *Guillaume Tell* superbly with Duprez in the audience on 5 October. On 10 October, during *La muette de Portici*, with Duprez again in the house, Nourrit suddenly went hoarse. After the performance Berlioz and George Osborne walked the tenor up and down the boulevards as he despaired and talked of suicide; on 14 October he resigned from the Opéra. During this time he continued to enjoy success as a salon performer; he was the first to introduce Schubert's lieder to Parisian audiences at the celebrated soirées organized by Liszt, Urhan and Alexandre Batta at the salons d'Erard in 1837. The intimacy of the salon apparently suited him particularly well; criticized for a weak voice, he showed great nuance of feeling and dramatic range. His farewell performance from the Opéra was on 1 April 1837. He immediately set out to perform in the provinces, but a liver condition (possibly the result of alcoholism) and its effects on his singing forced him to cut short his tours. While listening to Duprez at the Opéra, on 22 November 1837, he decided to go to Italy in the hope of succeeding Rubini on his retirement, and left Paris in December 1837.

The following March he began to study in Naples with Donizetti. He worked to eradicate nasal resonance, but as a result lost his head voice. He wanted Donizetti to write the opera for his Naples début, *Poliuto*; when it was forbidden because of its Christian subject matter, Nourrit felt betrayed. His wife, arriving in July 1838, was shocked at the sound of his voice and his thinness; he was being leeched regularly and was constantly hoarse. But his Naples début in Mercadante's *Il giuramento* (14 November 1838) was a success. As his liver disease advanced, his mental health deteriorated and his memory began to fail. On 7 March 1839 he sang at a benefit concert, was disappointed in his performance and upset by the favourable reaction of the audience. The following morning, he jumped to his death from the Hotel Barbaia.

Nourrit's brother, the tenor Auguste Nourrit (1808–53), was for some time theatre director at The Hague,

Amsterdam and Brussels, and took over his post at the Conservatoire after his death.

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EVAN WALKER/SARAH HIBBERD

Nourrit, Auguste. French musician, brother of ADOLPHE NOURRIT.

Nourrit, Louis (*b* Montpellier, 4 Aug 1780; *d* Brunoy, 23 Sept 1831). French tenor, father of ADOLPHE NOURRIT. He entered the Paris Conservatoire in 1802 and began to study with Pierre Garat in the following year. In 1804 he was listed as a member of the Imperial chapel with other members of the Opéra company. He made his Opéra début on 3 March 1805 as Renaud in Gluck's *Armide*, and later appeared with success as Orpheus. Fétis considered that his engagement marked the beginning of a revival in French singing, his predecessors having been more concerned with generating dramatic excitement than with purity of line. He was a reticent actor at first but later gained assurance, and in 1812 he replaced Etienne Lainez as the Opéra's principal tenor. He sang in the premières of Cherubini's *Les abencérages* (1813) and Spontini's *Olimpie* (1819), and in 1824 sang with his son Adolphe in Daussoigne's *opéra féerie Les deux Salem*; their similarity of appearance and voice apparently inspired the work's central theme, but did not guarantee its success, and the opera was dropped from the repertory after 13 performances. In 1826 father and son again appeared together in the première of Rossini's *Le siège de Corinthe* (9 October). Although his voice was still in good condition, Louis retired two months later, leaving his son to take over the more florid and demanding new tenor repertory. He lacked ambition as a performer, and throughout his career at the Opéra he also worked as a diamond merchant.

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PHILIP ROBINSON/SARAH HIBBERD

Nova (Sondag), Jacqueline (*b* Ghent, 6 Jan 1935; *d* Bogotá, 13 June 1975). Colombian composer of Belgian origin. She studied with Fabio González-Zuleta, Olav Roots and Blas Emilio Atehortúa at the Bogotá Conservatory, graduating in composition. She is considered one of the finest Colombian composers of the 20th century and a progressive exponent of trends that dominated contemporary music in the 1960s, including aleatory and electronic techniques. One of the first Latin American women to obtain international acclaim for her compositions, she won a first prize in Caracas in 1966 for the chamber work *Doce móviles* (subsequently published by Pan American Union). Her *Metamorfosis III* (1966) was given its première by the Colombia SO, conducted by Roots. In 1967 she was awarded a scholarship for two years' study at the Di Tella Institute, Buenos Aires, where she studied with Ginastera and Nono. Several works were first performed in Buenos Aires, including *Asimetrías* (1967), conducted by Armando Krieger, the electronic work *Oposición-fusión* (1968) and *Cantos de la creación del mundo* (1972; performed by Nueva Música), which was later performed in France (1973). The oratorio *Hiroshima* (1972) was commissioned by Colcultura. (C. Barreiro Ortiz, ed.: *A proposito de Jacqueline Nova*, Bogotá, 1983)

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(selective list)

Vocal, vocal with elec: Uerhayas: Invocation to the Gods (text in Tunebo [Amerindian] dialect), S, male chorus, 1967; 14–35, orch, elec transformed vv, 1969; Pitecanthropus, vv, orch, elec, 1971; Hiroshima (orat., D. Castellanos), vv, orch, elec, 1972; Omaggio a Catullus, nar, vv, harmonium, perc, chbr orch, elec, 1972
Other elec: Música para audiovisual sobre Machu-Pichu, 1968; Oposición-fusión, 1968; Resonancias I, pf, elec, 1969; Cantos de la creación del mundo (Tunebo text), elec transformed v, 1972
Orch and inst: Secuencias, pf, 1963; Doce móviles, chbr ens, 1965; Metamorfosis III, orch, 1966; Asimetrías, fl, timp, tam-tam, 1967
Other works: Espacios, audiovisual experience, 1970; Camilo (film score, dir. F. Norden), 1974 [on Camilo Torres]

SUSANA FRIEDMANN

Nova, Vangjo (*b* Korça, 27 Jan 1927; *d* Jannina, Greece, 6 Jan 1992). Albanian composer and choral conductor. After early guitar lessons, he studied harmony and solfège with Trako at the Jordan Misja Art Lyceum, Tirana (1946–51), and counterpoint with Zadeja (1951–3). He was assistant to Trako as conductor of the State Chorus, and later assistant conductor of the Albanian Philharmonia and the Opera. From 1972 until his retirement in 1983 he taught harmony and solfège at the Jordan Misja Art Lyceum.

Along with Trako and Uçi, Nova played an important role in the early development of socialist Albania's musical life, composing everything from songs and choruses to stage music and cantatas. His music is simple, tuneful and rarely devoid of charm, even when having recourse to easily recognizable models, such as Rachmaninoff and Grieg in *Tarracat e bregdetit* ('Citrus Groves over the Seashore', 1969), one of his most renowned works. His opera *Heroina* was staged to considerable acclaim for the inauguration of the Tirana Theatre of Opera and Ballet in 1967.

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(selective list)

Stage: Heroina [Heroine] (op, 2, L. Gurakuqi), Tirana, Theatre of Opera and Ballet, 17 June 1967; Gjaku i dritës/Pishtarët/Shkronjat e përgjakura [The Blood of Light/Torch Bearers/An Alphabet Stained with Blood] (op, 2, A. Shehu), 1985–9, unperf.
Vocal: Dashuria [Love] (A.Z. Çajupi), T, orch, 1951; Punojmë bashkë të dy [We Two Work Together] (Shehu), 1v, orch, 1982; Heroina e vögel [The Little Heroine] (Shehu), mixed chorus, orch, 1982; Bukuria shqiptare [Albanian Beauty] (N. Frashëri), Bar, pf/orch, 1982; Kënga punëtore [Labour Song] (F. Papadhima), mixed chorus, 1983; Atdheu [Fatherland] (Frashëri), Bar, orch, 1983; Shqipëria e lirë [Free Albania] (Shehu), 1v, pf, 1983; 4 Romances (Shehu), T, pf, 1987–9
Inst: Pf Conc., 1959; Tregimi i Tomorit [The Narration of Mount Tomori], sym. fantasy, 1961; Tarracat e bregdetit [Citrus Groves over the Seashore], conc., pf, orch, 1969; Tpt Conc., 1974; Rhapsody, fl, orch, 1980; Arbëria, a, vc, pf, 1989

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S. Kalemi: *Arritjet e artit tonë muzikor: vepra dhe krijues të musikës shqiptare* [Achievements of our musical art: creations and creators of Albanian music] (Tirana, 1982)

GEORGE LEOTSAKOS

Nováček, Ottokar (Eugen) (*b* Fehértemplom [now Bela Crkva, Serbia], 13 May 1866; *d* New York, 3 Feb 1900). Hungarian violinist and composer, of Czech descent. He studied successively with his father Martin Joseph Nováček, with Jakob Dont in Vienna (1880–83) and with Schradieck and Brodsky at the Leipzig Conservatory, where he won the Mendelssohn Prize in 1885. He played in the Gewandhaus Orchestra and in the Brodsky Quartet, originally as second violin and later as viola. He subsequently emigrated to the USA, where he was a member of the Boston SO under Nikisch (1891) and was appointed principal viola in the New York Symphony Society Orchestra (1892–3); he also played in the reformed Brodsky Quartet. In 1899 a heart condition forced him to retire from playing. His works include a piano concerto (1894, first performed by Busoni), *Perpetuum mobile* for violin and orchestra, three string quartets (published in 1890, 1898 and 1904), eight *Concerto caprices* and other works for violin and piano, and six songs to texts by Tolstoy.

E. HERON-ALLEN/R

Novaës, Guiomar (*b* São João da Boã Vista, São Paulo, 28 Feb 1895; *d* São Paulo, 7 March 1979). Brazilian pianist. One of the youngest children in a very large family, she studied with Antonietta Rudge Miller and Luigi Chiafarelli in São Paulo before being accepted as a pupil of Isidore Philipp at the Paris Conservatoire in 1909. She remained with him for two years and received a *premier prix* for piano in 1911, having made her orchestral début with the Châtelet Orchestra under Pierné earlier the same year. In 1915 she gave a highly successful recital at the Aeolian Hall, New York, which marked her US début, and in subsequent years she won acclaim there as one of the most spontaneous and poetic pianists of her generation. She was married in 1922 to a civil engineer, Octavio Pinto, also a pianist and composer. Novaës's career continued into the 1970s, a recital at Hunter College in 1972 marking her last New York appearance. Although she made a number of discs for Victor in the 1920s, as well as piano rolls, she was most extensively recorded by Vox in the 1950s, leaving interpretations of Chopin's F minor Concerto (with Klemperer) and Schumann's *Carnaval* that bear witness to an irrepressible individuality and eloquence.

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JAMES METHUEN-CAMPBELL

Novák, Jan (*b* Nová Říše na Moravě, 8 April 1921; *d* New-Ulm, 17 Nov 1984). Czech composer. His musical talent was evident from childhood in his abilities in violin and piano studies, and later in his attempts at composition during his school years. After completing a classical education in Brno, he entered the Brno Conservatory in 1940 and joined Petrželka's composition class, having previously taken a brief course with Theodor Schaefer. Forced to interrupt his conservatory studies for two and a half years during the Nazi occupation, Novák completed his course only in 1946, submitting a string quartet and the *Taneční suita* ('Dance Suite') for orchestra. He then studied briefly with Bořkovec at the Prague Academy (AMU) and in 1947 left for the USA on a study trip financed by a Ježek Foundation scholarship that he won for his Serenade for small orchestra. He completed a summer course with Copland in Tanglewood and for five months studied with Martinů in New York. On 25 February 1948, the date of the communist takeover in former Czechoslovakia, Novák returned home and settled in Brno, where he would earn his living from composition. In 1963 he was one of the founders of 'Toůrčí skupina A' (Creative Group A) or 'Parasiti Apollonis', which brought together Brno theoreticians and composers united by a common view of the role of contemporary music and an interest in new compositional techniques. His liberal views and uncompromising attitude, however, brought him into conflict with the communist authorities; he was discriminated against in a number of ways and in 1961 he was expelled from the Union of Czechoslovak Composers. It was partly this that made him leave Czechoslovakia after the Soviet invasion of 1968. With his family he lived in exile in Denmark, in Italy (1970–77) and finally in the Federal German Republic. He is buried in Rovereto, Italy.

Even Novák's student compositions display an acute musicianship which, when disciplined by a growing technical mastery, placed him among the most talented representatives of the young postwar generation. His early works received concert and broadcast performances. The *Dance Suite* contains a number of characteristic traits: clear construction, transparent orchestration and a feeling for clearcut rhythms. These elements were strengthened still more by his studies with Martinů, with whom Novák formed a close personal and artistic friendship. The late 1940s and the early 50s saw the composition of a number of chamber and piano works which Novák later suppressed. One exception was his song cycle *Carmina sulamitis* (1947) on the Latin text of the Song of Songs, which also demonstrates his exceptional sensitivity to the voice. His aim, fully realized in this cycle, was to create a vocal style which would be clearly intelligible, unsentimental in quality, but also eminently singable. The alternation of long melismas, supported by the pulsing rhythms of the orchestra, with declamatory passages allows the singer to show off all aspects of her voice.

In this early phase, this successful song cycle remained however an isolated experiment. Novák concentrated on chamber pieces and concertos, among which the first representative work is the Oboe Concerto (1952), a composition of neo-classical formal clarity which exploits the virtuoso possibilities of the solo instrument. These elements can be seen as a legacy from Czech music of the 17th and 18th centuries. The work's sense of humour, its musical wit and playfulness, reflect Novák's basically optimistic character. The Oboe Concerto was followed by the Concerto for two pianos and orchestra (1955). At its first performance the composer played in the duo part with his wife Eliška, a graduate of the Brno Conservatory; the Nováks often appeared in piano duet recitals. The enthusiastic reception of the concerto by the Brno audience was in sharp contrast to official reaction, which branded Novák's style as foreign to the spirit of Czech music. With

uncompromising obstinacy Novák in the early 1950s defended his right to his own, modern-orientated path. His music upset the arbiters of the dogmatic, aesthetic norms; his wit and humour were often taken as ridicule, cynicism and deliberate provocation.

Novák's talent was established beyond dispute by his composition for nonet, entitled *Baletti à 9*, in which he again demonstrated his sense for rhythm and for timbre combinations, timbre being treated as an essential element of the music. The composition, which brought a new dimension and a folklike tunefulness to what were essentially dance forms, preserved, like all Novák's works of the period, a basically tonal character.

With the ballet *Svatební košile* ('The Spectre's Bride'), composed in 1954 on the subject of the ballad by Karel Jaromír Erben, Novák came into contact with the theatre for the first time. Nevertheless, the ballet demonstrated a sophisticated dramatic flair, and it was followed by incidental music for many plays and films. The climax of this activity came in 1965 with the Brno première of *Komedie o umučení a slavném vzkříšení Pána a spasitele našeho Ježíše Krista* ('Play of the Passion and Glorious Resurrection of the Lord Our Saviour Jesus Christ'), in which Jan Kopecký's adaptation of the folk Passion play was in close sympathy with Novák's musical conception of the subject.

Novák's first creative period, characterized by Martinů's obvious influence, began with his piano *Variace na téma Bohuslava Martinů* (1949) and closed with the orchestral version of ten years later. These seven variations and double fugue on an 11-bar theme from the closing section of Martinů's *Field Mass* are proof of the technical mastery of form and instrumentation that Novák had achieved by this time: he had proved himself a composer of rich invention with a wide range of expression.

A new creative period began with the Capriccio for cello and orchestra (1958), a virtuoso concerto work making striking use of jazz elements. In the middle movement, 'Circulus vicioso', he first employed a 12-note series as thematic material. He also used 12-note techniques in the lyrical *Dulces cantilenae* (1961), in which he returned for his text to the Song of Songs, this time in a different Latin version by the Czech humanist Campanus Vodňanský. The use of dodecaphony did not however mean a basic change of attitude towards form. As is shown by the composer's gently ironic introduction to these songs and to the following work, *Passer Catulli* (1962), he saw these compositional techniques as a musical game.

During the 1960s the strength of tonality in Novák's work gradually diminished. Most of Novák's works from this period are settings of the composer's own Latin texts, the Latin of medieval codices or classical Latin. The rhythm of the Latin hexameter became an ostinato motif in the large-scale oratorio *Dido* (1967) for mezzo, speaker, male choir and orchestra. This three-part work brought together Novák's dramatic flair, his individual vocal style and his predilection for the Latin language. Other scores using unusual Latin texts include *Apicius modulatus* (1971), a humorous piece based on the cookbook by Apicius, and the opera *Dulcitius* (1974), based on a miracle play by Roswitha von Gandersheim. For his basic rhythmic material Novák drew increasingly on the verses of Virgil during this final period. An analytical study of Latin texts, their metres, lengths of syllables and the intonation of correctly declaimed Latin informed the rhythm of his music and its melodic outline also, particularly in works such as *Odarum contentus* (1973). Through this most universal of languages Novák succeeded in creating a highly individual musical expression.

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(selective list)

DRAMATIC

Svatební košile [The Spectre's Bride] (ballet, after K.J. Erben), 1954; Komedie o umučení a slavném vzkříšení Pána a spasitele našeho Ježíše Krista [Play of the Passion and Glorious Resurrection of the Lord Our Saviour Jesus Christ] (incid music, J. Kopecký), 1965; Dulcitius (lyric op, 14 scenes, after R. von Gandersheim), 1974; Aesopia (6 sung and danced fables, after Phaedrus), chorus, small orch 1981, rev. for ballet; film scores and other incid music

VOCAL

Carmina sulamitis (Song of Songs), Mez, orch, 1947; Cantilenae trium vocum (V. Nezval), 1951; Závišova píseň [Záviš's Song], T, orch, 1958; Horatii carmina, 1v, pf, 1959; Dulces cantilenae (Song of Songs), S, vc, 1961; Passer Catulli, B, 9 insts, 1962; Ioci vernales (Carmina burana), B, 8 insts, tape, 1964; Sulpicia (Tibullus), chorus, 1965; Testamentum Iosephi Eberle, chorus, 4 hn, 1966; Dido (Virgil), Mez, spkr, male chorus, orch, 1967

Exertitia mythologica (Novák), chbr chorus, 1968; Catulli Lesbia, male chorus, 1968; Ignis pro Ioanne Palach (Novák), chorus, orch, 1969; Planctus troadum (Seneca), A, female chorus, 8 vc, 2 db, 2 perc, 1969; Mimus magicus (Virgil), S, cl, pf, 1969; Rana rupta (Phaedrus), chorus, 1971; Apicius modulatus, S, T, gui, 1971; Invitatio pastorum (Carmina burana), solo vv, chorus, 1971; Orpheus et Eurydice (Virgil), S, b viol, pf, 1972; Florilegum cantionum latinarum, 1v, pf, 1972–3; Schola cantans, 1v, pf, 1973; Columbae pacis et aliud pecus (Novák), high v, pf, 1972; iv Fugae Vergilianae, chorus, 1974; Servato pede et pollicis ictu (Horatius), chorus, 1974; Eis Aphroditen (anthem, Pseudohomerus), chorus, 1980; Vernalis temporis symphonia, solo vv, chorus, orch, 1982; In tumulum Paridis (Martialis), chorus, 1983; Cantica latina, 1v, pf, 1985

INSTRUMENTAL

Orch: Tanečni suita [Dance Suite], 1946; Ob Conc., 1952; Conc., 2 pf, orch, 1955; Filharmonické tance [Philharmonic Dances], 1955–6; Capriccio, vc, orch, 1958; Variace na téma Bohuslava Martinů, orch, 1959 [version of 2 pf piece, 1949]; Musica caesariana, wind orch, 1960; Concentus Eurydicae, gui, str, 1971; Odarum contentus, str, 1973; Concentus biiugis, pf 4 hands, str, 1976; Ludi symphoniaci I, 1978; Choreae vernales, fl, small orch, 1980; Ludi concertantes, 18 insts, 1981; Symphonia bipartita, 1983

Chbr and solo inst: Baletti à 9, 9 insts, 1955; Toccata chromatica, pf, 1957; Concertino, wind qnt, 1957; Sonata brevis, hpd, 1960; Inventiones per tonos XII, hpd, 1960; Toccata georgiana, org, 1963; Puerilia, pf, 1970; Rondini, pf, 1970; Panisci fistula, 3 fl, 1972; Rosarium, 2 gui, 1972; Ioci pastorales, ob, cl, bn, hn, 1974; Iubilationes, org, 1976; Sonatine, fl, pf, 1976; Cithara poetica, gui, 1977; Choreae vernales, fl, pf/gui/str, 1977; Cantica, pf, 1978; Sonata gemela, 2 fl, 1978; Str Qt, 1978; Odae, pf, 1979; 2 Preludes and Fugues, fl, 1979; 5 caprici, pf, 1980; Nocturne, pf 4 hands, 1980; Sonata, vn, 1980; Rotundelli, vc, pf, 1981; Sonata da chiesa I, va, org, 1981; Sonata da chiesa II, fl, org, 1981; Sonata serenata, vn, gui, 1981; Sonata super 'Hoson zes ...', vn/fl, pf, 1981; Pf Sonata, 1982; Sonata phantasia, vc, bn, pf, 1982; Sonata rustica, accdn, pf, 1982; Sonata tribus, fl, vn, pf, 1982; Aeolia, 2 fl, pf, 1983; Marsyas, pic, pf, 1983; vii matamorphoses in Pastorale L.v.B., fl, ob, 2 vn, vc, pf, 1983

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A. Němcová: 'Jana Nováka cesta domů' [Novák's way home], *OM*, xxiii (1991), 13–20
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ALENA NĚMCOVÁ

Novak, Johann Baptist [Janez Krstnik] (*b* Ljubljana, *c*1756; *d* Ljubljana, 29 Jan 1833). Slovenian composer. He was a civil servant in Ljubljana, and one of the founder-members of the Philharmonic Society in 1794. He conducted the orchestra of the society in 1799–1800 and between 1808 and 1825 was its musical director. In 1790 he wrote incidental music for T. Linhart's play *Ta veseli dan, ali Matiček se ženi* ('A Happy Day, or Matiček is Getting Married'). The music was given such prominence that the play became in effect an opera. Linhart's plot leant heavily on Beaumarchais's well-known comedy, and Novak, who must have known it through Mozart's setting, renamed it *Figaro* (in the National and University Library, Ljubljana). His only other extant work is an occasional cantata, *Cantate zum Geburts oder Namensfeste einer Mutter* (*I-Tscon*); of another occasional cantata, *Krains Empfindungen*, performed in 1801, only the text survives.

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BOJAN BUJIĆ

Novák, Pavel [Zemek, Pavel] (*b* Brno, 14 Oct 1957). Czech composer. He studied composition and oboe at the Brno Conservatory (1971–7). He then attended the Janáček Academy in Brno (1977–81), graduating in oboe, then studied composition there with Miloslav Ištvan (1983–8). Novák is a teacher of composition and theory at the Brno Conservatory.

During his studies he was influenced by the compositional method of his teacher Ištvan, then he began to develop in a rather different direction, with evolutionary forms. From 1986 he worked with some London ensembles (The Schubert Ensemble and The Composers' Ensemble). In 1992–3 he studied with George Benjamin at the RCM in London. Elements of diatonicism and consonance, and melodic writing in instrumental music more closely resembling a vocal idiom, became more pronounced features of Novák's style during the 1990s. Classical rhythmic structures in multiples of two, with metrical fluctuations within an otherwise regular beat, became more emphasized in Novák's works. In his evolutionary forms the ideas themselves fashion the structure, so that one element (rhythm, melody, colour) dominates. Behind this musical language stands an interest in Czech and Moravian folklore, and devout Catholicism.

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Vocal: Zahrada lásky [The Garden of Love], S, 2 perc, 1987; Tři mariánské modlitby [3 Marian Prayers], S, 5 insts, 1993; Ó hlavo plná krve a ran [O Sacred Head Sore Wounded], 5vv, 1996

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PETR KOFROŇ

Novák, Vítězslav [Viktor] (**Augustín Rudolf**) (*b* Kamenice nad Lipou, 5 Dec 1870; *d* Skuteč, 18 July 1949). Czech composer and teacher.

1. LIFE. His father, Jakub Novák, came from an ancient southern Bohemian peasant family. He worked as a medical doctor and served the deputy president of the choral society Čechorod of Počátky. His mother, Marie Pollenská, was a forester's daughter, who played the piano. The family moved to Počátky in 1872, where Novák attended primary school and learnt the violin with Antonín Šilhan and the piano with Marie Krejčová. In 1882 Novák's father died, after which the family moved to Jindřichův Hradec, where Novák studied at the local grammar school. The conductor of the local fire brigade band, Vilém Pojman, who taught him music from the fourth form, was the first to recognize and develop his musical gift. Novák gave his first public performances in Jindřichův Hradec at the age of 17 and composed songs and piano pieces from the age of 16. Among them were four attempts at setting Mácha's poem *Máj* ('May'), a classic of early Czech romantic poetry. After passing his final examinations (1889), Novák moved to Prague with his family.

For two semesters he read law at Prague University, and then philosophy, following the advice of the professor of music history and aesthetics, Otakar Hostinský. He graduated in 1893. At the same time he studied composition at the Prague Conservatory (Sept 1889–July 1892). In the beginning his studies were not particularly successful: his ardently romantic personality did not readily submit to the strict disciplines of harmony and counterpoint. Independent development of his talents came only when he began attending the composition class of Dvořák, who succeeded Karel Stecker in the academic year 1891–2. In that period, in addition to a couple of smaller pieces, Novák wrote his Violin Sonata in D minor and *Korzár* ('The Corsair'), an overture for orchestra. While Dvořák was away in New York, Novák orchestrated his Serenade in F for small orchestra in Karel Bendl's composition class (1894–5). Between 1891 and 1896 he attended Josef Jiránek's piano class.

His first compositional successes brought some much-needed improvement of his precarious financial situation. He received a scholarship from the Apt Foundation of the Prague Conservatory (1894–6) and a state scholarship of 400 gulden (1896–8). Brahms became interested in some of Dvořák's pupils, including Josef Suk and Oskar Nedbal, and recommended Novák's piano cycles for publication by his Berlin publisher, Simrock: opp.6, 9, 10, 11 and 13 were published between 1895 and 1898.

An important turn came in 1896, when Novák was invited by Rudolf Reissig (1874–1939), his friend from the conservatory, to explore the authentic folklore of Moravian Valašsko in Velké Karlovice (Vsetín district), an area famous for its natural beauty. Novák spent many summers on holiday in Velké Karlovice and went on numerous trips across Slovácko (Moravian Slovakia), Lašsko and Valašsko. Later he went even further afield into Slovakia. Inspired by the first impressions from his summer holidays, he decided to study the standard Czech and Moravian folksongs collections (Erben, Sušil, Bartoš). His own observations and notations of interesting songs made him familiar with the essence of folk music of the area. He also got to know the folk singers, musicians and folksong collectors, Martin Zeman, Hynek Bím, Jan Nepomuk Polášek and, most importantly in 1897, Leoš Janáček, the greatest authority on Moravian folklore at the turn of the century. Meeting outstanding figures then determining the nature of the rapid development of Czech nationalism in the late Austro-Hungarian Empire gave Novák an insight into the cultural atmosphere of Brno and Moravia. His friends and acquaintances included leading cultural figures such as the architect Dušan Jurkovič, the painter Jožka Úprka, the writers Alois and Vilém Mrštík, Josef Merhaut, František Mareš and many others. When Rudolf Reissig, after working briefly in Kroměříž, moved to Brno, where he became chorusmaster of the Beseda Brněnská (succeeding Janáček), he began systematically performing various works by Novák, beginning in 1899. This continued until 1920, when Reissig moved to the Prague Conservatory. The Novák cult in Brno even overshadowed the achievement of Janáček for a time. Both Novák and Janáček continued to be heard in Brno, thanks to the conductors Břetislav Bakala, Jaroslav Vogel and František Jílek, all pupils of Novák and later renowned Janáček conductors.



Vítězslav Novák: portrait by 'Dr Desiderius', pen and ink wash, 1926

From 1896 Novák turned not only to folklore but also to exploring the landscape of south-eastern Moravia and Slovakia, as an active walker, swimmer and mountaineer. His first stay in Velké Karlovice in 1896 was supported by a powerful emotional experience linked at the start of an unhappy love affair with the singer Josefína Javůrková, the recipient of the strain of 'eternal longing' detected by commentators in Novák's music. From then on a strongly personal synthesis of eroticism, nature and folklore can be traced in all his works. In the beginning, elements of folksongs represented merely an exotic aspect in his music, but from 1896 Moravian and Slovak folklore penetrated most of his compositions, resulting in a highly individual musical language. In addition to the Piano Quintet in A minor, written during the winter season of 1896–7 immediately after Novák's trip to Velké Karlovice, creative folklorism also imbued the original series of *Písničky na slova lidové poezie moravské* ('Songs on Moravian Folk Poetry'), in which he provided original folk texts with settings based on his own melodic invention and his imaginative piano accompaniments. Later, he orchestrated these songs.

In addition to his regular stays in Velké Karlovice and, at the beginning of 1906, in the Znojmo region around Bítov Castle, Novák visited almost every European country apart from Russia. Novák's knowledge of foreign languages – German, English, French, Spanish and Russian – literature, philosophy, fine arts and a vast repertory of European and Czech music, made him one of the leading figures of Czech culture and placed him among the most successful composers of the time. Unlike Janáček, Novák managed to become involved in the social and musical life of Prague. In 1901 the 'Podskalská Filharmonie' came into existence in Prague as a friendly association of artists around Novák (who lived in Podskalská ulice). After the death of Fibich in 1900 Novák took over some of Fibich's pupils, at the same time preparing his own applicants for study at Prague Conservatory. In time he developed an enviable reputation as a teacher. In September 1909 he opened a masterclass in composition at the Prague Conservatory, teaching over 100 composers until his retirement in 1939, including many Czechs, Slovaks and southern and eastern Slavs. Even after leaving the conservatory he continued to give private lessons to young composers. One of his last pupils was Ilja Hurník.

Novák's major achievements of the period include orchestral works, *Maryša* (1898), the symphonic poem *V Tatrách* ('In the Tatras', 1902), the *Slovácká suita* ('Moravian-Slovak Suite') for small orchestra (1903), the symphonic poem *O věčné touze* ('Eternal Longing', 1903–5), the Serenade in D for small orchestra (1905), the symphonic poem *Toman a lesní panna* ('Toman and the Wood Nymph', 1906–7) and the cantata *Bouře* ('The Storm') on words by Svatopluk Čech (1908–10). These works, together with piano works such as the *Sonata Eroica* (1900) and *Pan* (1910, orchestrated 1912), made Novák one of the founders of Czech modernist music of the early years of the 20th century.

A turning point in Novák's career came with his marriage (in 1912) to Marie Prášková, the daughter of a businessman from Skuteč, and Novák's former pupil from

the conservatory. The marriage gave him an emotional anchor and provided a stable family background. He began work on larger compositions, including the cantata *Svatební košile* ('The Wedding Shift', 1912–13), four operas and two ballets. Although he enjoyed maximum official recognition at the time when the first independent Czechoslovak state came into existence, he was no longer seen as a progressive figure. Despite that, he was a member of many domestic and foreign music societies, academies and juries, and his works were continued to be published by Universal Edition, and by domestic publishers. In the 1920s Novák was elected rector of Prague Conservatory on three occasions. His works were performed in Vienna, in Germany and in other foreign countries, and his premières in Prague and Brno were major social and musical events.

In the 1930s his orientation slowly began to change, youthful romanticism being replaced by a more reflective style as in the *Podzimní symfonie* ('Autumn Symphony', 1931–4), followed by a turn towards objective patriotism directly related to political events of the time. On the eve of the Munich tragedy he wrote the *Jihočeská suita* ('South Bohemian Suite', 1936–7) for orchestra and the Third String Quartet (1938), embodying feelings of resentment and of patriotic pride. In the protests against the Munich events and the establishment of the Protectorate, Novák remained silent for three years. Then, in the middle of the greatest national catastrophe, in 1941, he wrote his symphonic poem for large orchestra and organ *De profundis* (1941), the *Svatováclavský triptych* ('St Wenceslas Triptych') for organ and orchestra and a one-movement Cello Sonata. During the occupation he showed great personal courage, putting in his music allegories of national political resistance which even the Nazis were able to recognize (the *St Wenceslas Triptych* was referred to as 'ein schönes Werk, aber sehr politisch gefärbt' – 'a beautiful work, but very politically coloured'). During this period Novák spent most of his time in Skuteč, writing his memoirs (*Vítězslav Novák o sobě a o jiných*), some small compositions and the *Májová symfonie* ('May Symphony', 1943), a herald of liberation. For his lifetime achievement as a composer he was appointed National Artist in composition together with Josef Bohuslav Foerster, on 23 November 1945. He composed music until the very last day of his life. When he died in Skuteč the female chorus *Hvězdy* ('Stars') to a text by his wife and the unfinished cantata *Na orloji věčna léta vteřinami jsou. . .* ('On the Tower Clock Eternal Years are Mere Seconds') lay on his desk.

2. Works. Novák wrote works in all genres though his career was carefully paced and the larger works for chorus and orchestra and the stage works appeared only after his 40th year, suggesting a rational choice rather than a natural bent in these areas. His creative personality was in place by the turn of the century. A natural inclination towards gloomy romanticism and self- dramatization had been tempered by a rigorous academic training. This left him with an easy ability in the standard forms, mostly in chamber music and songs, and an orientation towards a conservative idiom. His two strongest attributes were already well in evidence: a fine ear for melody and orchestration. What took him out of a conventional late-Romantic idiom derived from Brahms, Grieg and Tchaikovsky was his encounter with Moravia. A decisive work is the First String Quartet op.22 (1899). The sonata-form first movement shows its provenance: Dvořák and even his rival Suk lurk in the background (in the careful craftsmanship and the harmony rather than in the cut of the melodies). But in the remaining movements Novák pulls abruptly away from this tradition; the solemn little scherzo is not only humorous, but folk-inflected in its harmonic and melodic vocabulary; the final movement may have had a Dvořákian *dumka* in mind with its alternation of the wild and the ruminative but in fact it looks more towards a Hungarian *topos*. Novák designated these two movements respectively as from 'Valašsko' (next door to Janáček's Lašsko) and 'Slovácko' (the Moravian-Slovak setting of both Janáček's *Jenůfa* and Foerster's *Eva*). The result is a delightful amalgam that could not be further from Janáček's earthiness or Suk's smoothness and was wholly Novák's own. Not everyone approved. Zdeněk Nejedlý castigated its 'pictorialism' (quite inappropriate in a string quartet, he declared) but, however misguided, he had clearly detected something that departed from the official Smetana road.

Novak had already taken this road in his orchestral overture *Maryša* (1898). A miniature tone poem, it contains clearly-drawn portraits of the three protagonists: that of the heroine Maryša is derived from a familiar Moravian folksong. It was only a small step to the *Moravian-Slovak Suite* (1903), set like *Maryša* and the second movement of the String Quartet op.22 in the Slovácko region of Moravia, whose folk rituals it evokes. But three of the five movements (describing respectively children at play, love-making and a nocturnal scene) could have been set anywhere. And what might be thought of as the defining movement as far as location is concerned, 'U muziky' ('With the band') is only skin-deep in its ethnographic gestures: open string chords with 4th and 5ths, Scotch snaps and other Moravian rhythmic fingerprints but all safely contained as a fruitful exoticism rather than the root-and-branch re-examination of musical language undertaken by Bartók and Janáček. The same point is made in the Piano Trio op.27 (1902). For all its Moravian mirror rhythms it is the fine ensemble writing and above all the striking one-movement form encompassing all the elements of a four-movement structure which impress today.

But Moravian exoticism had clearly released something within Novák and he went on to his best known works such as the tone poems *In the Tatras* and *Eternal Longing*. The first is monothematic and is an example of the composer's response to nature, here of the Tatra mountains of Slovakia seen in a variety of moods and weathers. The second proposes a simple narrative based on one of Hans Christian Andersen's prose poems but also allows the depiction of natural phenomena such as the 'strange forms' that lurk in the ocean or the flight of swans. It is ravishing music, achieved by comparatively simple means. Like much of Novák's music of the time its simplicity and confidence is deceptive, as can be seen from its long gestation (1903–5), a point made by the later revisions (1905, 1907) of *In the Tatras* (1902). A later work in this succession of orchestral pieces, the overture *Lady Godiva* (1907), also illustrates how careful Novák needed to be to tap into what was personal and distinctive. Stepping outside into foreign territory (Czech commentators enterprisingly detect a 'Scottish atmosphere' in Novák's musical reworking of the Coventry legend), he reverts to gestural Romanticism and a rather too obvious sonata

form with its competing 'masculine' first subject (depicting the violent Earl Leofric), 'feminine' second subject (the gentle Lady Godiva) and conflicted development. Another work from the period, the Serenade in D (1905), is admirable in its craftsmanship and achieves its aim of delighting, but lacks both the urgency and the personal identity of most of the other orchestral works of the period and shows how easily Novák could descend to note-spinning.

In his music up to about 1908 Novák seems to have found a personal voice when his imagination was released by Moravian *topoi* or when writing programmatically for orchestra (especially in a response to nature) where his precise aural imagination was given free rein. When Novák capped this with two large-scale works in other genres, namely the cantata *The Storm* and the 'symphonic poem for piano' *Pan* commentators believed that he broken free of these creative restraints. However, both pieces are problematic. Like *In the Tatras*, *Pan* is essentially monothematic, in this case a structure of almost an hour derived from a four-note initial theme. Its second movement 'Hory' ('Mountains') is a typically atmospheric evocation of nature but the demanding third movement 'Moře' ('Sea') descends into a collection of tired Lisztian virtuoso devices: the resultant texture has neither the luminosity of contemporary French piano music nor the poignant directness of Suk's *Things Lived and Dreamt* or Janáček's *On the Overgrown Path* and *In the Mists*. The piano textures themselves seem insufficient and it is revealing that Novák went on to orchestrate the work.

The Storm has different limitations. Technically it is a cantata with chorus (mainly male) and several soloists, but its vocal sections are embedded in an orchestral continuum of surprisingly generous proportions. At its triumphant première in Brno in 1910 it demonstrated how closely in touch Novák was with developments elsewhere in Europe. Its virtuoso deployment of the orchestra for instance recalls both the virtuosity of Strauss and incandescence of Skryabin. But the verbal text (a youthful narrative poem by Svatopluk Čech) is undistinguished and unconsciously comic; Novák's setting of the words is confined to ballad-like insertions which seldom breach the stanzaic structure of the poem. By far the most effective parts of this piece are the long orchestral sea interludes in which Novák was able to continue the concerns of *Eternal Longing* and *In the Tatras*.

After *The Storm* Novák faltered. His next oratorio, *The Wedding Shift* (1913) was castigated as presumptuous after Dvořák's famous setting of Erben's text and the clutch of operas that he then embarked on are retrospective works mostly based on Czech classic 19th-century plays. His best-known opera, *Lucerna* ('The Lantern'), has a cast of characters that could have come straight out of Dvořák's *Rusalka* or *The Jakobin*. Both *Karlštejn* and *The Lantern* were composed to rhymed verse which Novák did little to override rhythmically. His settings fall into regular, almost singsong rhythmic periods (as in *The Storm*) that can give a very formal, mannered impression, especially in dialogue. Significantly, in his final opera Novák returned to the surer ground of symphonic writing: *Dědův odkaz* ('The Grandfather's Legacy') has great swathes of symphonic interludes, postludes and dances. There is also an abrupt turnabout regarding choral writing (virtually absent from the previous operas) with the chorus consituting a particularly important element. Even more significantly the final stage works that Novák attempted were ballets, whose designation as 'pantomimes' refers to the detailed stage directions. In the case of *Signorina Gioventù* there is a prologue where the action is explained in a melodrama with a speaker and orchestra.

The unadventurous idiom of these later works show how out of sympathy Novák had become with Modernist developments in music. Whereas the elderly Janáček espoused the novelties that he picked up at his sorties to ISCM festivals, all Novák seemed able to do was to enhance the brilliance of his orchestration and flirt with mild bitonality. It is astonishing in the *South Bohemian Suite* of 1936–7 how little he had in fact advanced from the *Moravian-Slovak Suite* of 30 years earlier. He has all his old skill in evoking a dreamy romantic atmosphere in the first two movements. The most distinctive element is the grim Hussite march of the third movement in which he reacted to the ominous events in Germany that would soon destroy the Czechoslovak Republic. A nationalist impulse accounts for the urgency of his most effective late-period works, the war pieces of the 1940s, *De profundis* and *St Wenceslas Triptych*. The former work is based on a gloom-to-transfiguration trajectory, emphasized by the control of orchestral colour (very low instruments at the start, harp and celesta at the end). Remarkable in its muscular counterpoint, it is one of the most potent artistic responses to political events to come from the region.

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STAGE

op.	
49	Zvíkovský rarášek [The Zvíkov imp] (comic op, 1, L. Stroupežnický), 1913–14, Prague, National, 10 Oct 1915
50	Karlštejn (op, 3, O. Fischer (after J. Vrchlický), 1914–15, Prague, National, 18 Nov 1918
56	Lucerna [The Lantern] (musical fairy tale, 4, H. Jelínek, after A. Jirásek), 1919–22, Prague, National, 13 May 1923
57	Dědův odkaz [Grandfather's Legacy] (lyric op, with sym. interludes, 3, A. Klášterský, after A. Heyduk), 1922–5, Brno, National, 16 Jan 1926
58	Signorina Gioventù (ballet-pantomime, prol, 7 scenes, after S. Čech), 1926–8, Prague, National, 10 Feb 1929
59	Nikotina (ballet-pantomime, 7 scenes, after Čech), 1929, Prague, National, 10 Feb 1929
78	Žižka (incid music, F. Rachlík), 1948

ORCHESTRAL

—	Korzár, ov., after Byron, 1892
—	Serenade, F, small orch, 1894–5
—	Piano Concerto, e, 1895
18	Maryša, dramatic ov., after V. and A. Mrštík, 1898
26	V Tatrách [In the Tatras], sym. poem, 1902, rev. 1905, 1907
32	Slovácká suita [Moravian-Slovak Suite], small orch, 1903
33	O věčné touze [Eternal Longing], after H.C. Andersen, 1903–5
36	Serenade, D, small orch, 1905
40	Toman a lesní panna [Toman and the Wood Nymph], sym. poem, after Czech trad., 1906–7
41	Lady Godiva, ov. to tragedy by J. Vrchlický, 1907
64	Jihočeská suita [South Bohemian Suite], 1936–7
67	De profundis, sym. poem, 1941
70	Svatováclavský triptych [St Wenceslas Triptych], orch, org, 1941

CHORAL

19	2 balady na slova lidové poesie moravské [2 Ballads on Words from Moravian Folk Poetry], chorus, pf duet, 1898

23 2 balady na slova lidové poesie moravské, chorus, pf duet, 1900
— 2 sbory [2 Choruses], female chorus, pf, 1901
37 6 mužských sborů [6 Male Choruses], 1906
42 Bouře [The Storm] (Čech), solo vv, chorus, orch, 1908–10
44 Na domácí půdě [On Native Soil], 8 male choruses, 1911
47 4 básně [4 poems] (O. Březina), chorus, 1912
48 Svatební košile [The Wedding Shift] (K.J. Erben), solo vv, chorus, orch, 1912–13
51 Síla a vzdor [Strength and Defiance], 6 male choruses, 1916–17
53 3 české zpěvy [3 Czech Songs], male chorus, orch, 1918
60 Ze života [From Life] (Moravian trad.), 12 male choruses, 1932
61 12 ukolébavek na slova lidové poesie moravské [12 Lullabies on Moravian Folk Texts], female chorus, 1931–2
62 Podzimní symfonie [Autumn Sym.], male chorus, female chorus, orch, 1931–4
69 Domov [Home], 6 male choruses, 1941
71 5 smíšených sborů [5 Mixed Choruses], 1942
72 Máj [May] (J. Neruda), 10 children's choruses, 1942
73 Májová symfonie (Jarní symfonie) [May Sym. (Spring Sym.)], solo vv, chorus, orch, 1943
79 Píseň zlínského pracujícího lidu [Song of the Zlín Working People] (small cant., M. Nováková), 1948
— Hvězdy [Stars] (Nováková), female chorus, orch, 1949

Occasional pieces, arrs. of original works with orch

CHAMBER AND SOLO INSTRUMENTAL

Sonata, d, vn, pf, 1891; Pf Trio, g, op.1, 1892; Pf Qt, c, op.7, 1894, rev.1899; Pf Qnt, a, op.12, 1896, rev. 1897; Str Qt, G, op.22, 1899; Pf Trio quasi una ballata, d, op.27, 1902; Str Qt, D, op.35, 1905; Str Qt, G, op.66, 1938; Sonata, op.68, vc, pf, 1941

Pf: Variace na Schumannovo téma, 1893; Balada, e, op.2, after Byron: Manfred, 1893; Vzpomínky [Reminiscences], op.6, 1894; Serenády, op.9, 1895; Barkaroly, op.10, 1896; Eklogy, op.11, 1896; Za soumraku [At Dusk], op.13, 4 pieces, 1896; Můj máj [My May], op.20, 4 pieces, 1899; Sonata eroica, op.24, 1900; Písně zimních nocí [Songs of a Winter Night], op.30, 4 pieces, 1903; 2 valašské tance [2 Valašsko dances], op.34, 1904; Pan, op.43, tone poem, 5 movts, 1910; Exoticon, op.45, short suite, 1911; 6 Sonatinas, op.54, 1919–20; Mládí [Youth], op.55, 2 vols., 1920

Short pf pieces, pf duets, 1 early org work, kbd arrs. orch works

SONGS

for solo voice and piano unless otherwise stated

— Zápisy 75 lidových písní moravských [Notations of 75 Moravian Folksongs], S, pf, 1896–7
8 Pohádka srdce [A Tale of the Heart], 5 songs, S, pf, 1896
14 Cikánské melodie [Gypsy Melodies] (cycle, A. Heyduk), 1897
16 Písničky na slova lidové poesie moravské [Songs on Moravian Folk Texts], i, op.16; also ii, op.17, iii, op.21, 1897–8, iv, op.74, v, op.75, 1944
— Jarní nálady [Spring Moods] (J. Vrchlický), 4 songs, A/B, pf, 1900
25 Melancholie (cycle, A. Sova, J. Kvapil, J.S. Machar), Mez, pf, 1901
28 2 balady (J. Neruda), Mez, pf, 1902
29 Balada o duši Jana Nerudy [Ballad for Neruda's soul] (A. Klášterský), B, pf, 1902
31 Údolí nového království [Valley of the New Kingdom] (A. Sova), S/T, pf, 1903
38 Melancholické písně o lásce [Melancholy songs about love] (cycle, J. Vrchlický, J.0 Borecký, Neruda), 1906
39 Notturna (Ger. poets), 9 songs, 1906–8
46 Erotikon (Ger. poets, trans. L. Vycpálek), 6 songs, 1912
52 Jaro [Spring] (J.V. Sládek), 12 songs, 1918
63 2 romances (Neruda), 1v, orch, 1934
65 In memoriam (P. Křička, Vrchlický, J. Uhlíř), 4 songs, Mez, str orch, harp, tam-tam, 1936–7
76 2 legendy na slova lidové poesie moravské [2 Legends on Moravian Folk Poetry], Mez, pf/orch, 1944
77 Jihočeské motivy [South Bohemian Motifs] (J. Hazálková, M. Nováková, J. Čarek]), 5 songs, S/T, pf, 1947
78 4 ukolébavky ([4 lullabies] (Nováková), S/T, pf, 1947

Other works, juvenilia

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— Slovenské spevy [Slovak songs], 6 vols., 1v, pf, 1900–30
— 25 slovenských lidových písní [25 Slovak folksongs], 1v, pf, 1901
— 12 slovenských písní lidových [12 Slovak folksongs], male chorus, 1921
— Kytice lidových písní [A Bouquet of Folksongs], 1v, pf, 1923

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MILOŠ SCHNIERER (1, work-list, bibliography), JOHN TYRRELL (2)

Nova Scotia Choral Federation. Association based in HALIFAX (ii), Canada, established in 1976.

Novelli, Antonia Maria. *See* LAURENTI family, (4).

Novello. English family of musicians and music publishers of Italian origin. They exerted a widespread and stimulating influence on taste and musical practice in 19th-century England.

(1) Vincent Novello (*b* London, 6 Sept 1781; *d* Nice, 9 Aug 1861). Organist, choirmaster, conductor, editor, publisher and composer. His father, Giuseppe Novello, a Piedmontese who had settled in London as a pastry-cook, married an English wife, and gave his sons Francis and Vincent the best education he could. Vincent became a choirboy at the Sardinian Embassy chapel, where he received organ lessons from Samuel Webbe. On Webbe's recommendation he was appointed organist, when not yet 17, to the Portuguese Embassy chapel in South Street, Grosvenor Square, where his brother Francis was already

principal bass. He held this office for 25 years, and made the chapel famous by his playing and by his choir's regular performances of Haydn's and Mozart's masses, with which he had become acquainted through the friendship and fine musical library of the Rev. C.I. Latrobe. These works had not previously been heard in England, and music lovers from all over London flocked to hear them; a writer of the 1830s even ranked 'the introduction of the German masses to the Roman Catholic chapels' with the foundation of the Philharmonic Society as a major influence in what he called 'the improvement of our national taste'. Novello was a member of the Philharmonic Society from its foundation in 1813, and frequently directed its concerts from the keyboard. He also worked as conductor and accompanist with Angelica Catalani's opera company at the King's Theatre, and thus acquired, as Mary Cowden Clarke recorded in her memoir of her father, 'that facility in reading from score, which was, at that time, a rare accomplishment'.

Novello's ventures as editor and publisher began as a modest offshoot of his work as choirmaster. In 1811 he brought out, at his own expense, a two-volume *Collection of Sacred Music*, compiled from the manuscript music in use at South Street chapel. This was followed by *Twelve Easy Masses* (which included three of his own) and by further collections of motets. All these he brought within the scope of organists less gifted than himself by providing a written accompaniment instead of the customary figured bass. His series of masses by Haydn and Mozart was also published, as his daughter stated, 'at his own cost of time and money, in order to introduce them, in accessible form, among his countrymen in England'. The operative words are 'in accessible form': hitherto such works had been available, if at all, only in full score. Novello brought them out in vocal score, again with accompaniments arranged by himself for organ or piano, and with separate vocal and orchestral parts, which until then were only to be had by laborious copying. Although several of these masses were later shown to be spurious, it does not detract from the importance of the undertaking. Choral societies were comparatively rare in the first decades of the century, but multiplied rapidly throughout the country as soon as vocal scores and orchestral parts could be obtained easily and cheaply. In London Novello himself took an active part in the affairs of such bodies as the Classical Harmonists and Choral Harmonists, and his own family circle was the proving ground for much music for home and amateur performance.

A request from the Cambridge University Senate that he should examine and report on the great collection of manuscript music bequeathed to the university by Viscount Fitzwilliam in 1816 led to another editorial enterprise, the five-volume collection of Italian church music, mainly of the 17th century, which appeared in 1825 as *The Fitzwilliam Music*. Between 1826 and 1829 Novello also brought out five volumes of Purcell's sacred music; they included the G minor Evening Service and four anthems, all of which Novello copied in a single day from unpublished manuscripts in York Minster that were destroyed by fire in the following year. Although he was a Roman Catholic, he nevertheless contributed the collection known as the *Cathedral Choir Book*, several volumes of Boyce's services and anthems, and others by Greene, Croft and Nares to the worship of the Church of England. He also edited Handel's and Haydn's oratorios and produced four-hand arrangements of opera excerpts from Mozart and Spohr.

When news reached London in 1829 that Mozart's sister was ailing and in want, Novello helped to organize a subscription on her behalf and, with his wife, travelled to Salzburg in order to present her with the money and collect material for his projected biography of Mozart, to him 'the Shakespeare of music'. The book was never written, though his pupil Edward Holmes used the material in his *Life of Mozart* (1845). The notes and diaries which Vincent and Mary Novello kept on their travels were published in 1955 as *A Mozart Pilgrimage*. The music of J.S. Bach was Novello's other great love, at a time when Bach's music was known to few in England outside a tiny group of organists (called 'the Sebastian Squad' by its moving spirit Samuel Wesley) whose devotion did much to prepare for the later Bach revival.

In 1808 Novello married Mary Sabilla Hehl (*b* c1789; *d* Nice, 25 July 1854), a gifted woman of German-Irish descent; through her immense vitality their home became a centre for a wide circle of friends in the literary, artistic and musical worlds. Charles and Mary Lamb, Leigh Hunt and Shelley, Charles Cowden Clarke and his pupils Keats and Edward Holmes were among those who were drawn into such musical evenings as Lamb described in 'A Chapter on Ears' (*Essays of Elia*, 1823); later the young Mendelssohn and the brilliant singer Maria Malibran brought fresh life to these gatherings. Of the 11 children born to Vincent and Mary Novello, apart from those discussed below, Mary (Victoria), who married Charles Cowden Clarke, became famous for her *Complete Concordance to Shakespeare* (1844–5); Edward Petre, who died at 21, was a painter of real promise (see illustration); Cecilia, actress and singer, married the actor J.T. Serle; and Sabilla achieved some distinction as a singer, teacher, writer and translator.

Novello was frequently asked to design and demonstrate new organs, and was responsible for part of the design of the organ for the new Birmingham Town Hall completed in 1834. For three years, from 1840 to 1843, he was organist at the Roman Catholic chapel in Moorfields, which was then the pro-cathedral for London. In 1848 he moved to Nice for the sake of his wife's health.

(2) (Joseph) Alfred Novello (*b* London, 12 Aug 1810; *d* Genoa, 16 July 1896). Music publisher, eldest son of (1) Vincent Novello. He was apprenticed in York (as his sister Clara recorded) 'to learn the music selling business', and was only 19 when he set up on his own as a music publisher. 'Alfred's shop', as the family called it, was at first only 'a couple of parlour windows and a glass door' in their home in Frith Street. But from this modest beginning the great publishing house of NOVELLO & CO. developed, as Alfred brought his own practical capacity and business flair to the service of his father's ideals. His acquisition of the copyright of Mendelssohn's *St Paul* in 1837, an act of personal friendship and regard as well as of musical judgment, contributed enormously to the financial success of his venture. He was a fine bass singer, both as a soloist in oratorio and as a member of the choir of the Roman Catholic chapel at Lincoln's Inn. He also had strong literary and scientific interests and founded two journals, the *Musical World* (1836; new ser. 1838) and the *Musical Times* (1844), which from 1853 to 1856 was edited by his sister Mary Cowden Clarke. During her editorship Alfred, who for years had associated himself



'The Novello Family and Friends' by Edward Petre Novello, c1831 (National Portrait Gallery, London, on deposit Bodelwyddan Castle, Clwyd); (from left to right) Mrs Blaine Hunt, Sabilla Novello, Charles Cowden Clarke, Mary Victoria Novello (Mrs Cowden Clarke), Florence Novello, Alfred Novello, Clara Novello, Cecilia Novello (Mrs Serle), Vincent Novello, Edward Holmes, Charles Stokes, Edward Novello, Emma Novello and Mrs Mary Sabilla Novello

with the campaign for the repeal of the taxes on newspapers, magazines and advertisements (the so-called 'taxes on knowledge'), used the periodical to provoke a test case which hastened their eventual repeal. He announced his intention to retire at the end of 1856 and, with the Cowden Clarkes, settled first in Nice and later in Genoa.

(3) **Clara (Anastasia) Novello** (*b* London, 10 June 1818; *d* Rome, 12 March 1908). Soprano, fourth daughter of (1) Vincent Novello. Her voice and musical ear were first noticed by her father's pupil Edward Holmes, who began to give her lessons before she was five. In 1829, when she was 11, her parents took her to Paris to compete for a place at the Institution Royale de Musique Classique et Religieuse founded in 1817 by Alexandre Choron. One of the adjudicators who admitted her was Rossini, who became her friend for life. After the Revolution of 1830 she returned home, and became increasingly involved in her father's musical activities; through him she was regularly engaged to sing at the series of Ancient Concerts, and won an enviable reputation for musicianship and reliability. In 1832 she sang the solo soprano part in the first performance in England of Beethoven's Mass in D, given privately at the home of Thomas Alsager. She appeared, for the first time at a Three Choirs Festival, in Worcester in 1833, and in 1834 she was one of the singers chosen to perform at the Royal Musical Festival in Westminster Abbey. After an extended concert tour in Scotland and the north of England, organized by her indefatigable mother, she sang in Birmingham in 1837 in the performance of Mendelssohn's *St Paul* which marked the inauguration of the new town hall. Mendelssohn then arranged for her to sing at the Gewandhaus concerts in Leipzig during the following winter. This was the beginning of a series of triumphs in the courts and musical centres of Germany.

In 1839 she went to Milan, studied for the operatic stage, and made her début in Pauda in 1841, in the title role of Rossini's *Semiramide*. When the first Italian performance of his *Stabat mater* was to be given there in 1841 he chose her as soprano soloist. Later that year, on his advice, she accepted a contract to sing at Fermo, a small city in the papal states. There she met a young aristocrat of an ancient local family, Count Giovanni Baptista Gigliucci, whom she married in 1843. For the first six years of their married life she devoted herself exclusively to her husband and children, and increasingly shared his involvement in the struggle for Italy's independence; in 1849 the collapse of the short-lived liberal resurgence in Rome and the papal states drove them from

Fermo into exile. A chance remark of her husband's led to her being offered an operatic contract in Rome, and their precarious circumstances led them to decide that she should resume her professional career in order to provide for the needs of the family. Other operatic engagements followed, but it was only on her return to England in 1851 that, as 'Madame Clara Novello', she found her true second career and vocation as an oratorio singer. She appeared regularly at the Three Choirs Festival, sang before royalty at state concerts and at the opening of the re-erected Crystal Palace in 1854 and, in her own words, 'opened most of the new town halls' in the developing industrial cities of the north. A certain temperamental reserve had kept her from achieving greatness in opera, but her religious faith, integrity and self-command and the power and purity of her voice gave a unique quality to her singing in oratorio.

Her husband had joined the liberation movement led by the House of Savoy, and the union of the former papal states with Piedmont in 1861 led to their return from exile and Clara's final retirement from professional life. She survived her husband by 15 years. A volume of her reminiscences, much edited from her own rough draft by her daughter Valeria, appeared in 1910.

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ROSEMARY HUGHES

Novello, Ivor [Davies, David Ivor] (*b* Cardiff, 15 Jan 1893; *d* London, 6 March 1951). British composer, lyricist, librettist and actor. His career as a composer was determined for him by his mother, CLARA NOVELLO DAVIES, an internationally known voice coach and choir leader. She had ambitions for her son to be a composer of operas; however, the nearest he came to this was in *The Dancing Years* (1939), when he played an Austrian composer who conducts his own work at the Vienna Opera House. His early natural aptitude for writing attractive melodies was developed during a childhood at the centre of Cardiff's musical world, and was given more shape and discipline by several years as a scholar at Magdalen College Choir School, Oxford, and a brief spell as a pupil of Dr Herbert Brewer. Brewer dismissed his pupil with the assertion that he would have no career in music, but in 1914 Novello wrote *Keep the home fires burning*, which became an anthem of World War I, bringing him wealth and fame at the age of 21. During the rest of the war he wrote West End musical revues, but then concentrated on acting, spending the 1920s and early 30s as a silent movie star (including in Hitchcock's *The Lodger*, 1926), and as a popular matinée idol on stage, usually in plays he had written himself.

In 1935 he returned to composition with *Glamorous Night*, the first of a series of enormously popular musicals with which he was to save the fortunes of the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane. Dominating the British musical theatre from the mid-1930s to the early 1950s, his shows were heavily influenced by the operettas that he had grown up with (he saw *Die lustige Witwe* 27 times), but had a highly individual style of their own. Blending musicals with opera, operetta and both modern and classical dance, these shows were considered something of an anachronism in their own time, but that was part of their appeal. His last full-scale production in this style, *King's Rhapsody* (1949), was a selfconsciously romantic counter-blast to the modern musical: crown princes, ballrooms, royal yachts, beautiful princesses and a full-scale coronation combined to produce an evening of escapism that broke box-office records in a London tired of austerity. The huge casts and expensive sets that characterized Novello's shows have increasingly made them commercially unviable, as does the absence of their creator and star, whose stage presence was an essential part of their success.

The songs, however, have retained their popularity and are frequently heard on the radio or in concert performances. Best remembered for lush and attractive melodies like 'We'll gather lilacs' from *Perchance to Dream* (1945), his body of work tends to be categorized as 'romantic', just as his shows are invariably described as 'Ruritanian'. In reality, the shows combined foreign courts and romantic settings with the latest technology and references to current political events: the hero of *Glamorous Night* was a television inventor, while *The Dancing Years* deals, in part, with the Nazi Anschluss. His music was far more varied than his current reputation suggests. Romantic hits such as 'Someday my heart will awake', 'Shine through my dreams' and 'Fold your wings of love around me' were complemented by rousing operetta choruses like 'Uniform' and jazz age numbers that instantly evoke the inter-war years, such as 'Wait for me' and 'Why isn't it you?'. 'Rose of England' is a stately patriotic piece that stands comparison with Elgar or Walton, while 'If only he'd looked my way' is an exquisite anthem to unrequited love.

Novello's versatility extended to comedy: one of his most popular songs was 'And her mother came too', written for the Charlot revue *A to Z*. One reason for the song's success was that Novello crafted it exactly to suit the character and delivery of its singer, Jack Buchanan. Throughout his career he wrote with singers, or actresses, in mind, creating roles and melodies to suit their individual style. For Mary Ellis, who had sung at the New York Metropolitan Opera, he wrote 'My Dearest Dear' which fully utilized the range and purity of her voice, while for Elizabeth Welch, who started her career in cabaret, he wrote 'Shanty Town' and 'Dark Music', both of which

would have been at home in a night club revue. His last leading lady was Cicely Courtneidge, for whom he wrote *Gay's the Word* (1951), whose 'Vitality' became her theme song, describing her own exuberant personality as much as the Edwardian musical stars about which her character was singing. It was not just a well-made and well-placed song within the context of a particular show, but was Novello's tribute to the operettas of his youth. A bridge between the Edwardian and the postwar musical worlds, and between the English theatre and Broadway (several of his leading ladies were American), Novello was, until the advent of Andrew Lloyd Webber, the 20th-century's most consistently successful composer of British musicals.

WORKS
(selective list)

STAGE

unless otherwise stated, music and lyrics by Novello and dates those of first London performance; where different, writers shown as (lyricist; book author)

Theodore & Co (musical play, 2, C. Grey and A. Ross; H.M. Harwood and G. Grossmith), London, Gaiety, 19 Sept 1916, collab. J.D. Kern, P. Braham, M. Gideon and P.A. Rubens

See-Saw (musical show, 2, A. Eliot, H.C. Sargeant and A.P. Weigall), London, Comedy, 14 Dec 1916, collab. Braham, W. Redstone

Tabs (revue, 2, R. Jeans; H. Grattan and Jeans), Vaudeville, 15 May 1918, collab. G. Le Feuvre, P. Thayer, M. Lillie, A.W. Ketèlbey

Arlette (operette, 3, Grey and Ross; A. Hurgon and G. Arthurs, after C. Roland and L. Bouvet), London, Shaftesbury, 6 Sept 1917; collab. G. Le Feuvre; rev. as How Do, Princess, Manchester, 16 March 1936, addl. material by M.W. Dixon

Who's Hooper (musical comedy, 2, C. Grey; F. Thompson after A.W. Pinero: *In Chancery*), London, Adelphi, 13 Sept 1919, collab. H. Talbot

A Southern Maid (musical play, 3, D. Furber and H. Graham; D. Clayton Clathrop and H. Graham), Daly's, 15 May 1920, collab. H. Fraser Simson

The Golden Moth (musical play of adventure, 3, F. Thompson and P.G. Wodehouse), London, Adelphi, 5 Oct 1921

A to Z (revue, D. Thitheradge and H. Trix), Prince of Wales, 11 Oct 1921, collab Trix [incl. And her mother came too]

Puppets! (revue, 2, D. Titheradge), Vaudeville, 2 Jan 1924 (1923)

Our Nell (musical play, 3, Graham; L.N Parker and R. Arkell), Gaiety, 16 April 1924, collab. H. Fraser-Simson

The House that Jack Built (revue, D. Parson; R. Jeans and D. Furber), Adelphi, 8 Nov 1929, collab. V. Ellis and A. Schwartz

Cochran's Revue of 1930 (revue, 2, B. Nicholls), London Pavilion, 27 March 1930, collab. V. Ellis

book and music by Novello and lyrics by C. Hassall, unless otherwise stated

Glamorous Night (musical play, 2), orchd C. Prentice, Drury Lane, 2 May 1935 [incl. Fold your wings of love, Glamorous Night, Shanty Town, Shine through my dreams]; film 1937

Careless Rapture (musical play, 2), orchd Prentice, Drury Lane, 11 Sept 1936 [incl. Why is there ever goodbye?]

Crest of the Wave (musical play, 2), orchd Prentice, Drury Lane, 1 Sept 1937 [incl. Rose of England]

The Dancing Years (musical play, 2), orchd Prentice, Drury Lane, 23 March 1939 [incl. I can give you the starlight, My heart belongs to you, Primrose, Uniform, Waltz of my Heart]; film 1950

Arc de Triomphe (play with music, 3), orchd H. Acres, Phoenix, 9 Nov 1943 [incl. Dark Music, Josephine, My Love for You]

Perchance to Dream (musical romance, 2), orchd Acres, Hippodrome, 21 April 1945 [incl. Love is my reason, Highwayman Love, We'll gather lilacs]

King's Rhapsody (musical romance, 3), orchd Acres, London, Palace, 15 Sept 1949 [incl. Some day my heart will awake, The Mayor of Perpignan]; film 1955

Gay's the Word (musical play, 2, Novello; A. Melville), Manchester, Palace, 1950; London, Saville, 16 Feb 1951 [incl. Finder, please return, If only he'd look my way, A Matter of Minutes, Vitality]

OTHER SONGS

*c*100 songs, incl. Spring of the Year (J.Y. Bailey), 1910; Slumber Tree (Novello), 1911; The Little Damozel (F.E. Weatherley), 1912; Megan (Weatherley), 1914; Keep the home fires burning ('Till the Boys Come Home) (L.G. Ford), 1914; Laddie in Khaki (Novello), 1915; Fairy Laughter (D. Furber), 1915; The home bells are ringing (H. Taylor), 1916

Principal publishers: Ascherberg, Hopwood & Crew, Chappell

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R. Rose: *Perchance to Dream* (London, 1974)
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PAUL WEBB

Novello & Co. English firm of music publishers, established in London. The origins of the firm can be traced back to Vincent Novello (*see* NOVELLO family, (1)), who undertook the publishing expenses of the various anthologies he compiled and edited, starting with *A Collection of Sacred Music as Performed at the Royal Portuguese Chapel* (1811). His eldest son J. Alfred Novello (*see* NOVELLO family, (2)) established the business as a full commercial enterprise by opening premises in Soho in 1829. One of the first publications of Novello & Co. was the completion of the edition of Purcell's sacred music which the elder Novello had started in 1828. Alfred Novello soon discovered the artistic and commercial possibilities of cheap editions of standard works. The growth of interest in choral music through the massed singing classes of John Hullah and others was both fostered and catered for by the firm with publications such as *Novello's Choral Handbook* and Mainzer's *Singing for the Million*, and by Alfred Novello's own commercial tours. Together with the issue, from 1846, of cheap vocal scores of Handel's oratorios, these gave tremendous impetus to the amateur choral movement in Britain.

The founding of *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular* in 1844 was a further important step in the firm's history. Each number contained one or more choral pieces in the octavo size of the journal, thus starting the 'Octavo Editions' which soon became almost universal practice for choral music. In order to reduce costs further Alfred Novello established his own printing office in 1847, and broke many of the restrictive practices of the printing trade. From then on most of the editions were produced from a fine new music type, which proved very economical for large editions, though about 1900 the firm began to revert to engraving for many of their publications. A further contribution to the cause of cheap music was the repeal of the various taxes on paper and advertisements between 1853 and 1861, for which Alfred Novello had long campaigned. The volume of the firm's business increased steadily, and in 1849 and 1851 various plates and copyrights were bought from Coventry & Hollier. Books on music were also produced, and included a new edition of Hawkins's *History*, issued in parts in 1852–3.

On Alfred Novello's retirement in 1857 Henry Littleton (*b* London, 2 Jan 1823; *d* London, 11 May 1888), who had been employed by the firm since 1841, took over as manager, becoming a partner in 1861 and sole proprietor in 1866. Under his direction the firm expanded even more rapidly. In 1857 it began the regular publication of modern anthems by composers such as Goss, Hopkins and Monk, and in 1861 it published the first edition of *Hymns Ancient and Modern*. In 1867 the business of

Ewer was acquired, along with many Mendelssohn copyrights (including *Elijah*), and the firm became Novello, Ewer & Co. Littleton soon directed more attention to the publication of secular music, with ventures such as octavo vocal scores of operas, beginning with *Fidelio* in 1870, and the catalogue came to include orchestral music as well. The firm also undertook concert promotion on a large scale, including the Oratorio Concerts and the management of the 200 free concerts given at the International Exhibition of 1873–4. It engaged Verdi to conduct four performances of his Requiem in May 1875, and from 1881 began an association with Dvořák. The firm came almost to monopolize the oratorio, and besides publishing many new works it often printed works and selections for particular festival performances. Prices were further reduced during the 1860s, and the firm pioneered pocket and Tonic Sol-fa editions. It issued the first volume of the Purcell Society editions in 1878, and has remained the society's publisher.

Henry Littleton retired in 1887, and was succeeded by his sons Alfred (*b* London, 15 Feb 1845; *d* London, 8 Nov 1914) and Augustus (*b* London, 8 Nov 1854; *d* London, 22 April 1942), who in turn became chairmen. In 1898 the firm became a limited company. At the end of the 19th century it began an interest in school music, with the founding of *The School Music Review* in 1892, and later with *Music in Schools* (from 1937) and its successor *Music in Education* (1944–78). From the turn of the century many important English composers, most notably Elgar, were associated with the firm. Elgar's music was championed in particular by the Novello editor A.J. Jaeger (*b* Düsseldorf, 18 March 1860; *d* London, 18 May 1909), who joined the firm in 1890 and, besides writing analytical notes for Elgar's works, helped promote the music of Horatio Parker and Coleridge-Taylor. During the late 1920s and 30s Bantock, Holst, Bliss and, later, Moeran published with Novello. In 1936 Adolf Aber (*b* Apolda, Thuringia, 28 Jan 1893; *d* London, 21 May 1960), formerly a partner in the firm of Friedrich Hofmeister, joined the board of directors and enriched the Novello catalogue by adding to it works by German composers such as Scheidt, Schicht and Kuhnau. After World War II younger composers such as Joubert, Leighton and McCabe were taken on; in the early 1970s the firm's list was considerably expanded, with Richard Rodney Bennett, Thea Musgrave, David Blake, Jonathan Harvey and Aulis Sallinen among those associated. The traditional association with oratorio was strengthened with the publication in 1959 of Watkins Shaw's critical performing edition of *Messiah* (intended to replace the old one by Ebenezer Prout). The business of Elkin & Co. was acquired in 1960, and those of Goodwin & Tabb (including its large orchestral hire library) and Paxton in 1971. The firm has acted as agent for several overseas publishers, including Hänssler, Henle, Leuckart, Molenaar, Möseler, Müller, Ricordi, Rubank and Zimmermann. In 1970 Novello became part of the Granada group of companies; in 1988 it was taken over by Filmtrax and in 1993 by Music Sales. *The Musical Times* ceased to be a Novello publication from 1988 and underwent a further change of ownership in 1995. Much of the firm's manuscript music and business archive was presented to the British Library in 1986–9, but a number of the other important retained manuscript scores were subsequently sent for auction in 1989. The remainder of the historical archive still in the firm's hands, including the letters from Dvořák, Elgar, Mendelssohn and Stanford, was dispersed by auction in May 1996.

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HARVEY GRACE/PETER WARD JONES

Novello-Davies, Clara. *See* DAVIES, CLARA NOVELLO.

Novelty piano. A term, used particularly in the 1920s, that was applied to a variety of piano music based on ragtime. Novelty piano music drew on sources as diverse as popular dance music, folk ragtime and the music of the Impressionists (especially in its use of the whole-tone scale and the parallel 4th). Its most recognizable unifying feature was the 'novelty break' – a stylized interruption of the melody and texture. This was often based on the motif of a tritone resolving onto a 3rd, although whole-tone passages and various figures used by dance orchestras and jazz bands of the 1920s were also employed. The novelty style was influenced by piano-roll arrangements, and many works demanded considerable pianistic skill; indeed, their composers were among the most adept pianists in the popular field.

The word 'novelty' was used in association with various rags including Scott Joplin's *Euphonic Sounds: a Syncopated Novelty* (1909), but it was with the release on piano roll of Zez Confrey's *My Pet* in 1918 (published in 1921) that the identity of novelty piano was established. In such works as *Kitten on the Keys* (published in 1921, though released earlier on piano roll), *You Tell 'em Ivories* (1921), *Greenwich Witch* (1921), *Poor Buttermilk* (1921), *Coaxing the Piano* (1922) and *Nickel in the Slot* (1923) Confrey explored familiar territory with an inventiveness that places him among America's most imaginative composers. Another exponent was Roy Bargy, whose *Sunshine Caper*, *Jim Jams* and *Pianoflage* all appeared in 1922. In New York Rube Bloom, Arthur Schutt and Phil Ohman made contributions to the genre. Billy Mayerl adopted the style successfully and wrote novelties which are still played.

With the resurgence of ragtime in the 1950s the novelty style was revived to some degree. But the appearance in 1950 of the influential ragtime history *They All Played Ragtime* by Blesh and Janis initiated an attitude of dismissing novelty piano as frivolous and 'inauthentic'. The efforts of David Jasen, however, have fostered a more objective view of the style.

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DAVID THOMAS ROBERTS/R

Novembergruppe. German group of artists, formed in Berlin and taking its name from the November Revolution of 1918. It was then formed as an association of visual artists of the Expressionist, Cubist and Futurist schools, with no intention of championing a particular style; rather, it aimed to provide a public forum for modern art and bring it closer to the people of the new Republic. In 1922 it admitted musicians; those who joined included Heinz Tiessen, Max Butting (head of the music section, 1923–6), Philipp Jarnach, Kurt Weill, Wladimir Vogel, H.H. Stuckenschmidt (head of the music section, 1926–7), Stefan Wolpe, Felix Petyrek, Hanns Eisler, George Antheil (a member only in name), Jascha Horenstein and Gustav Havemann. It organized recitals, the 'Novembergruppen-abenden', in the years 1923–5, which, though generally on a small scale, always attracted the attention of the Berlin press. They followed the principle of the group as a whole in transcending generic frontiers, and representatives of the different arts often held discussions at the concerts. The works performed consisted of contemporary chamber music and songs, particularly from the Viennese School and by representatives of the Berlin avant garde such as Artur Schnabel and Eduard Erdmann, as well as new music by members of the group themselves. Between 1925 and 1927 the recitals took a radical and Dadaist turn, with concepts such as 'mechanical music' and 'static music' questioning traditional forms of performance and composition. Several composers left, and once those composers who had remained turned their professional interest to such new, modern genres as radio and film music, *Zeitoper* and worker's music, their activities within the group became superfluous and few recitals were given between then and 1933.

NILS GROSCH

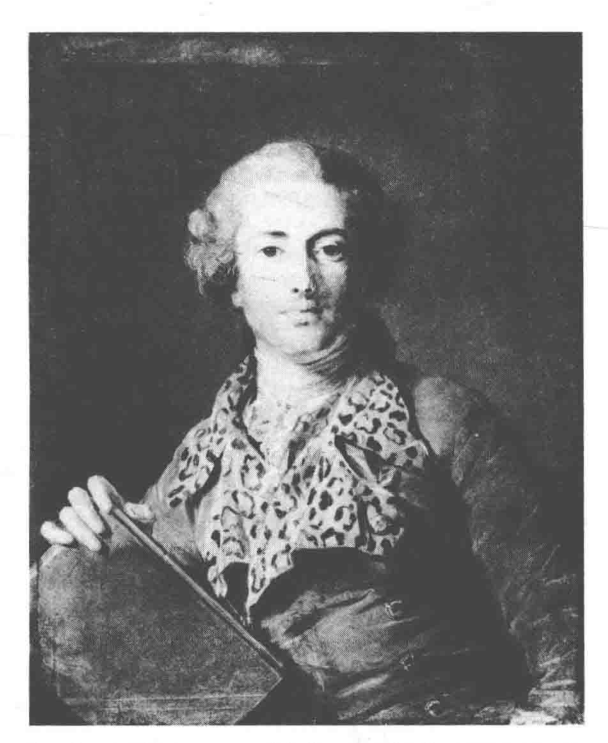
Noverre, Jean-Georges (*b* Paris, 29 April 1727; *d* Saint Germain-en-Laye, 19 Oct 1810). French-Swiss choreographer. Son of a Swiss soldier and a Frenchwoman, he rejected a military career for the dance at an early age; by 1740 he was a pupil of the Parisian dancing-master Marcel, and later of Louis Dupré, first dancer of the Paris Opéra. He probably made his début in a troupe directed by Dupré and J.-B. Lany in Monnet's Opéra-Comique at the Foire St Laurent in June 1743 in Favart's vaudeville *Le coq de village*, and in October he danced at Fontainebleau. His early contacts at the Opéra-Comique with Marie Sallé and with Rameau's music were seminal. In 1744 he joined Lany in Berlin, where he danced in Hasse's *Arminio* (1745) and probably in works by Graun.

Noverre returned to France with Lany about the end of 1747 and became ballet-master at Marseilles (according to his *Petite réponse*) or at Strasbourg (Tugal), and choreographed his first work, *Les fêtes chinoises* (1748). It was probably at Strasbourg in 1749–50 that he met the dancer and actress Marie-Louise Sauveur, whom he married. In April 1750 he became principal dancer at Lyons, partnering Marie Camargo. There, in 1751, he staged *Le jugement de Paris*, his first serious pantomime ballet (ten years before Angiolini and Gluck's *Don Juan*). During his engagements at Strasbourg (1753–4) and Paris (1754–5, at the Opéra-Comique) he seems to have been restricted to more conventional entertainments; but with ever-changing asymmetrical patterns, carefully co-ordinated costumes, scenery and lighting and occasional mimed episodes, he considerably altered the effect of traditional entrées. Having failed to gain a post at the Opéra, Noverre arranged with David Garrick to direct a troupe of dancers at Drury Lane Theatre, London, in 1755–7. Unfortunately anti-French sentiment ran high at the time of his visit and his elaborate staging of *Les fêtes chinoises* (8 November 1755) was a failure and provoked infamous riots.

During convalescence after an illness Noverre wrote a book on dancing and the theatre, *Lettres sur la danse*, and then put his ideals into practice at the Lyons Opéra where he collaborated with the composer François Granier in 13 new works during 1757–60, including three of a serious nature (though his lighter, colourful pantomime ballets were the most successful). He gained considerable renown with the appearance in autumn 1759 of the *Lettres* (publication date 1760): although esteemed by the literary élite, the treatise was bitterly criticized by Noverre's colleagues. In 1760 he moved to the Württemberg court at Stuttgart, where he worked with the composers Jommelli, F. Deller and J.J. Rudolph. Of his 20 new ballets there, *Médée et Jason* (1763) proved his most popular work, and like several of his Stuttgart ballets it was produced all over Europe. Noverre later complained that, when the company dispersed in 1767, 30 dancers became *maîtres de ballet*, and were 'spread out into Italy, Germany, England, Spain and Portugal … and rendered only very imperfectly the products of my imagination'.

After negotiations for a Warsaw post and, through Garrick, for a London one, Noverre accepted the important position of ballet-master to the imperial family and the two theatres at Vienna. This was the highpoint of his career. He staged at least 38 new ballets and revived many earlier ones, as well as choreographing some operas (including Gluck's *Alceste* and *Paride ed Elena*). Under his supervision Starzer (at the Burgtheater) and Aspelmayr (Kärntnertor-Theater) wrote ballets which, like some of those by Noverre's Stuttgart collaborators, proved to be their best music: these contained, besides conventional closed forms for the set-piece dances, rhapsodic and overtly programmatic sections to accompany mimed episodes, anticipating developments in other instrumental genres.

Having failed to negotiate contracts with Stuttgart or London, Noverre accepted in 1774 an invitation from Milan's Regio Ducal Teatro. Gasparo Angiolini replaced him in Vienna. The Milanese had already seen several Noverre ballets in productions by his pupils. His own efforts, however, were poorly received; his notices in printed programmes show his growing bitterness. Angiolini's critical publications and the barrage of anonymous pamphlets reflect an Italian aesthetic viewpoint that would be echoed in France where, after spending spring and summer 1776 managing a company at the Vienna Kärntnertor-Theater, he took up the long-sought-after position at the Paris Opéra, always the centre of his ambitions and the chief object of his reformist ideals.



Jean-Georges Noverre: portrait by Jean-Baptiste Perronneau, pastel on paper (Bibliothèque et Musée de l'Opéra, Paris)

He blamed the intrigues against his leadership, instigated by his rivals Gardel and Dauberval, for his failures and eventual resignation; but comments by dispassionate observers were not unlike those voiced at Milan. Apart from a uniquely French disapproval of his insistence on producing independent ballets in preference to dances complementing an opera, criticism centred on the works themselves: his chosen themes were thought unsuited to representation in dance, and his lengthy productions neglecting pure dance for pantomime were often found enigmatic. His pretentious programme notes decrying opposition to his aesthetic ideas aroused hostility. Paris audiences preferred his lighter works including the revival of *Les petits riens* to music mainly by Mozart (1778); others failed utterly. His employment continued until July 1781, but his resignation had been accepted in November 1779 and he was largely inactive in the interim.

In November 1781, with dancers from Paris, Noverre began a brilliant season's engagement at the King's Theatre, London, concentrating on splendid revivals of works which had earned him his reputation during his Stuttgart and Vienna days. He was in retirement from June 1782 until March 1787, when he revived three ballets at Lyons; in London for the 1787–8 and 1788–9 seasons, he again relied mostly on proven successes of earlier years, the few new works being spectacular divertissements of the kind he had long decried.

At the Revolution, Noverre escaped to the French countryside at Triel. But financial necessity forced a resumption of his career: he spent two seasons as a choreographer in London, where his only important new creation was the successful *Iphigenia in Aulide* (1793). His last known production was an allegorical ballet for Paisiello's cantata *La vittoria* (1794) celebrating the English victory over the French. He retired to St Germain-en-Laye and spent his last years revising and amplifying his earlier writings with observations on the rise and decline of pantomime ballet since his *Lettres*; he sadly viewed the current French taste for virtuosity and spectacle as a relapse into the infantile state from which he had laboured to raise his art.

In his work and his writings Noverre was most immediately influenced by the theories of Louis de Cahusac (*La danse ancienne et moderne*, 1754) and Denis Diderot (*Troisième entretien sur le fils naturel*, 1757), as well as the programmatic and individualistic dance music of Rameau, the expressive dancing of Marie Sallé, the realistic acting of Garrick, and the dramatic accompanied recitatives in the Italian operas of Hasse and Jommelli. Although Hilverding, Angiolini and others had worked towards the dramatic pantomime ballet, it was Noverre's *Lettres sur la danse* which focussed attention on the function of theatrical dance. He viewed the *ballet en action* as a union of dance, ballet and pantomime (preface to *Euthyme et Eucharis*):

> Dance is the Art of steps, of graceful movements and of lovely positions. Ballet, which borrows a part of its charms from Dance, is the Art of Design, of forms and of figures. Pantomime is purely that of feeling and of the emotions of the Soul expressed through gestures.

While Noverre fired composers so as to create forward-looking descriptive music, he detested the practice of fitting choreography to pre-composed music; for Angiolini, who was also a composer, the music dictated to the dance.

Noverre's writings, which have been many times reprinted, have contributed more than his ballets to a distorted view of his importance: he continues to receive credit for reforms put into practice by several other choreographers at the same time. Nevertheless, the elegance and urgency of his prose and his practical, far-seeing approach make his treatise an undisputed landmark. He demanded an end to repressive traditions like irrelevant and stereotyped, cumbersome costumes, head-dresses and masks, and to the continuing dominance of past musical styles, choreographic routines and all aspects of the 'marvellous'. He also urged aspiring ballet-masters to obtain a knowledge of great paintings, in order to apply the laws of perspective, lighting and colour gradation; of literature and history, to select interesting subjects for portrayal and to costume them correctly; of contemporary drama, to establish a realistic acting style; of stage machinery and geometry; and of contemporary music, to know what could be expected of composers. The ballet was to be considered as a whole, including the need for diversity, satisfied by the elimination of traditional static, symmetrical groupings, introducing rapidly changing tableaux and using different dancing styles to suit different characters and themes; virtuoso displays had their place only if they did not interfere with dramatic truth. His own productions were so strongly unified that revivals often included not just the original choreography but also the costume designs and musical scores. He saw his work as achieving 'a revolution in dance as striking and as lasting as that achieved by Gluck in music'. (For a list of Noverre's ballets see *Grove6*)

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KATHLEEN KUZMICK HANSELL

Novikov, Anatoly Grigor'yevich (*b* Skopino, 30 Oct 1896; *d* Moscow, 23 Sept 1984). Russian composer. He attended the historical philology faculty of the Moscow Teaching Institute, concurrently studying at the conservatory with Aleksandr Krein (cello), Paskhalov (composition) and Podgoretsky (choral conducting). Glière gave him further composition lessons. He directed army amateur choirs and orchestras (1928–38), collaborated with A.V. Aleksandrov in the Red Army Song and Dance Ensemble and was a deputy of the supreme soviet of the RSFSR. He gave his attention entirely to mass songs, which have achieved popularity in the USSR. They are marked by patriotic themes, epic breadth, warm sincerity and features of Russian folk music. The *Gimn demokraticheskoy molodyozhi mira* ('Hymn of the Democratic Youth of the World') achieved broader fame. His honours included the title People's Artist of the RSFSR, the Order of Lenin and the State Prize.

WORKS
(*selective list of songs*)

1930s–1940s: Gimn demokraticheskoy molodyozhi mira [Hymn of the Democratic Youth of the World] (L. Oshanin), Partizanskaya dumka [Partisan Thought] (Ya. Shvedov), Pesnya mira [Song of Peace] (Oshanin), Pesnya o Chapayeve (S. Bolotin), Pesnya o novoy Moskve (S. Vasil'yev), Pesnya pro Kotovskogo (Ye. Bagritsky), Samovarïsamoplï (S. Alïmov), Vasya-Vasilek (Alïmov)
1950s: Belaya beryoza [White birch] (Vasil'yev), Dusha naroda – partiya moya [The Soul of the Nation – my Party] (Oshanin), Marsh kommunisticheskikh brigad (V. Kharitonov), Pesnya moskovskikh studentov (Oshanin)
1960s–1970s: Gde-to ot zastavï za verstu [Somewhere a Verst from the Gates] (Kharitonov), Marsh kosmonavtov (Yu. Kamenetsky), Oblaka [Clouds] (P. Gradov), Pesnya russkogo serdtsa [Song of the Russian Heart] (Oshanin), U mavzoleya [At the Mausoleum] (R. Selyanin), U menya sem'ya bol'shaya [With my Great Family] (Gradov), Vernïye brat'ya [Faithful Brothers] (M. Vershinin)
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GALINA GRIGOR'YEVA

Novo Portu, Francisco de. *See* MERGOT, FRANCISCUS.

Novotná, Jarmila (*b* Prague, 23 Sept 1907; *d* New York, 9 Feb 1994). Czech soprano. She studied in Prague with Emmy Destinn, and later in Milan. She made her début in Prague as Mařenka in *The Bartered Bride* in June 1925. In 1928 she sang Gilda at the Verona Arena, and from 1933 to 1938 sang at the Vienna Staatsoper, making regular appearances at Salzburg as Octavian, Eurydice, Countess Almaviva, Pamina, and Frasquita in Wolf's *Der Corregidor*. In Vienna she created the title role in Lehár's *Giuditta* opposite Richard Tauber. Her American début was as Butterfly at San Francisco in 1939, and she was a valued member of the Metropolitan Opera from 1940 to 1956 where her repertory included Donna Elvira, Pamina, Octavian, Violetta, Freia and Mélisande. She returned to Europe after World War II and was heard again at Salzburg, in Paris and in Vienna. She appeared in *The Merry Widow* in San Francisco and on Broadway in the title role of Korngold's adaptation of *La belle Hélène*. Her recordings, which range from her early years in Prague to her postwar Salzburg *Rosenkavalier*, evince her charm and interpretative depth as well as occasional flaws in technique. She also made an evocative wartime recording of Czech and Slovak folksongs accompanied by the exiled Czech premier Jan Masaryk.

HAROLD ROSENTHAL/ALAN BLYTH

Novotni [Novotny], **Franz** [Ferenc; Francesco] **Anton** (*b* ?1749; *d* Pécs, 5 Nov 1806). Composer of Bohemian descent. He may have been a relative of Franz Nikolaus Novotný (1743–73), though this surname was extremely common. He studied with Leopold Kozeluch in Vienna, then moved to Pécs, south Hungary, in April 1782 to replace the deceased Bálint Depisch as composer and

musician at the episcopal court of Count Pál László Esterházy. In 1800 he became Kapellmeister, and in 1805 he oversaw the complete rebuilding of the cathedral organ. Novotny's compositions survive in Austrian (*A-Wn*) and Hungarian (*H-Bn*) archives. The collection from Pécs includes some 20 masses, graduals, motets, vespers and offertories and also two symphonies (both ed. in The Symphony 1720–1840, ser.B, xii, New York, 1984), all in the standard forms, styles and orchestration of the time.

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Novotný [Novittni, Novotni, Nowotny], **Franz Nikolaus** (*b* Eisenstadt, 6 Dec 1743; *d* Eisenstadt, 25 Aug 1773). Organist and composer of Bohemian descent. Both his grandfather and his father were in the service of the Esterházy family as court officials and musicians, the former as a bass singer and the latter, Johann Novotný (1718–65), as organist. F.N. Novotný worked in the court treasury and succeeded his father as organist on 30 August 1765. His compositions, including much church music, were esteemed by Haydn and performed by him. Many works survive in Austrian, Hungarian, German, Czech and Italian archives (particularly *A-Ee*, *Ek*, *Wgm*, *Wn* and *D-SWl*), identified only by surname.

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CAMILLO SCHOENBAUM

Novotný, Václav Juda (*b* Vesce, nr Telč, 17 Sept 1849; *d* Prague, 1 Aug 1922). Czech writer on music and composer. While studying history and philosophy in Prague he attended Ambros's music history lectures and studied with Bennewitz (violin), František Blažek (harmony) and Pivoda (singing). At first he was a violinist at the Provisional Theatre and then turned to music journalism, contributing to *Dalibor* (which he also edited, 1875, 1879–80), *Hudební revue* and other journals and newspapers. He was a personal friend of Smetana, and went with him in 1875 to consult foreign specialists about the composer's deafness. He also accompanied Dvořák on his second visit to England in 1884. His translations of almost 100 opera librettos into Czech were valuable in building up the National Theatre repertory; his revisions (Dvořák's *King and Charcoal Burner*, Smetana's *Dalibor* and *The Two Widows*) were less successful. His reputation as a composer rests chiefly on his songs and some 300 skilful folksong arrangements, though he also composed two operas, church music, choruses and vocal duets.

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P. Pražák: *Smetanovy zpěvohry* [Smetana's operas] (Prague, 1948), ii, 70–76; iii, 36–9, 74–85
J. Tyrrell: *Czech Opera* (Cambridge, 1988)

JOHN TYRRELL

Nowak, Leopold (*b* Vienna, 17 Aug 1904; *d* Vienna, 27 May 1991). Austrian musicologist. He studied the piano and organ at the Vienna Academy, and musicology with Adler and Lach at Vienna University (1923–7), where he took the doctorate in 1927 with a dissertation on the Gesellschaftslieder of Heinrich Finck, Paul Hofhaimer and Heinrich Isaac. In 1932 he completed the *Habilitation* with a work on the history of the basso ostinato, and subsequently taught at Vienna University until 1973. In 1946 he succeeded Robert Haas as director of the music collection of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek. The building had been largely destroyed by bombing, but under his direction it was rebuilt and opened to the public in 1954. During his time in office (until 1969) he also organized and catalogued a series of exhibitions, including those on Bruckner (1946) and Bach (1950), and he did much for the preservation of Bruckner documents and records. He was also interested in Catholic church music and Austrian folk music and was a member of the Vienna diocesan commission for church music and the Vienna Catholic academy. He became a member of the Gesellschaft zur Herausgabe der Denkmäler der Tonkunst in

Österreich in 1930 and of the Music Research Commission of the Austrian Academy of Sciences in 1946.

Nowak was a centrally important Bruckner scholar. His major achievement was the preparation of a critical edition of Bruckner's complete works. In 1946 he became the musicological director of the undertaking, and was personally responsible for new, revised editions of nearly all the symphonies and masses, which are widely accepted as authoritative. He also contributed extensively to the biographical and critical literature on Bruckner.

Nowak also worked on Haydn and Mozart. For the new Mozart edition he produced a critical edition of the Requiem, which makes an unprecedentedly clear distinction between Mozart's incomplete autograph text and the text as amended by Eybler and Süssmayr. He was awarded the Goldene Mozart Medaille in 1985.

WRITINGS

Über Anton Bruckner: gesammelte Aufsätze, 1936–1984 (Vienna, 1985) [ÜAB]
Das deutsche Gesellschaftslied bei Heinrich Finck, Paul Hofhaymer und Heinrich Isaac (diss., U. of Vienna, 1927); enlarged as 'Das deutsche Gesellschaftslied in Österreich von 1480 bis 1550', *SMw*, xvii (1930), 21–52
Grundzüge einer Geschichte des Basso ostinato (Habilitationsschrift, U. of Vienna, 1932; Vienna, 1932)
'Zur Geschichte der Musik am Hofe Kaiser Maximilians I.', *Mitteilungen des Vereines für Geschichte der Stadt Wien*, xii (1932), 71–91
Franz Liszt (Innsbruck, 1936)
Te Deum laudamus: Gedanken zur Musik Anton Bruckners (Vienna, 1947)
'Die Musikhandschriften aus Fuggerschem Besitz in der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek', *Die Österreichische Nationalbibliothek: Festschrift ... Joseph Bick*, ed. J. Stummvoll (Vienna, 1948), 505–15
Joseph Haydn (Vienna, 1951, 3/1966)
'Das Autograph von Franz Schuberts Rondo in D-dur, Op.138', *ÖMz*, viii (1953), 325–33
'Das Autograph von Joseph Haydns Cello-Konzert in D-dur, op.101', *ÖMz*, ix (1954), 274–9; repr. in *Biblos*, iii (1954), 80–86
'Das Finale von Bruckners VII. Symphonie', *Festschrift Wilhelm Fischer*, ed. H. von Zingerle (Innsbruck, 1956), 143–8 [ÜAB]
'Die Wiener Mozart-Autographen', *ÖMz*, xi (1956), 180–87
with F. von Rezniček: *Gegen den Strom: Leben und Werk von E.N. von Rezniček* (Zürich, 1960)
'Probleme bei der Veröffentlichung von Skizzen (dargestellt an einem Beispiel aus Anton Bruckners Te Deum)', *Anthony van Hoboken: Festschrift*, ed. J. Schmidt-Görg (Mainz, 1962), 115–21 [ÜAB]
'Symphonischer und kirchlicher Stil bei Anton Bruckner', *Festschrift Karl Gustav Fellerer zum sechzigsten Geburtstag*, ed. H. Hüschen (Regensburg, 1962/*R*), 391–401 [ÜAB]
Anton Bruckner: Musik und Leben (Vienna, 1964)
'Form und Rhythmus im ersten Satz des Streichquintetts von Anton Bruckner', *Festschrift Hans Engel*, ed. H. Heussner (Kassel, 1964), 260–73; repr. in *Zur musikalischen Analyse*, ed. G. Schuhmacher (Darmstadt, 1974), 185–203 [ÜAB]
Reden und Ansprachen (Vienna, 1964)
'Die Skizzen zum Finale der Es-dur-Symphonie GA99 von Joseph Haydn', *Haydn-Studien*, ii (1969–70), 137–66
'Die Erwerbung des Mozart-Requiems durch die k.k. Hofbibliothek im Jahre 1838', *Festschrift Josef Stummvoll*, ed. J. Mayerhofer and W. Ritzer (Vienna, 1970), 295–310
'Metrische Studien von Anton Bruckner an Beethovens III. und IX. Symphonie', *Beethoven-Studien*, ed. E. Schenk (Vienna, 1970), 361–71 [ÜAB]
'Studien zu einer Musiktopographie Niederösterreichs', *ÖMz*, xxv (1970), 84–95
'Ein Doppelautograph Sechter-Bruckner', *Symbolae historiae musicae: Hellmut Federhofer zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. F. Riedel and H. Unverricht (Mainz, 1971), 252–9 [ÜAB]
Anton Bruckner: Musik und Leben (Linz, 1973)
'Wer hat die Instrumentalstimmen in der Kyrie-Fuge des Requiems von W.A. Mozart geschrieben? Ein vorläufiger Bericht', *MJb 1973–4*, 191–201
'Die Kompositionen und Skizzen von Hans Rott in der Musiksammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek', *Beiträge zur Musikdokumentation: Festschrift für Franz Grasberger*, ed. G. Brosche (Tutzing, 1975), 273–340
'Studien zu den Formverhältnissen in der E-moll-Messe von Anton Bruckner', *Bruckner-Studien*, ed. O. Wessely (Vienna, 1975), 249–70 [ÜAB]
'Eine Bruckner-Entdeckung: das Adagio Nr.2 zur III. Symphonie', *Mitteilungsblatt der Internationalen Bruckner-Gesellschaft*, xvii (1980), 5–15 [ÜAB]
'Die drei Final-Sätze zur IV. Symphonie von Anton Bruckner', *ÖMz*, xxxvi (1981), 2–11 [ÜAB]
'Die Anton Bruckner Gesamtausgabe: ihre Geschichte und Schicksale', *Bruckner Jb 1982–3*, 33–67

EDITIONS

with A. Koczirz and A. Pfalz: *Das deutsche Gesellschaftslied in Österreich von 1480 bis 1550*, DTÖ, lxxii, Jg.xxxvii/2 (1930/*R*)
W.A. Mozart: *Requiem, K.626*, Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke, I:1/2/i–ii (Kassel, 1965)
Anton Bruckner: Sämtliche Werke, ix: *Symphonie Nr.9* [orig. version] (Vienna, 1951); v: *Symphonie Nr.5* [orig. version] (Vienna, 1951); vi: *Symphonie Nr.6* [orig. version] (Vienna, 1952); iv/2: *Symphonie Nr.4* [1877–8 rev. with 1880 finale] (Vienna, 1953); i/1: *Symphonie Nr.1* [Linz version 1866] (Vienna, 1953); vii: *Symphonie Nr.7* (Vienna, 1954); viii/2: *Symphonie Nr.8* [2nd version 1890] (Vienna, 1955); xiii/1: *Streichquartett c-moll* [1861–2] (Vienna, 1955); xvi: *Messe in d-moll* [1864] (Vienna, 1957); iii/3: *Symphonie Nr.3* [3rd version 1889] (Vienna, 1959); xvii/2: *Messe in e-moll* [2nd version 1882] (Vienna, 1959); xviii: *Messe in f-moll* [1867–8] (Vienna, 1960); xix: *Te Deum* [1884] (Vienna, 1962); xiii/2: *Streichquintett F-dur, Intermezzo d-moll* [1878–9] (Vienna, 1963); ii/2: *Symphonie Nr.2* [1877] (Vienna, 1965); xiv: *Requiem* [1849] (Vienna, 1966); xi: *Symphonie d-moll ('Die Nullte')* (Vienna, 1968); viii/1: *Symphonie Nr.8* [1st version 1887] (Vienna, 1972); x: *Symphonie f-moll ('Studiensinfonie')* (Vienna, 1973); iv/1: *Symphonie Nr.4* [1st version 1874] (Vienna, 1975); xvii/1: *Messe in e-moll* [1st version 1866] (Vienna, 1977); iii/1: *Symphonie Nr.3* [1st version 1873] (Vienna, 1977); iii/1: *Adagio Nr.2 zur Symphonie Nr.3* [1876] (Vienna, 1980): iv/2; *Finale 1878 zur Symphonie Nr.4* (Vienna, 1981); xxi: *Kleine Kirchenmusikwerke* [1835–92] (Vienna, 1984) [with H. Bauernfeind]; xxii: *Kantaten und Chorwerke* (Vienna, 1987) [with F. Burkhardt and R.H. Führer; 2 vols.]
A. Caldara: *12 Sinfonie a quattro* (Vienna, 1979–87)

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F. Grasberger, ed.: *Bruckner-Studien: Leopold Nowak zum 60. Geburtstag* (Vienna, 1964) [incl. A. Ziffer: 'Leopold Nowak: Lebensgang und Verzeichnis der Veröffentlichungen', 139]
H. Haschek: 'Leopold Nowak zum 70. Geburtstag', *ÖMz*, xxix (1974), 437–74
H. Haschek: 'Worte des Gedenkens für Hofrat Univ.-Prof. Dr. Leopold Nowak', *Mitteilungsblatt der Internationalen Bruckner-Gesellschaft*, xxxvii (1991), 7–9 [incl. biographical information]
H. Vogg: 'In memoriam: Leopold Nowak', *ÖMz*, xlvi (1991), 424

RUDOLF KLEIN/BENJAMIN KORSTVEDT

Nowak, Lionel (*b* Cleveland, 25 Sept 1911; *d* Bennington, VT, 4 Dec 1995). American pianist and composer. He made his début as a pianist at the age of four and studied with Beryl Rubenstein and Edwin Fischer; as a teenager he was an organist and choirmaster. At the Cleveland Institute he studied composition with Herbert Elwell, Roger Sessions and Quincy Porter (diploma, 1936). He taught at Fenn College (1932–8) and in 1938 became the composer and music director for the Doris Humphrey-Charles Weidman Modern Dance Company, a position which he held until 1942. From 1942 to 1946 he taught at Converse College and conducted the Spartanburg (South Carolina) SO. He was professor of music at Syracuse University (1946–8) and then joined the faculty at Bennington College. He toured as a pianist and lecturer for the Association of American Colleges Arts Program (1945–63) and he helped to plan the 1963 Yale Conference on Music Education; he was also chief consultant to the

Manhattanville College (Purchase, New York) Music Curriculum Project (1965–72). The style of his dance scores is accessible; from the mid-1950s he made increasing use of serial techniques. The *Concert Piece* (1961) is among his recorded works. After suffering a stroke in 1980, Nowak paid special attention to composing piano pieces for the right hand alone and commissioned works from Otto Luening, Vivian Fine and others.

WORKS

Dance scores: Square Dances (D. Humphrey), pf, 1938; Danzas mexicanas (J. Limón), pf, 1939; On my Mother's Side (C. Weidman), 1939; The Green Land (Humphrey), pf, 1941; Flickers (Weidman), 1942; House Divided (Weidman), 1944; Story of Mankind (Humphrey), orch, 1946

Inst: Concertino, pf, orch, 1944; Suite, 4 Pages from a Musical Diary, 1944; Suite, 4 wind, 1945; Sonata, ob, pf, 1949; Orrea Pernel, sonata, vn, 1950; Sonata no.1, vc, pf, 1950; Diptych, str qt, 1951; Fantasia, 3 insts, 1951; Sonata no.2, vc, pf, 1951; Qt, ob, str, 1952; Pf Trio, 1954; Duo, va, pf, 1960; Sonata no.3, vc, pf, 1960; Concert Piece, timp, str, 1961; Soundscape, pf, 1964; Soundscape, 3 ww; Soundscape, str qt; 4 Fancies for 5 Players, fl, cl, bn, va, vc, 1980; 4 Green Mountain Sketches, fl, vc, 1981; Suite, 2 vc, 1981; Games, suite, 4 fl, 1984; 4 Lemmas, vc, pf, ?1987

Vocal: Poems for Music (R. Hillyer), 5 songs, T, cl, 1951; Wisdom Exalteth her Children, double women's chorus, 1952; 4 Songs from Vermont, T, pf, 1953; 7 Songs from the Diary of Izumi Shikibu, 1v, pf, 1982

Edn: Cowboys and the Songs they Sang, collection of song settings, ed. S.J. Sackett (New York, 1967)

Principal publishers: ACA, New Music, Smith College Valley

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T. Strongin: 'Composers on Main Street', *American Composers Alliance Bulletin*, xii/1 (1964), 1–8

B. Holland: 'Cello-and-Piano Pieces by Bennington Teacher', *New York Times* (17 Nov 1987)

BARBARA L. TISCHLER

Nowakowski, Józef (*b* Mniszek, nr Radom, 16 Sept 1800; *d* Warsaw, 27 Aug 1865). Polish composer and teacher. He was a pupil at the Cistercian school at Wąchock, where he also studied music theory, the piano, horn and trombone. He was a member of the chapel at Wąchock and at Radom; he also taught at Ciepielów, near Opatów, the estate of Joachim Karczewski. He studied composition with Elsner and the piano with Wilhelm Würfel at the Warsaw Conservatory (1821–6). In 1833 he embarked on a major tour of Germany, Italy and France, and afterwards made several visits to Paris. In 1833 he was elected a member of the Société Académique des Enfants d'Apollon in Paris. He made his home in Warsaw, where he gave private piano lessons and also taught at the Aleksandryjski Institute (1840–44) and the Institute of Music (1861–4). In 1860 he became a member of the music society in Lemberg. Most of Nowakowski's music is for piano, and is influenced by Chopin. He also wrote a textbook, *Szkoła na fortepian* ('Manual of piano playing', Warsaw, 1850).

WORKS

Orch: 2 syms, no.1, D, 1830, no.2, D, 1846; 4 ovs.; Concertino, trbn, orch, arr. trbn, pf (Kraków, 1870)

Chbr: 2 pf qnts, op.10 (Warsaw, 1833), op.17 (Paris, 1857); Str qt

Kbd: Rondeau pour la polonaise, op.1 (Leipzig, 1826); 12 études, op.25 (Paris, 1847); fantasias; nocturnes; mazurkas; polonaises

Vocal: Hymn do Bogarodzicy [Hymn to the Mother of God], SATB (Warsaw, 1861); Pieśni i piosenki szkolne [School Songs and Ditties] (Poznań, 1860); other songs

For fuller list see *SMP*

ALINA NOWAK-ROMANOWICZ

Nowak-Romanowicz [née Nowak], **Alina** (*b* Warsaw, 14 Jan 1907; *d* Katowice, 19 Jan 1994). Polish musicologist. She studied the piano with J. Turczyński and theory with P. Rytel and K. Sikorski at the Warsaw Conservatory (1926–32), art history at Warsaw University (1929–32) and musicology with Jachimecki at Kraków University (1931–5). She lectured at the State Music School in Katowice (1947–52, 1957–9), and in the musicology department at Kraków University (1960–73); she worked at the state publishers, Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, in Kraków (1956–61). In 1961 she obtained the doctorate with a dissertation on Józef Elsner; this is founded on a wealth of source material and combines biography with a penetrating analysis of the works, considered in the context of European music. Her work on Polish music of the age of Enlightenment and early Romanticism, in which questions of musical style are seen in the light of contemporary Polish social, political and artistic conditions, made a valuable contribution to the history of Polish music. Nowak-Romanowicz also devoted much attention to national elements in Polish music at the turn of the 18th century, and made a number of performing editions of work by Elsner, Dobrzyński and other Polish composers.

WRITINGS

Sonaty Józefa Elsnera [Elsner's sonatas] (Kraków, 1936)

'Paralelizm tematyczny w twórczości Elsnera i Chopina' [Parallel themes in the works of Elsner and Chopin], *Studia muzykologiczne*, iv (1955), 141–51

ed.: J. Elsner: *Summariusz moich utworów muzycznych z objaśnieniami o czynnościach i działaniach moich jako artysty muzycznego* [A list of my compositions with explanations on my function and activities as a musician] (Kraków, 1957)

'Ideologia Józefa Elsnera a Chopin' [The ideologies of Józef Elsner and Chopin], *The Works of Frederick Chopin: Warsaw 1960*, 713–17

with T. Kuryłowicz and T. Strumiłło: *Poglądy na muzykę kompozytorów polskich doby przedchopinowskiej* [Musical opinions of Polish composers in the pre-Chopin period] (Kraków, 1960) [incl. 'Poglądy estetyczno-muzyczne Józefa Elsnera' [The musical aesthetics of Józef Elsner], 51–99]

Józef Elsner (diss., U. of Kraków, 1961; Kraków, 1957)

'The Age of Enlightenment', *Polish Music*, ed. S. Jarociński (Warsaw, 1965), 80–103

'Znaczenie historyczne fortepianowej "Dumy" Macieja Kamieńskiego' [The historical significance of the piano *Duma* of Maciej Kamieński], *Z dziejów muzyki polskiej*, ix (Bydgoszcz, 1965), 44–52

'Musik in den Theaterformen des ehemaligen Polens', *Musica antiqua Europae orientalis I: Bydgoszcz and Toruń 1966*, 310–33

'Muzyka polskiego oświecenia i wczesnego romantyzmu' [Polish music in the age of enlightenment and early Romanticism], *Z dziejów polskiej kultury muzycznej*, ii, ed. A. Nowak-Romanowicz and others (Kraków, 1966), 9–152

'Niektóre problemy opery polskiej między Oświeceniem a Romantyzmem' [Some problems in Polish opera between the Enlightenment and Romanticism], *Studia Hieronymo Feicht septuagenario dedicata*, ed. Z. Lissa (Kraków, 1967), 328–36

'Oświecenie – Preromantyzm', *Muzyka polska: informator*, ed. S. Śledziński (Kraków, 1967), 77–95

'O uzbeckiej muzyce ludowej' [On Uzbek folk music], *Muzyka*, xviii (1972), 100–08

'Polskie fantazje fortepianowe doby przedchopinowskiej', *Studia musicologica aesthetica, theoretica, historica: Zofia Lissa w 70. rocznicę urodzin*, ed. E. Dziębowska (Kraków, 1979), 349–58

'Muzyka fortepianowa Franciszka Lessla', *Franciszek Lessel w 200 rocznicę urodzin kompozytora* (Gdańsk, 1980), 83–98

'Nauka teorii muzyki w podręcznikach doby klasycyzmu polskiego (1750–1830)', *Muzyka*, xxv/3 (1980), 53–65

'Utwór na śmierć księcia Józefa Poniatowskiego', *Muzyka*, xxvii/3–4 (1982), 99–109

'Zélis et Valcour Michała Kleofasa Ogińskiego', *Muzykologia krakowska 1911–1986*, ed. E. Dziębowska (Kraków, 1987), 99–106

'Twórczość komediowa Michała Kazimierza Ogińskiego i Katarzyny II', *Muzyka*, xxxv/2 (1990), 110–13

Klasycyzm 1750–1830: historia muzyki polskiej, iv, ed. S. Sutkowski (Warsaw, 1995)

ZOFIA HELMAN

Nowka, Dieter (*b* Cottbus, 7 July 1924). German composer. He studied with Grabner at the Hochschule für Musik in Berlin-Charlottenburg (1942–3), and from 1947 to 1952 he worked as a répétiteur and conductor in Cottbus, Stendal and Schwerin. His studies were completed in the master classes of Eisler and Max Butting at the German Akademie der Künste in Berlin (1952–4). From 1975 to 1989 he taught composition and music theory at the Hochschule für Musik Weimar, becoming a professor there in 1986. Awards made to him have included the Cottbus Carl Blechen Arts Prize and the Schwerin Fritz Reuter Arts Prize. Taking elements from dance music, he has written pieces of wide appeal. He made an intensive study of the folk music of his native district between 1952 and 1961, and since that time he has used 12-note music and aleatory elements.

WORKS
(*selective list*)

Stage: Jan Suschka (op, B. Krautz), 1957; Eine Bauernlegende (ballet), 1958; Die Erbschaft (op), 1959–60

Orch: Ob Conc., 1953; Sinfonietta sorbica, 1955; 2 Sorbische Ouvertüren, 1956; Cottbuser Stadtpfeifermusik, 1956; Vn Conc., 1956; Sym., 1958; Sonata, 1962; Pf Conc., 1963; Sym., 1963; Tänze aus der Lausitz, 1963; Sonata, 1964; Vn Conc., 1964; Sonata, 1965; Sonata, 1966; Variations on a Theme of Hanns Eisler, 1968; Sym., 1969; 2 sinfoniettas, 1970, 1971; Pf Conc., pf left hand, 1971; Sym., 1972; Sym., 1983

Inst: Pf Sonata, 1953; Str Qt, 1954; Wind Qnt, 1954; Pf Sonata, 1955; Str Qt, 1956; Str Qt 'Musik zur Jugendweihe', 1960; Intermezzo al Oberek, tpt, pf, 1963; Sonatine, bn, pf, 1963; Sonatine, cl, pf, 1964; Wind Qnt, 1966; Divertimento, 9 insts, 1967; 7 esquisses, fl, pf, 1971; Str Qt, 1972; Wind Music, 3 tpt, 3 trbn, 1973; 3 Pieces, hpd, 1980; Str Qt, 1985

Vocal pieces

Principal publishers: Breitkopf & Härtel (Leipzig), Peters, Verlag Neue Musik (Berlin)

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R. Freiesleben: 'Die erste sorbische Oper: zur bevorstehenden Uraufführung der Oper "Jan Suschka" von Bodo Krautz und Dieter Nowka in Cottbus', *MG*, viii (1958), 457–9

D. Nowka: 'Einige Gedanken zu Fragen des Heiteren in unserer neuen Musik', *Sammelbände zur Musikgeschichte der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik*, ii, ed. H.A. Brockhaus and K. Niemann (Berlin, 1971), 227–39

F. Schneider: *Das Streichquartettschaffen in der DDR bis 1970* (Leipzig, 1980)

ECKART SCHWINGER/LARS KLINGBERG

Nowotny, Franz Nikolaus. *See* NOVOTNÝ, FRANZ NIKOLAUS.

Nowowiejski, Feliks (*b* Wartenburg [now Barczewo, nr Olsztyn], 7 Feb 1877; *d* Poznań, 23 Jan 1946). Polish composer, conductor and organist. He studied in Berlin at the Stern Conservatory, at the Königliche Musikakademie (Bruch's masterclasses), and at the university, where his teachers included Friedlaender and Bellermann. In addition he attended the Regensburg Kirchenmusikschule and took lessons with Dvořák in Prague. He won the Paderewski Prize of Bonn (1903) and the Meyerbeer Scholarship, and between 1902 and 1905 he made study tours of Europe, Asia and Africa. After a further stay in Berlin as a choirmaster and teacher (1905–9) he returned to Poland. He was director of the Kraków Music Society from 1909 to 1914, and from 1919 he taught at conservatories in Berlin and Poznań, where he was a professor of church music and organ. In 1935 he received the Polish State Music Prize.

Nowowiejski's earliest works, among them the first two symphonies, are in a Germanic late Romantic style considerably influenced by Bruch and Dvořák. He then began to draw on newer techniques, but with evident reserve. The greatest success was enjoyed by his more eclectic pieces, such as the large-scale oratorio *Quo vadis*, after Sienkiewicz's celebrated novel. First performed at Amsterdam in 1909, this work was soon repeated over 200 times in 150 cities throughout Europe and America. None of his later compositions achieved this measure of popularity, though their quality is no less. Most of his music derives from Polish folktunes. In Poland he is best known as the composer of the hymn 'Rota'.

WORKS
(*selective list*)

STAGE AND ORCHESTRAL

Emigranci Obieżysasy [The Emigrants] (op, 3, Z. Kollaren), op.46, 1917, unperf.; Legenda Bałtyku/Wineta [Baltic Legend] (op, 3, W. Szalay-Groele and K. Jeżewska), op.28, Poznań, Wielki, 28 Nov 1924; Malowanki ludowe [Folk Pictures] (op-ballet, 1, after folk poetry), Poznań, Wielki, 1 Dec 1928; Tatry [The Tatras]/Leluja (op-ballet, 4, E. Zegadłowicz, after folk legends), op.37, Poznań, Wielki, 27 Feb 1929; later as Król Wichrów [King of the Winds]

Beatrice, sym. poem (after Dante), 1903; Sym. no.1, 1903, lost; Sym. no.2 'Symfonia kolorów', 1904; Ellenai, sym. poem, after J. Słowacki, str, pf, 1915; Sym. no.3 (Sym. no.2 'Rytm i prac' [Rhythm and work]), 1936–7; Vc Conc., 1938; Sym. no.4 (Sym. no.3); Sym. no.5 (Sym. no.4), 1940–41; Pf Conc., 1941; Legenda, vn, orch; 3 ovs.

CHORAL

Oratorios: Powrót syna marnotrawnego [The Return of the Prodigal Son] (T. Rehbaum), 1901; Quo vadis (A. Jungst, after H. Sienkiewicz), 1903; Znalezienie sw. Krzyża [The Founding of the Cross] (A. Herolasek), 1905; Kościuszko (W.M. Kozłowski), 1922–4, lost

Cantatas: Kantata o polskiej ziemi i morzu [Cant. on the Polish Earth and Sea], T, chorus, orch, 1924–5; Kantata śląska [Silesian Cant.], Bar, male vv, orch, 1923–4; many sacred cants.

Masses: Missa pro pace, male vv, 1941; Missa 'Stella Maria'

Numerous other works, incl. sacred pieces, patriotic pieces, folksong arrs.

OTHER WORKS

Chbr: Str Qt; pieces for vn, pf; other duos with pf

Org: Łatwe utwory [Easy Pieces], 1900, 1902; Méditation, E, 1911; Entrée solennelle (1922); 9 syms. (sonatas), *c*1931; 4 concs., 1938–41; In paradisum, poem, 1941

Many pf pieces and songs

Principal publisher: PWM

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F.M. and K. Nowowiejski: 'Charakterytyka spuścizny rękopiśmiennej Feliksa Nowowiejskiego' [Characteristics of Nowowiejski's manuscripts], *Rocznik olsztyński*, ii (1959), 227–35 [incl. Eng. summary]

J. Obłąk: 'Feliks Nowowiejski jako organista w Olsztynie' [Nowowiejski as an organist in Olsztyn], *Komunikaty mazursko-warmińskie* (1961), no.2, p.182

J. Boehm: *Feliks Nowowiejski: zarys biograficzny* [Biographical outline] (Olsztyn, 1968, 2/1977)

F.M. and K. Nowowiejski: *Dookoła kompozytora: wspomnienia o ojcu* (Poznań, 1968, 2/1971)

J. Boehm, ed.: *Feliks Nowowiejski: w setną rocznicę urodzin* [Nowowiejski: on the occasion of the centenary of his birth] (Gdańsk, 1978) [introduction and summaries in Eng.]

M. Obst: 'Feliks Nowowiejski kompozytor chóralny', *Zeszyty naukowe*, xvii (1978), 115–29

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M.A. Ankudowicz: 'Utwory liryczne z muzyką Feliksa Nowowiejskiego w repertuarze wileńskiego chóru Echo' [Verse settings by Nowowiejski for the Vilnius choir Echo], 117–32; B. Zakrzewska-Nikiporczyk: 'Muzyka Feliksa Nowowiejskiego w kulturze muzycznej Poznania i Wielkopolski do 1918 roku' [Nowowiejski in the musical life of Poznań and Greater Poland before 1918], 133–42; A. Denisiuk: 'Koncerty Feliksa Nowowiejskiego w Bydgoszczy' [Nowowiejski's concerts in Bydgoszcz], 143–50]

BOGUSŁAW SCHÄFFER/R

Noyers, Jean de. *See* TAPISSIER, JOHANNES.

Nozeman [Noseman], **Jacob** (*b* Hamburg, 30 Aug 1693; *d* Amsterdam, 10 Oct 1745). Dutch composer, violinist and organist. He was the son of the travelling actor Johannes Nozeman and was born during one of his father's tours. He grew up in The Hague and Leiden, where his father most often performed. His brother Gillis Nozeman became a dancing-master in Leiden. Jacob moved to Amsterdam, probably shortly after his father's death in 1710. He played at the theatre there from 1714 to 1716, and in 1719 he became organist of the Remonstrantse Kerk, remaining in this post until his death. Shortly after his death a fine portrait of him was engraved by C.F. Fritsch.

His violin sonatas are well written; typical of the period, they are a mixture of the *sonata da chiesa* and *da camera* types. The op.1 set are in the italianate Baroque style, and they are all in minor keys. The more versatile and detailed pieces of op.2 are typical of the transition from the late Baroque to the early pre-Classical style, and are all in major keys. As late as 1782 Michel Corrette included movements and fragments from Nozeman's op.2 in his *L'art de se perfectionner dans le violon*. Nozeman's op.4, unfortunately lost, included pastorales, *musettes* and *païsennes* for harpsichord.

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5	VI sonate, vc, bc (Amsterdam, *c*1745), lost

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RUDOLF A. RASCH

Nozzari, Andrea (*b* Vertova, Bergamo, 1775; *d* Naples, 12 Dec 1832). Italian tenor. He studied in Bergamo and made his début in 1794 at Pavia. After singing in Rome, Milan, Parma and Bergamo, in 1803 he was engaged at the Théâtre Italien in Paris, appearing in Paer's *Principe di Taranto* and *Griselda*, Paisiello's *Nina* and Cimarosa's *Il matrimonio segreto*. From 1812 he was engaged in Naples, where he sang in Spontini's *La vestale*, Mayr's *Medea in Corinto* and Gluck's *Iphigénie en Aulide*. At the S Carlo he created roles in eight operas by Rossini: Leicester in *Elisabetta, regina d'Inghilterra* (1815); Rinaldo in *Armida* (1817); Osiride in *Mosè in Egitto* and Agorante in *Ricciardo e Zoraide* (1818); Pyrrhus in *Ermione* and Roderick Dhu in *La donna del lago* (1819); Erisso in *Maometto II* (1820) and Antenore in *Zelmira*, as well as the title role of Donizetti's *Alfredo il grande* (1823). At the Teatro del Fondo he created the title role of Rossini's *Otello* (1816), amazing the public with the force and agility of his singing and the nobility of his bearing. He retired in 1825.

ELIZABETH FORBES

NSA. *See* NATIONAL SOUND ARCHIVE.

Nucci, Leo (*b* Castiglione dei Pepoli, Bologna, 16 April 1942). Italian baritone. A pupil of Giuseppe Marchese, he sang Rossini's Figaro at Spoleto in 1967, then sang in the chorus at La Scala during further study and made his fully professional début in 1975 at Venice as Schaunard. He appeared at La Scala in 1976 as Figaro, at Covent Garden in 1978 as Miller (*Luisa Miller*), and as Anckarstroem (*Un ballo in maschera*) at the Metropolitan in 1980, the Paris Opéra in 1981 and Salzburg in 1989. Nucci's repertory also includes Marcello, Lescaut, Sharpless, Mamm' Agata (*Le convenienze ed inconvenienze teatrali*), Barnaba (*La Gioconda*), Yevgeny Onegin and Gounod's Mercutio, but his sonorous voice, strong technique and histrionic ability are best displayed in Verdi, in such roles as Giorgio Germont, Luna, Macbeth, Posa, Amonasro, Rigoletto, Iago and Falstaff, and in Donizetti. Nucci's many Verdi recordings sometimes lack subtlety of characterization, though he is heard to advantage on disc as Anckarstroem (with Karajan) and as Donizetti's Malatesta and Belcore.

ELIZABETH FORBES

Nucci, Lucrezio. Italian music printer who worked with GIOVANNI BATTISTA GARGANO until 1617 when his place was taken by Matteo Nucci.

Nucella (*fl* 1401–36). Italian composer. A French-influenced three-voice ballata in Ars Subtilior style, *De bon parole tal pronto se fa*, is ascribed to him in the lost Strasbourg manuscript (*F-Sm* 222, no.149; ed. in PMFC, x, 1977, p.101), according to Coussemaker's transcription. The ascription refers to a singer and papal scriptor, Nicolaus Savini Mathei alias Ricci de Nucella Campli, first documented in the chapels of the Roman schismatic popes (Boniface IX, Innocent VII, Gregory XII), and, for some time during the same period, a canon and singer at S Pietro in Rome. His toponymic surname derives from the church in the diocese of Teramo of which he was provost; he is referred to by the nickname 'Nucella' (or 'Nocella') in documents from 1404 to 1413. He was heavily beneficed in the Italian diocese of Teramo, Sora and Gaeta. Later he is to be found in the service of popes Martin V and Eugenius IV (Planchart, reported in Di Bacco and Nádas); altogether he is documented in papal letters from 1401 to 1436. He does not, however, appear in any of the extant chapel lists of singers of the post-schismatic period, by which time he may no longer have

been in steady musical employment but was still serving the curia in an administrative capacity.

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GIULIANO DI BACCO, JOHN NÁDAS

Nuceti, Flaminio. *See* NOCETTI, FLAMINIO.

Nuceus. *See* DU GAUCQUIER, ALARD.

Nucius [Nux, Nucis], **Johannes** (*b* Görlitz, Lower Silesia, *c*1556; *d* Himmelwitz, nr Strehlitz, Upper Silesia [now Strzelce Opolskie, Poland], 25 March 1620). German composer and theorist. His *Musices poeticae* is a major treatise about compositional practices in the early 17th century.

1. LIFE. Nucius was a private pupil in composition of Johannes Winckler, who became Kantor at the Gymnasium at Görlitz in 1573. Even after 40 years he prized Winckler's instruction, the principles of which, as he said in the introduction, were the basis of his *Musices poeticae*. About 1586 he took his vows as a Cistercian monk at the monastery of Rauden, Upper Silesia, where he probably received the broad humanist education that appears to have influenced his later writing. By 1591 he had become deacon at Rauden and in that year published the first of his two books of motets, which he dedicated to his abbot. Also in 1591 he was made abbot of the small monastery of Himmelwitz. In 1598, in order to devote more time to composition and writing, he delegated many of his administrative tasks to one of the priors. In the last two years or so of his life, however, he was much involved in directing the rebuilding of the monastery and church after a disastrous fire on 22 June 1617, which destroyed more than half of the buildings. His death followed a crippling illness and blindness.

2. WORKS. Although he was isolated from the mainstream of musical development, Nucius achieved a degree of fame, which was based primarily on his treatise. For example, as Feldmann (1958) has shown, the *Opusculum bipartitum* of Joachim Thuringus (1625) is in large part derived from his work, and references to him occur in Praetorius's *Syntagma musicum* (1618), Mattheson's *Critica musica*, i (1722–3), and Walther's *Musicalisches Lexicon* (1732). *Musices poeticae* is in essence a counterpoint manual. It is divided into nine chapters: 1. 'De definitione musices poëtice: de differentia sortisationis & compositionis', 2. 'De concordantiis ac discordantiis', 3. 'De concordantiarum successionibus & aliis cognatis questionibus', 4. 'De discordantiarum usa seu collocatione', 5. 'Quid es sonis?', 6. 'De praxi modo jungendi plures voci', 7. 'De regulis quibusdam generalibus, ac appellationibus 4. vocum, earumque proprietatibus, & figuris musicis', 8. 'De clausulis formalis, & commutatione vocum inter se' and 9. 'De modis musicis'. The substance of the contrapuntal theory derives largely from the treatises of Gaffurius and Glarean. Although Nucius apparently had no contacts with a major centre of musical performance he was familiar with the music of many 16th-century composers: he referred to works by Josquin, Johann Walter, Senfl, Clemens non Papa, Handl, Kerle, Lassus, Vaet, Wert and others. The first chapter, in defining counterpoint, retains the 16th-century distinction between *compositio* and *sortisatio* (i.e. between composed and improvised counterpoint sung to a cantus firmus). It explains and illustrates three types of counterpoint: *simplex* – note-against-note; *floridus seu fractus* – counterpoint composed to a cantus firmus; and *coloratus* – counterpoint in the usual sense of linear writing. Chapters 2–4 are routine discourses on consonances and dissonances. Chapter 5 examines various aspects of musical tone. In chapter 6 Nucius took up actual compositional procedures. He suggested in a rather conservative vein that students should learn to write counterpoint by first composing the tenor and discant parts, to which they should then add a bass and alto, and he concluded by discussing various contrapuntal procedures related to specific intervals and the origins of the names for the voice parts. In chapter 8 he discussed cadential formulations and in the final chapter indicated the nature as well as the affective character of the 12 modes.

The most significant chapter of *Musices poeticae* is the seventh, for its valuable information about the musical devices that will most appropriately underscore the meaning of a text. Nucius was the first theorist after Joachim Burmeister, and the first talented composer, to employ rhetorical terminology to explain certain exceptional compositional procedures. Like Burmeister he called them musical figures; whereas Burmeister assembled 24 such figures in his *Musica poetica* (1606), Nucius gave only seven, though he commented that he could easily have enlarged them into a catalogue. These are his essential expressive devices: (1) *commissura* – a passing-note dissonance; (2) *fuga* – various forms of melodic imitation; (3) *repetitio* – repeating a melodic or harmonic section; (4) *climax* – parallel 10ths or 3rds between two parts; (5) *complexio* – repetition of an initial passage at the end of a section; (6) *homioteleuton* – insertion of a sudden rest, creating rhetorical emphasis through silence; and (7) *syncopatio* – syncopation. Further emphasizing the composer's responsibility to stress the emotional content of a text, Nucius advised him to be guided by (1) affective words, i.e. 'laeteri', 'gaudere', 'lacrymari', 'timeri', 'ridere' etc.; (2) words of motion and placing, i.e. 'stare', 'currere', 'saltare', 'quiescere', 'salire' etc; and (3) adverbs of speed and number, i.e. 'celeriter', 'velociter', 'cito', 'tarde', 'bis', 'semel' etc. Finally he suggested that words such as 'night', 'day', 'light' and 'dark' could be expressed through white or black notation.

Nucius is all the more valuable as a theorist because he was an excellent composer. His extant music, though not extensive, provides ample opportunity for comparing his provocative theoretical concepts with his own practice (see Feldmann, 1956). It is all contained in his two motet collections, which comprise 102 pieces, 97 to Latin texts, five to German. Though rooted in the music of Lassus and other composers of the second half of the 16th century, his style is not without striking personal characteristics. As one would expect from his concern as a theorist for expressive text-setting, the motets are laden with affective musical devices, both to enhance the general emotional content of the words and to emphasize and

illustrate particular words and phrases. Those in the first book are in five and six parts; several of those in the second are in seven and eight parts. In both there is a marked tendency towards homophonic writing, with little use of cantus-firmus technique or canonic writing.

Nucius lived at a time of transition between the Renaissance and Baroque periods: it was in the 17th century that the dramatic and expressive potential of music in relation to texts became paramount in the styles of most composers, and he reflected this development in both his music and his treatise.

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SACRED VOCAL

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[52] Cantionum sacrarum diversarum vocum, liber secundus, some 7, 8vv (Legnica, 1609)

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GEORGE J. BUELOW

Nueva canción. Latin American song genre. *Nueva canción* (or 'new song' movement) has been largely defined by Chilean musicians, active before and during the first democratically elected socialist coalition government of President Salvador Allende (1970–73). Little of the music and song of *nueva canción* is political in any overt sense, rather it expresses the energies, hopes and experiences of the times. The groups Quilapayún, Inti Illimani and singers such as VÍCTOR JARA (1932–73), Patricio Manns, and Angel and Isabel Parra epitomise a generation of musicians across the continent and beyond whose formative years in the 1950s and 60s were rooted in ideals of social justice and equality.

The pioneering example of three key folklore collectors and musicians, VIOLETA PARRA (1917–67) in Chile, ATAHUALPA YUPANQUI (1908–92) in Argentina and Carlos Puebla (1917–96) in Cuba, helped pave the way for the rediscovery of the rural sounds of Latin America. In Chile this included the rediscovery of the oldest instruments and traditions of the Andes which had survived since pre-colonial times, including the small armadillo-backed string *charango*, the *kena* bamboo flute and panpipes. A 'Latin American' cultural identity emerged in a music whose sensibilities and lyrics were poetic, some of it drawing on popular poetry of early hispanic origin, epitomised by Violeta Parra's 'Canto a lo poeta y a lo humano', modelled on complex poetry of rural *payadores* (improvising poets). The centre of *nueva canción* was the Santiago Peña de los Parra (a small nightclub run at weekends by Angel and Isabel Parra), a meeting point for musicians, where Jara, the Parras and Manns sang regularly. The songs of Víctor Jara (who was murdered after the 1973 Chilean coup d'état) characterize the period in both musical style and verbal content, two of the most loved being 'Plegaria a un labrador' (which won the July 1969 first festival of *nueva canción)* and 'Te recuerdo Amanda'.

After 1973, in European exile, Inti Illimani became the heart and soul of the solidarity movement until they were finally allowed to return home in 1998. In the 1970s and 80s, when tough military dictatorships dominated the Americas, *nueva canción* musicians, persecuted by these regimes met up at peace concerts and festivals held in Nicaragua, Mexico, Peru, Cuba, Argentina and Brazil. Musicians involved included MERCEDES SOSA, Leon Gieco and Víctor Heredia (Argentina); Chico Buarque, Wagner Tiso and Milton Nascimento (Brazil); Silvio Rodríguez and Pablo Milanés (Cuba); Carlos and Luís Enrique and Mejía Godoy (Nicaragua); Daniel Viglietti (Uruguay); Amparo Ochoa and Gabino Palomares (Mexico). In Spain, despite no direct links to the genre, a similar sensibility survives in singers of Catalan *nova canço* (*see also* NUEVA TROVA. In the post-dictatorship ambience of the 1990s individual careers have blossomed while strong supportive friendships between many of these musicians remain of significance.

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JAN FAIRLEY

Nueva trova. Cuban song genre. A reinterpretation of *trova*, the romantic troubadour traditions of the island (which developed from those brought by Hispanic colonizers and immigrants), *nueva trova* is also closely linked to the Latin American NUEVA CANCIÓN movement. Musically the fundamental elements have been those of the classic troubadour (vocals and acoustic guitar), with songs then interpreted by bands of varying size and style. Songs describe the everyday experience of living; a hallmark is a poetic lyric imbued with a sense of metaphysical emotion and existential questioning, with a pervasive use of metaphor and a non-gendered approach to the complexities of love. The Cuban tradition of 'double meaning' is not, as with old troubadours, used for sexual wit, but instead for the doubts of inner experience within a thematic framework of time and death.

Nueva trova emerged in the late 1960s, when a collective of young musicians came together at the Cuban Cinematographic Institute (ICAIC), under the direction of classical guitarist and composer LEO BROUWER. They

included Vicente Feliú, Silvio Rodríguez, Pablo Milanés, Noel Nicola, Sara González, Eduardo Ramos and Pablo Menendez, musicians who re-defined the subject matter of Cuban song, while demonstrating innovative use of popular music forms with intuitive use of older Cuban elements. Born in the decade before the 1959 revolution they were not only politicized by growing up in the revolution but also questioned the experience. Milanés, for example, had undergone 'special military service', a euphemism for labour camps involving cane cutting and designed to change the behaviour of those regarded as bohemian. Championed by Haydée Santa Maria, who ran the seminal cultural centre Casa de Las Americas, he and the others who formed the ICAIC collective became part of the Protest Song Centre which existed at Casa for a time; it provided a forum for the singing of nueva trova and was set up in the wake of the 1967 'Festival de la canción protesta'. Participants rejected the term 'protest' as they felt it did not accurately describe their music, which was not necessarily an expression of political protest. Many subsequent festivals and concerts in Cuba and elsewhere have also nurtured significant networks of musical friendship.

In the 1980s, the songs of Rodríguez and Milanés became a phenomenon in the Spanish speaking world, generating a large amount of foreign money for the Cuban state. In the 1990s, a new generation has emerged, for whom growing up in the revolution has exposed a different set of conflicts. The lyrics and more eclectic musical influences (notably rock) of Carlos Varela and Gerardo Alfonso, reflect the preoccupations of youth whose horizons have openly moved beyond revolutionary strictures.

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JAN FAIRLEY

Nuitter [Truinet], **Charles-Louis-Etienne** (*b* Paris, 24 April 1828; *d* Paris, 23/24 Feb 1899). French librettist, writer on music and librarian. His real name was Truinet, of which 'Nuitter' is an anagram. He studied law and by 1849 was practising in Paris. In the 1850s he began writing librettos in his spare time. His first performed work, a vaudeville entitled *L'amour dans un ophicléide* (1854), was followed by more vaudevilles and later by operas, *opéras comiques*, *opéras bouffes*, operettas and ballets. Usually writing with collaborators, in particular Beaumont (Alexandre Beaume), Nérée Desarbres and Etienne Tréfeu, he produced more than 60 works, many of which reveal facility and wit. He wrote for Offenbach (*Les bavards*, *Vert-vert*, *La princesse de Trébizonde* and many more), Delibes (*La source*, *Coppélia*), Guiraud (*Le Kobold*, *Gretna-Green*, *Piccolino*), Lalo (*Namouna*), Lecocq (*Le coeur et la main*) and at least 18 other composers. One of the first Frenchmen to appreciate Wagner, he translated *Tannhäuser* (with E. Roche and R. Lindau, 1861), *Rienzi* (with Jules Guillaume, 1869), *Lohengrin* (1870) and *Der fliegende Holländer* (1872). His other translations (most with collaborators) include Weber's *Oberon* (1857), *Preciosa* (1858) and *Abu Hassan* (1859), Bellini's *I Capuleti e i Montecchi* (1859), Mozart's *Die Zauberflöte* (1865) and Verdi's *Macbeth* (1865), *Aida* (1877), *La forza del destino* (1883) and *Simon Boccanegra* (1883). In about 1863 Nuitter began to catalogue the Opéra archives and in 1866 he became official archivist there, abandoning his law career. With Théodore Lajarte he reorganized the archives and the Opéra library. He rescued many documents from destruction, ensured that the Palais Garnier (completed in 1875) had adequate facilities for the archives and library, and, often at his own expense, acquired compositions, autographs, documents and an important collection of journals for the Opéra. He wrote, in a journalistic style, books on opera and the Opéra including *Le nouvel Opéra* (Paris, 1875), *Histoire et description du nouvel Opéra* (Paris, 1883) and, in collaboration with Ernest Thoinan (A.E. Roquet), *Les origines de l'Opéra français* (Paris, 1886/*R*); various articles (notably in *La chronique musicale*) describe little-known works in the Opéra's collection.

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(*selective list*)

for fuller list see GroveO

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JEFFREY COOPER

Numantino, Martín de Tapia. *See* TAPIA, MARTÍN DE.

Number opera (Ger. *Nummernopera*; It. *opera a numeri*). Term for an opera consisting of individual sections or 'numbers' which can readily be detached from the whole, as distinct from an opera consisting of continuous music. The term is best applied to the various forms of 18th-century opera, including *opera seria*, *opera buffa*, *opéra comique*, ballad opera and Singspiel as well as to some 19th-century grand operas. Under the influence of Wagner's ideas about the relationship between opera and drama, the number opera became unfashionable, and

neither his operas nor those of late Verdi, Puccini and the *verismo* school can be so called, although arias can easily be detached (at the point designed to accommodate the applause). In spite of the widespread adherence to Wagner's aesthetic of continuous music drama, some notable 20th-century works can be considered number operas, such as Berg's *Wozzeck* (1925) and Stravinsky's deliberately archaic *The Rake's Progress* (1951).

For bibliography *see* OPERA, §VII.

□

Numbers and music. Numbers appear in musical notation in a variety of ways, sharing, for instance, tempos, pulses, figured basses and bar numbers; they are also used to describe intervals (e.g. 3rds, 4ths, 5ths) and tunings of the scale in temperaments. This article, however, is concerned with numbers that can be neither heard nor seen but are used in the process of constructing a composition. For other uses of numbers in music *see* CRYPTOGRAPHY, MUSICAL, and RHETORIC AND MUSIC.

1. Introduction. 2. Up to 1600. 3. 1600 to 1750. 4. 1750 to 1900. 5. From 1900.

1. INTRODUCTION. In the past 50 years some startling claims have been made about how Renaissance and Baroque composers might have used numbers in their music. The numbers are generated from the score by counting, for example, how many breves, bars, pulses or notes there are, or how many times a word is repeated, in a phrase, section, complete voice or movement. Characteristic of this so-called 'numerological' approach is the swift move from counting to interpreting. When a number recurs or is deemed significant it is treated as symbolic and interpreted either by traditional symbols or through the use of a number alphabet.

The number alphabet was first introduced to musicology by Friedrich Smend. Smend and his colleague Martin Jansen spent many years trying to discover the meanings of numbers that recur in the works of J.S. Bach. They began from the premise that every numerical relationship in the score was consciously placed there by the composer and could therefore be considered symbolic. In 1943 Smend added the use of the natural-order number alphabet (A = 1, B = 2, C = 3 etc.; IJ = 9, UV = 20, Z = 24) to their growing list of interpretative methods. Jansen was alarmed by this, arguing that the method could make any number mean many things, but his early death in 1944 cut short his moderating influence.

In 1947 Smend wrote publicly about the number alphabet in the third and fourth of six booklets of programme notes for a series of performances of Bach's church cantatas in Berlin. He unwittingly introduced several factual errors, however, which in turn misled him as he interpreted the numbers: he gave examples of only two number alphabets, whereas over 40 may be found in various printed German sources of the 17th and 18th centuries, and he confused two distinct number alphabet traditions, the cabalistic gematria, which is a means of interpreting the Bible, and the poetical paragram (see §3 below), which is a means of generating ideas used by poets. Since 1947 other musicologists have experimented with Smend's theory, with varying degrees of credibility. Some fundamental errors have been perpetuated, including the inaccurate use of the term 'cabalistic gematria', indiscriminate use of the natural-order number alphabet and historically incongruous interpretations of numbers.

There is value in Smend's work, however. It has recently been shown that, since at least the 1630s, the poetical paragram had been a widely known technique for generating ideas before writing a poem (Tatlow, 1991). In Bach's day it was one of the techniques listed among the *loci topici* (*see* RHETORIC AND MUSIC, §I, 2, and §3 below) in poetry textbooks. Although the paragram technique does not appear in books on music theory, it is possible that musicians may have applied it to music.

Musicology is left with a dilemma. Counting notes and pulses frequently reveals a numerical correlation between the sections of a musical work. This could imply that the composition was organized numerically at an early stage, and the temptation for the modern analyst is to assert that the numerical relationships were devised by the composer. Yet there is slender historical evidence to support this: little is known from music theory or surviving sketchbooks about the pre-compositional processes of composers before Beethoven. Without a firm historical basis it is both premature and irresponsible to draw conclusions about compositional procedure from numbers in the score. A separation must be maintained between numerical analysis, comment upon the compositional process and speculative interpretation of the numbers. There is also a need to consider whether there is any historical justification for the analytical techniques used to generate the numbers; and if so, whether the numbers in the score were created consciously by the composer and whether the numbers are wholly structural or have some further significance.

2. UP TO 1600. Number was of fundamental importance to both the Judaeo-Christian and the Greek view of the Creator and Creation, and therefore also to that of Renaissance man. Plato wrote: 'The body of the universe was created to be at unity owing to proportion; in consequence it acquired concord' (*Timaeus*, trans. H.D.P. Lee, 1965, p.44); and the anonymous verse from the Apocrypha frequently quoted in music treatises reads: 'Thou hast arranged all things by measure and number and weight' (*Wisdom of Solomon* xi.21).

Numbers as proportions feature prominently in the music theory of this period, reflecting the classical Greek ideas of the schools of Pythagoras and Aristoxenus. Although it is possible to imagine ways of introducing proportions at every stage of the compositional process, Renaissance treatises discuss proportions solely in their capacity of describing intervals and duration. Following Pythagoras, intervals were expressed as ratios, based on the division of the monochord: the octave as 2:1, the 5th as 3:2, the 4th as 4:3, the major 3rd as 5:4, major 6th as 5:3, minor 3rd as 6:5 and the minor 6th as 8:5. During the early 17th century these were rejected in favour of more complicated arithmetical expressions of each interval. Numbers as proportions were also used to express duration in different mensural notation systems. In some compositions there is an exact proportional relationship between individual sections. In Du Fay's motet *Nuper rosarum flores*, for example, the mensuration within the four sections is in the ratio 6:4:2:3 (Warren, 1973), and in Leonel Power's Mass *Alma Redemptoris mater* the relationship between the cantus-firmus and non cantus-firmus sections is 48:12:48:24, or 4:1:2:1 (Sandresky, 1979).

These two works also illustrate another aspect of the interpretation of numbers and proportions in studies of

Renaissance music, the claim that proportions in certain compositions are identical to those of specific buildings. Alberti's design for the upper façade of S Maria Novella, Florence, supposedly has the proportions 4:1:2:1, corresponding with the proportional design of Power's mass (Sandresky, 1979), and the proportions 6:4:2:3 of Brunelleschi's dome for Florence Cathedral have been claimed to correspond with those of Du Fay's motet (Warren, 1973). It has been argued that Warren's architectural figures are faulty, and that the proportions 6:4:2:3 were used by Du Fay in imitation of those specified by God (*1 Kings* vi.1–20) for building Solomon's temple (Wright, 1994). Interestingly, it is the interpretation of the proportions that has received criticism rather than the method of generating the proportions from the music, which could be considered conjectural.

Similarly, some 20th-century analysts have sought to demonstrate the use of Fibonacci numbers as a conscious compositional device in Renaissance music. The ratio between the successive terms of the FIBONACCI SERIES (in which each is the sum of the previous two, thus: 0, 1, 1, 2, 3, 5 etc.) is an arithmetical expression of Euclid's golden ratio. Although the Fibonacci series was first described in 1202, it was not widely known to be connected to Euclid's formula until the mid-19th century. It is thus extremely unlikely that works composed before 1600 were deliberately constructed to express the golden ratio, and any attempt to prove otherwise is little more than an interesting 20th-century analytical exercise.

Many biblical numbers had significance for the Renaissance musician. In his *De mystica numerorum significatione* (Bergamo, 1583), Petrus Bongus discussed the symbolic significance of specific numbers, showing that there is frequently more than one interpretation of a number. More importantly, though, Bongus did not describe how, if at all, the numbers are incorporated into a musical composition.

Following the work of Friedrich Smend there has been an awakening of interest in number symbolism in Renaissance music. The use of the misleading term 'cabalistic gematria' by some scholars has perpetuated the confusion over the use and implications of number alphabets. The natural-order number alphabet is invariably used to decode recurring numbers, while others, such as the Hebrew milesian alphabet (א=1, ב=2, . . .י=10, ל=20, . . .ק=100, ת=400) associated with Jewish or Christian cabbalism, may be overlooked. Number alphabets have been used to reveal the name of a person closely associated with the composition hidden in the music. Some scholars have applied this technique to works by composers such as Jacob Obrecht (9+1+3+14+2 14+2+17+5+3+8+19 = 97), Ockeghem (14+3+10+5+7+8+5+12 = 64), Du Fay (4+20+6+1+23 = 54), Josquin des Prez (9+14+18+16+20+9+13 = 99, 4+5+18+17+5+24 = 88) and Tinctoris (19+9+13+3+19+14+17+9+18 = 121) (Elders, 1985).

There are certain problems in the application of these techniques. Methods of number counting can appear more subjective than scientific; and ambiguities in the music can lead to inconsistencies in choices such as whether or not to count a repeat, whether a long is worth two or three breves, whether or not a corona adds to the duration, and where to divide a section or group of notes. Additional problems for music of this period are the lack of autograph sources and the issue of errors introduced by a scribe. Until there is more historical or documentary evidence to support number counting techniques, the naive musicologist could easily find himself spinning neat sequences of numbers to no scholarly purpose. Musicology of this nature must for the present be treated as analytical exploration.

3. 1600 TO 1750. Numbers expressed as ratios or fractions appear in many music treatises published between 1600 and 1750, as a result of their authors' preoccupation with tuning systems. Numbers linked to letters, pitches and rhythms also appear in descriptions of cryptographic techniques (*see* CRYPTOGRAPHY, MUSICAL). Numbers as ratios expressing the consonant intervals of the octave were observed by Kepler to be similar to those between the speeds of the planets in their orbits (*Harmonices mundi*, bk 3, 1619). The medieval view that musical ratios and harmony reflect the nature of God was endorsed by Kircher in his widely distributed treatise *Musurgia universalis* (1650). Numbers with symbolic values are rarely referred to, although Werckmeister believed that the triad represented the Trinity (1 = God the Father, 2 = God the Son, 3 = God the Holy Spirit). As Werckmeister gave no practical examples of how or when the triad should be interpreted symbolically in a specific composition, however, this seems to be a perpetuation of the general medieval view set out in Kircher's work.

The lack of historical evidence of the use of compositional numbers seems extraordinary in view of the quantity of writing on Bach and number symbolism. A series of number techniques based on Smend's work has evolved and become accepted by dint of repetition. Yet in treatises of this period there is virtually no discussion of the use of numbers in the construction of a composition, either proportionally or symbolically, nor any description of numbers used as a pre-compositional aid to invention.

A popular way of generating ideas at this time was through the *ars combinatoria*. In his dissertation *De arte combinatoria* (1666) the mathematician and philosopher G.W. Leibniz described the principle of a universal language, and 12 years later he produced a fully developed artificial language which he believed could be translated into music by using intervals instead of consonants and vowels.

The *loci topici* or *loci dialectici* (which despite their classical-sounding title, were not known to the ancient Greeks) became popular as devices for generating philosophical and rhetorical arguments in the early 16th century, and were also applied to poetry and music. The classification of *loci* species varied from author to author. In a lecture given at Leipzig University in 1695 the poet Erdmann Neumeister described 15 species: *locus* (i) *notationis*, (ii) *definitionis*, (iii) *generis & specierum*, (iv) *totius & partium*, (v) *causa efficientis*, (vi) *causae materialis*, (vii) *causae formalis*, (viii) *causae finalis*, (ix) *effectorum*, (x) *adjunctorum*, (xi) *circumstantiarum*, (xii) *comparatorum*, (xiii) *oppositorum*, (xiv) *exemplorum* and (xv) *testimoniorum*. The *locus notationis* itself was subdivided into (i) *derivation*, ii) *aequivocation*, iii) *synonyma*, iv) *anagramma* and v) *artificium cabbalae*. Under *locus notationis* (v) *artificium cabalae* five different number alphabets are listed, each of which could be used in several ways to generate ideas in poetry. Among these is the poetical paragram, a technique adapted from cabalism simply to stimulate the imagination. As the words 'Margaretha' and 'Meine Seele' have the same numerical value using the natural-order number alphabet,

Margaretha = 88	M a r g a r e t h a 12+1+17+7+1+17+5+19+8+1
Meine Seele = 88	M e i n e S e e l e 12+5+9+13+5 18+5+5+11+5

the poet could use them as the starting point of his poem. Neumeister's work was published in 1707 by the poet and librettist 'Menantes' (C.F. Hunold). Both men were known to J.S. Bach, who was probably familiar with this publication but there is no proof that he adapted the paragram technique to musical invention.

Several German theorists, from Burmeister (*Musica poetica*, 1606) to Spiess (*Tractatus musicus compositorio-practicus*, 1745), used rhetorical models and the *loci topici*, in their discussions of music (*see* RHETORIC AND MUSIC, §I). Mattheson used the terms *inventio*, *dispositio*, *elaboratio* and *decoratio* to structure his discussion of compositional procedure in *Der vollkommene Capellmeister* (1739). In the section on *Inventio* he applied Neumeister's 15 *loci* to musical composition, but included neither number alphabets nor any adaptation of the poetical paragram to music in his illustration of the *locus notationis*. Following the many experiments in using the *ars combinatoria* for musical invention (notably by Leibniz, Euler, Riepel, Christian Wolff and Gottsched), Lorenz Mizler von Kolof produced his own theoretical explanation of music. An important debate between Mizler and Mattheson about numbers in music is documented in Mizler's journal the *Neu eröffnete musikalische Bibliothek* (founded in 1737) and Mattheson's treatise *Plus ultra* (1754–6). In response to Mattheson's assertion that mathematics is not the basis of music (Harriss, 1981, p.46), Mizler wrote:

> Mathematics is the heart and soul of music . . . Without question the bar, the rhythm, the proportion of the parts of a musical work and so on must all be measured . . . Notes and other signs are only tools in music, the heart and soul is the good proportion of melody and harmony. It is ridiculous to say that mathematics is not the heart and soul of music [*Neu eröffnete musikalische Bibliothek*, ii, 1743, p.54]

It is highly likely that Bach was aware of these discussions, as he knew both men and in 1747 became the 14th member of the society founded by Mizler in 1738 in order to stimulate discussion about music among composers (numerologists have made great play of this since BACH = 2+1+3+8 = 14 in the natural-order number alphabet). But the analyst must be cautious: documentary evidence that Bach's sympathies lay with Mizler rather than Mattheson may not necessarily be a sufficiently firm foundation on which to build a theory of Bach's pre-compositional numerical method.

The evidence that comes closest to implying the use of number in the pre-compositional organisation of a work comes not from Mattheson's section on *Inventio*, but from his section entitled *Dispositio*. Again combining artistic forms, he likened compositional construction to architecture:

> DISPOSITIO is a neat ordering of all the parts and details in the melody, or in an entire musical work, almost in the manner in which one arranges or draws a building, makes a plan or sketch, a ground plan, to show where e.g. an assembly room, an apartment, a bedroom etc. should be situated. [Harriss, 469]

Although numbers are not specified, one could argue that Mattheson strongly implied their use since architectural plans at that time were ordered numerically. Mattheson's clearest articulation of pre-compositional planning can be read in paragraph 30:

> §30 [the composer] should outline his complete project on a sheet, sketch it roughly and arrange it in an orderly manner before he proceeds to the elaboration. In my humble opinion this is the best way of all through which a work obtains its proper fitness, and each part thus can be measured to determine if it would demonstrate a certain relationship, similarity, and concurrence with the rest: in as much as nothing in the world is more pleasing to the hearing than that. [Harriss, 478]

Again Mattheson does not specify numbers, but a recommendation that could easily be a practical demonstration of Mattheson's principles appears in volume iv (1754) of Mizler's *Bibliothek* (pt 1, p.108). In a section that directly follows the announcement of Bach's presentation to the society of canon BWV1076, the anonymous author writes:

> In the winter the cantata should be somewhat shorter than in summer ... From experience one can specify the duration, namely that a cantata 350 bars long of varying mensuration takes roughly 25 minutes to perform, which in winter is long enough, whereas in summer it can be 8 to 10 minutes longer and so give a cantata of roughly 400 bars.

Although Bach may not have devised these guidelines, he would, as a society member, have been involved in the discussions and endorsed the recommendations. In 1619 Michael Praetorius had made a similar recommendation for measuring the duration of a composition:

> 80 tempora take half of a quarter of an hour, 160 tempora take a quarter of an hour, 320 tempora half an hour, 640 tempora an hour. In this way one can so much better judge how long the song or work is so that the sermon may begin at the correct time and the other church ceremonies adapted accordingly.

In both of these examples numbers are used as a tool to measure the length of a church cantata in bars and in minutes. It is an indication that in this period there was an increasingly pragmatic approach towards composition.

4. 1750 TO 1900. Among the music treatises of the late 18th and early 19th centuries is a corpus of material that recommends using numbers for composition. At least 20 different methods of composing music by numbers were published between 1757 and 1812, the first being *Der allezeit fertige Polonoisen- und Menuettencomponist* (1757) by J.P. Kirnberger, a pupil of J.S. Bach. According to Kirnberger:

> Anyone who is familiar only with dice and numbers and can write down notes is capable of composing as many of the aforesaid little pieces as he desires.

Kirnberger's method was repeated and adapted several times, including in two publications attributed to Haydn (1793) and Mozart (1793). A different method, based on the use of a nine-sided top, was first published in H.-F. Delange's *Le toton harmonique* (1768) and in an anonymous *Ludus melothedicus* (1760s). C.P.E. Bach published a variant of this second method as 'A Method for Making Six Bars of Double Counterpoint at the Octave Without Knowing the Rules' in the first part of Marpurg's *Historisch-kritische Beyträge zur Aufnahme der Musik* (1754). A publication that uses neither system but allows random selection of any number between eight and 48 is Piere Hoegi's *A Tabular System whereby the Art of Composing Minuets is Made so Easy that any Person, without the Least Knowledge of Musick, may Compose Ten Thousand, all Different, and in the most Pleasing and Correct Manner* (London, ?1770). This is the epitome of instant composition: it shows a healthy playfulness with compositional method, at variance with

the received view of the closed master–pupil apprenticeship of earlier generations and the later cult of the inspired genius. Analyses of surviving polonaises by Kirnberger or of C.P.E. Bach's double counterpoint have yet to be made to assess whether they used these methods in their own compositions.

Based on principles taken from Smend, the natural-order number alphabet, traditional symbolic numbers (such as 3 = the Trinity, 33 = number of years of Jesus's life) and cabalistic techniques (such as triangular numbers, or the cubing, squaring or doubling of a number to increase its potency) have infiltrated musicological studies of this period. It has been claimed, for example, that certain works by Mozart, with his Masonic associations, and Beethoven demonstrate a well worked-out numerological plan.

The study of numbers in the background compositional design of works written before 1900 has great potential for musicology; but until a historically consistent theory can be formulated that resolves the problems described in the introduction, number studies will remain at best interesting speculation.

5. From 1900. That the fate of numbers in music greatly improved around 1900 and thereafter can be attributed to various changes in how music was made and perceived: the arrival of recording technology, which facilitated numerical measurements (of duration, frequencies etc.); intensified interest in folk music and in non-European cultures, bringing an awareness of other scales and, perhaps most significantly, other ways of handling rhythm, not as a hierarchy of nested elements (beat, bar, phrase) but as pulse, which might invite composers to count up to more than four; and an increased systematization of composition. These phenomena were linked. For example, the study of ethnic music was greatly assisted by recording, at a time when mechanization in other forms (in agriculture, for instance) was placing such music under threat. And the triumph of the machine in the 20th century – including most particularly the computer revolution that began in the late 1940s – must have had a part in changing ideas about the brain and therefore about creativity, which could now be seen as dependent on processes of selection and arrangement, and so able to profit from systematic methods.

One of the earliest and most influential of such methods, serialism, was not meant by Schoenberg to be any more (or any less) systematic than tonal composition, and even the works of Webern, who used serialism highly systematically, do not appear to have recourse to numbers in any but the most traditional ways (such as rhythmic augmentation and diminution). Schoenberg was undoubtedly no stranger to numerology – he changed the name 'Aaron' to 'Aron' so that the title of his opera would have 12 and not 13 letters – but there is no evidence that he used numbers in the substance of his music. With Berg, though, there is abundant proof, and not only in his serial works. Indeed, a pre-serial composition, his *Kammerkonzert*, is one of the most conspicuously number-infested pieces he achieved, being constructed in units of 30 bars, on three themes, with three basic colours (piano, violin, wind): three and its multiples everywhere to celebrate the triumvirate of the Second Viennese School. Berg's conception of a 'Hauptrhythmus', in this work and others, could also have sprung from an arithmetical turn of mind. In his *Lyrische Suite* the guiding numbers, affecting both lengths in bars and metronome markings, are 23 and 50: the former, which has an important role too in *Lulu* and the Violin Concerto, he felt to be his personal number, for the reason, as he told Willi Reich, that he had suffered his first asthma attack on the 23rd of the month.

A more concealed use of numbers to control formal proportions (i.e. to do what Berg did openly) has been proposed in other music of roughly the same time, notably that of Debussy and Bartók. In both cases the golden section (*see* Golden number) is a favoured analytical goal: Howat (1983) found this in *Reflets dans l'eau*, *La mer* and other works of Debussy; Lendvai (1971) has it in Bartók's Sonata for Two Pianos and Percussion. However, neither composer said much about his compositional technique, nor left sketches to indicate that forms (or, to follow Lendvai, rhythms and scales) were numerically derived. The appearance of the Fibonacci series in a rhythmic pattern at the start of the slow movement of Bartók's Music for Strings, Percussion and Celesta (1–2–3–5–8–5–3–2–1) is suggestive, but no more, and Somfai (1996) discounted the notion that Bartók used numbers in any non-traditional way.

The new importance of pulse in Stravinsky's music, particularly during the decade from *Petrushka* (1910–11) onwards, led to rhythms based on numbers. For example, the first of the Three Pieces for string quartet (1914) has overlaid ostinatos repeating at different intervals through time, and the tempos of *The Wedding* are geared in the ratios 2:3:4. But number is less an issue here than mechanical regularity, as it is in Satie's assemblage of music by time-lengths in his music for the film episode in *Relâche* (1924). Working for the cinema encourages a composer to think in terms of absolute duration, and the arrival of film provided at least a parallel for, if not a stimulus to, the new sense of time (pulsed, chronometrical) and form (edited, cross-cut) in Stravinsky and Satie. The latter in particular, together with information brought back from Bali by McPhee, prompted Cage to base most of his works of the late 1930s and the 1940s on durational frames based on numbers, and now musical arithmetic is often to the forefront. In Cage's *First Construction (in Metal)* for percussion ensemble (1939), for instance, the sequence 4–3–2–3–4 governs the grouping of the work's 16 sections and also the grouping of bars within each section.

At the same time Messiaen was beginning to use numbers consciously in formal and rhythmic construction, influenced perhaps by Stravinsky and certainly by the importance of number in Christian symbolism. Again, pulsed rhythm was part of the game. In his work with rhythmic cells, Messiaen preferred 'non-retrogradable' (i.e. palindromic) patterns as well as figures whose lengths were determined by prime numbers. To these in the late 1940s he added, with a nod to serialism, the use of durations embodying the arithmetical series from one to 12 (e.g. demisemiquaver to dotted crotchet) and a system of rhythmic 'interversion', by which sequences of numbers expressed as durations would be changed by rule. If, to give a simplified example, the sequence 1–2–3–4 were followed by 2–3–4–1, the next sequence would have to make the same changes (1 to 2, 2 to 3, etc.) and so would be 3–4–1–2. Such procedures were stimulated by a reverence for number as part of the divine order; as for numerical symbolism, that tends to determine more often the number of movements in a work: seven (the perfect

number) in *Les corps glorieux*, *Visions de l'amen*, *Chronochromie*, *Sept haïkaï* and each part of *La Transfiguration*, for example; eight (perfection plus) in *Quatuor pour la fin du temps* and *Saint François d'Assise*; or 12 in *La nativité du Seigneur*.

Messiaen's contemporary Babbitt looked not at all to the extra-humanity or symbolic significance of numbers but rather to how mathematics might help composers to explore serialism more cogently. Combinatoriality, being a branch of set theory (*see* SET), provided an understanding of how Schoenberg and Webern had worked with like or unlike hexachords, and so suggested extensions to their procedures. The differences from Messiaen are most conspicuous at the rhythmic level, for Babbitt's inventions – the use of small durational sets amenable to inversion and retrograding, and the 'time point' system, by which the key phenomenon is the point at which an event occurs in the bar – are consonant both with Schoenbergian pitch serialism and a traditional (if highly sophisticated) understanding of rhythm as metrical.

The period immediately after World War II, when Babbitt produced his first acknowledged works, also saw a growth in number music as a result of Messiaen's influence on the younger composers who were his pupils (Boulez, later Stockhausen and Xenakis) and of new means of sound programming – not only electronic music but also, in the case of Nancarrow, the player piano. Nancarrow used this instrument from the late 1940s onwards in order to realize patterns of arithmetical durations (invented, it would seem, independently of Messiaen) and, most usually and variously, overlays of different tempos and/or metres executed by different canonic lines. In his Study no.1, for example, there are five simultaneous tempos related as 2:3:5:8:14; Study no.33 uses the tempo relationship √2:2; and Study no.27 has, around one voice in constant tempo, others in accelerandos or ritardandos defined in terms of percentages, the change being by 5%, 6%, 8% or 11% from one sound to the next.

Like the player-piano roll, magnetic tape was a handicraft medium (in the 1950s and 60s works could only be created by splicing together lengths of tape), and so invited the planning of rhythms and forms in measured durations. If no composer of electronic music equalled Nancarrow's rhythmic virtuosity, many used number systems, often by analogy with serialism. For instance, the sequence of whole numbers from one to six is important in Stockhausen's early pieces, both electronic and instrumental; later he used the Fibonacci series, most conspicuously in his *Klavierstück IX* (1961). The frequencies of electronic music also had to be determined, and here too Stockhausen used arithmetic to derive new tuning systems. Xenakis at the same time was using numerical calculations, especially from the mathematics of probability (Poisson distributions, Markov chains), to determine pitches, durations and timbres in events conceived globally; the tasks were eminently suited to computers, which he began to use in 1956.

To the extent that computers are number machines, all computer music is number music – but then any violinist playing in just intonation is also spinning integers. Numbers, in short, may be essential but not evident, and they are perhaps only likely to be evident when, as often in Messiaen and Nancarrow, and sometimes in Cage and Stockhausen, they are simple integers controlling durations, tempos or structural proportions. Nevertheless, the ubiquity of computers since the early 1980s may have encouraged composers, both in and outside the field of computer music, to think of music as a play of numbers: the later works of Ligeti, often based on numerical rules and systems that gradually produce results of high complexity, offer many examples. Ligeti is also, with John Adams, among the composers who have been spurred by the graphic results of fractal mathematics to create similar self-similar musical constructions. Minimalist music, too, may be number music: Glass's *Einstein on the Beach* begins with the chanting of numbers. And Lendvai's study, however dubious its application to its ostensible subject, surely helped promote interest in musical numbers among composers two and three generations younger.

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RUTH TATLOW (1–4), PAUL GRIFFITHS (5)

Numerology. *See* NUMBERS AND MUSIC.

Nummi, Seppo (Antero Yrjönpoika) (*b* Oulu, 30 May 1932; *d* Tampere, 1 Aug 1981). Finnish composer, critic and music administrator. He studied composition with Kilpinen (1949–54) and made several study trips abroad (e.g. to China, Italy, France and Germany). He was librarian of the Sibelius Academy, Helsinki (1956–61), music critic of the daily papers *Kauppalehti* and *Uusi Suomi* (1956–70), programme director of the Jyväskylä Arts Festival (1956–9 and 1962–8) and director of the Helsinki Festival (1969–77). He retired in 1977 and moved to Rome, where he devoted himself to composition. His belief in music as a social force was reflected in his many activities: he was founding member of the Finnish Music Library Association (1954) and the Finnish section of Jeunesses Musicales (1957), and he introduced the concept of the modern art festival to Finland. As a writer he had a special talent for exciting public debate. Before his involvement in music administration he occasionally performed as an accompanist of lieder. He was a conservative as a composer: he carried on the tradition of the German lied, citing Schumann, Wolf, Kilpinen and the Italian Renaissance madrigal as his main sources of inspiration. He wrote about 250 songs on ancient Chinese poetry (e.g. Li-Tai-Po, Jyan-Tsen and Tu-Fu) and on contemporary Finnish poetry. Other works included five madrigals (1959–60), some chamber music and piano pieces. The vocal lines of his lieder have some archaic and on occasion exotic features, and the piano accompaniment is clear and delicately drawn, like a woodcut.

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ILKKA ORAMO

Nunc dimittis (Lat). The canticle of Simeon, *Luke* ii.29–32, sung at Compline in the Latin rite and as the second canticle at Evensong in the Anglican Church. At Compline it is sung with an antiphon to the appropriate psalm tone (e.g. *LU*, 271, 784); in the Office of the Dead it is sung without antiphon 'in directum' (*LU*, 1744); at the Feast of the Purification before Mass it is sung with the antiphon *Lumen ad revelationem gentium* between each verse (v.4, textually identical with the antiphon, being omitted: *LU*, 1357).

The *Nunc dimittis* was set in polyphony rather rarely before 1550, but there is an anonymous setting with the antiphon *Lumen* in the Pepys manuscript of about 1465 (*GB-Cmc* Pepys 1236) and a *Nunc dimittis* by Costanzo Festa. There are several settings each by Palestrina and Lassus, and one by Victoria; a large number are also found in the various collections of music for Compline published in Italy during the 17th century, when attendance at this Office seems to have been a fashionable act of piety. A paired *Magnificat* and *Nunc dimittis* by Tallis anticipates later Anglican practice, in which these canticles are regularly set, either on their own or in the context of a Full Service (*see* CANTICLE, §4, and SERVICE). From England also come organ compositions based on certain antiphons to the *Nunc dimittis*, namely two anonymous settings and one by Redford of *Glorificamus te*, and three settings by Redford and one by Wynslate of *Lucem tuam* (EECM, vi, 1966; MB, i, 1951, 2/1962).

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JOHN CALDWELL

Nunes, Em(m)anuel (Tito Ricoca) (*b* Lisbon, 31 Aug 1941). Portuguese composer. He studied composition in Lisbon with Francine Benoit at the Academia de Amadores de Música (1959–63) and with Fernando Lopes Graça at the University (1962–4). He attended summer courses at Darmstadt (1963–5), moved to Paris (1964), then attended the Hochschule für Musik in Cologne (1965–7), studying with Pousseur (composition), Jaap Spek (electronic music) and George Heike (phonetics) and taking courses with Stockhausen. He returned to Paris in 1970 and a year later and won a *premier prix* for aesthetics at the Paris Conservatoire.

With a grant from the Portuguese government (1976–7) and as composer-in-residence in Berlin at the invitation of the Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst (1978–9), he organized courses at the University of Pau and at the Hochschule für Musik in Freiburg. Since 1979 he has lived alternately in Paris and Oeldorf (Cologne). From 1981 he has run seminars in composition in Lisbon sponsored by the Gulbenkian Foundation and has organized conferences and seminars in various European and North American cities. Since 1986 he has been professor of composition at the Institut für Neue Musik in Freiburg and is regularly asked to lecture at the Paris Conservatoire.

Many of his works have been performed during festivals and on the radio throughout Europe.

Nunes's work can be divided into three periods. The first, starting with *Degrés* (1965) and ending with *Impromptu pour un voyage I* (1973), displays a preference for open forms and the spatial distribution of instruments. The second phase, starting with *The Blending Season* (1973), is typified by the use of electro-acoustics (either live or on tape) and by greater instrumental effects; the first vocal compositions belong to this phase. The third phase opens with *Nachtmusik I* (1977–8), the start of a large cycle entitled *Die Schöpfung*. The agogic, temporal and spatial aspects are significant features of this cycle, one of the highlights of which is *Tif'ereth* (1978–85).

Throughout his work, two constants are evident. The first is the linking of works in pairs, such as *Purlieu* and *Dawn Wo*, or *Fermata* and *Ruf*, in which one is presented as a complement (in the sense of a positive or negative entity) to the other. The second is the revision or development of works which gives rise, on the one hand, to new versions and, on the other, to a new form of complementarity. This applies to *73 Oeldorf 75 – I* and *II*, where the enlargement of the body of instruments modifies the discursive outline of the work, producing not a modified version, but a new work intimately associated with the first.

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Orch: Seuils, 1966–7, rev. 1977; Purlieu, 21 str, 1970; Fermata, orch, tape, 1973; Es webt, 13 wind, 21 str, 1974–5, rev. 1977; Ruf, orch, tape, 1975–7; Tif'ereth, vn, ob, trbn, perc, hn, db, 6 chbr orch, 1978–85; Chessed I, 4 chbr orch, 1979; Chessed II, chbr orch, orch, 1979; Musik der Frühe, chbr orch, 1980–84, rev. 1986; Nachtmusik II, 1981; 38 sequências, vn, cl, 2 vib, str, wind, 1982, rev. 1983–4; Stretti, 2 orch, 1982–3; Wandlungen (5 Passacaglien), chbr orch, live elecs ad lib, 1986; Duktus, chbr orch, 1987; Quodlibet, chbr orch, 6 perc, orch, 1990–91; Chessed IV, str qt, orch, 1992

Vocal: Voyage du corps, 28vv, elecs, tape, 1973–4; Minnesang (J. Böhme), 12vv, 1975–6; 73 Oeldorf 75 – II, 6 choruses, tape, 1976; Vislumbre (M. Sá Carneiro), chorus, 1981–6; Machina mundi (L. de Camões, F. Pessoa), 4 solo insts, chorus, orch, tape, 1991–2

Chbr: Degrés, str trio, 1965; Esquisses, str qt, 1967, rev. 1980; Un calendrier révolu, chbr ens, 1968; Dawn wo, 13 wind inst, 1971–2; Omens, fl, cl, trbn, va, vc, hp, vib, cel, 1972, rev. 1975; The Blending Season, fl, va, cl, elec org, elecs, 1973, rev. 1976–7; Impromptu pour un voyage I, tpt, fl, va, hp, 1973; Impromptu pour un voyage II, a fl, va, hp, 1974–5; 73 Oeldorf 75 – I, tape, elec org ad lib, 1975; Nachtmusik I, va, vc, eng hn, b cl, trbn, 1977–8; Grund, fl, tape, 1982–3; Versus I, vn, cl, 1982–4; Sonata a tre, vn, va, vc, 1986 [from Wandlungen, orch, 1986]; Clivages I, 6 perc, 1987; Clivages II, 6 perc, 1988; Lichtung I, cl, b cl, hn, trb, tuba, 3 perc, vc, elecs, 1988–91; Versus III, b fl, va, 1990; Rubato, registres et resonances, vn, cl, fl, 1991; Chessed III, str qt, 1991; Versus II, euphonium, vc, 1994; Lichtung II, ens, elecs, 1996

Solo inst: Litanies du feu at de la mer I–II, pf, 1969–71; Einspielung I, vn, 1979; Einspielung II, vc, 1980; Einspielung III, va, 1981; Aura, fl, 1983–6, rev. 1989; Ludi concertati I, b fl, 1985

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P. Szendy: 'Réécrire: *Quodlibet* d'Emmanuel Nunes', *Genesis*, iv (1993), 111–32

ADRIANA LATINO

Nunes da Silva, Manuel. *See* SILVA, MANUEL NUNES DA.

Nunes Garcia, José Maurício. *See* GARCIA, JOSÉ MAURÍCIO NUNES.

Núñez, Adolfo (*b* Madrid, 21 Sept 1954). Spanish composer. He studied music at the Madrid Conservatory (1969–84), obtaining higher degrees in guitar and composition, and industrial engineering at the University of Madrid (1971–8). He completed his musical education through lessons with Bernaola, Ferneyhough, Donatoni, Brncic, Francisco Guerrero and Luis de Pablo, and with Chowning at the Center for Computer Research in Music and Acoustics at the University of Stanford, California, receiving his Master's degree in composition and in computer music. Since 1986 he has directed the Laboratorio de Informática y Electrónica Musical at the Centro para la Difusión de la Música Contemporánea. In 1983 he received the first prize in the Third National Competition of Polifonía Juvenil of Cuenca, and his works were performed during the International Gaudeamus Week in the Netherlands. In 1986 he won the second prize in the Paul and Hanna Competition (Stanford University). His works were also chosen for the International Computer Music Conferences in 1987 and 1991.

Núñez makes effective use of counterpoint to develop complex rhythms enhanced by skilfully contrived aggregations of timbre. He uses fractal mathematics to produce electronic sounds of great richness which often dialogue and interact with live instruments.

WORKS
(*selective list*)

Incid music: Zambra 44.1 (radio play), 1993

Other acoustic: Rondó, pf, 1980; Desmod, chbr orch, 1981; Sexteto pare siete, fl, piccolo cl, bn, vc, pf, mar, 1981; Ensayos, fl, ob, vc, pf, 1982; Siempre (3 canciones, A. Pérez Henare), mixed chorus, 1982; Variaciones, pf, str, 1982; Animación del cuadrado, fl, cl, fg, 2 perc, 2 vn, vc, 1984; Surcos, pf, 1985; Movimientos, orch, 1987

Tape and el-ac: Anira, tape, 1984; Canales, tape, 1985; Images, Mez, hn, tpt, trbn, pf, tape, 1986; Press, tape, 1986; Cambio de saxo, s sax, b sax, tape, 1989; Es menos dos, pf, synth, 1989: Menta re, fl, pf, cptr, 1989; The Nightingales Sing, Mez, tape, 1990; Virtual, 4 vn, 2 va, 2 vc, db, tape, 1992; Jurel, tape, 1993; Utopía-A, pf, digital processors, tape, 1996–7

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Adolfo Núñez (Madrid, 1992) [incl. list of works, bibliographical references and discography]

JOSÉ IGES

Núñez, Juan Carlos (*b* Caracas, 19 Sept 1947). Venezuelan composer and conductor. He received piano lessons from Sergio Moreira, then studied at the Escuela Superior de Música José Angel Lamas in Caracas with Vicente Emilio Sojo, Evencio Castellanos, Moisés Moleiro, Inocente Carreño and Francisco Rodrigo. In 1972 he won the national composition prize with the *Toccata sinfónica*. In disagreement with the methodical imitation of old forms as a training tool, he abandoned his formal studies in composition, and from 1973 to 1976 studied conducting in Warsaw with Stanisław Wisłocki at the State Higher School of Music. After returning to Caracas he conducted many of the country's principal orchestras, including the

Orquesta Sinfónica Venezuela, Orquesta Filarmónica de Caracas, Orquesta Filarmónica Nacional, Orquesta Sinfónica Municipal de Caracas and the National Youth Orchestra Juan José Landaeta. Between 1982 and 1985 he lived in New York. In 1994 Núñez became professor of composition at the Instituto Universitario de Estudios Musicales. He also founded the Cátedra Latinoamericana de Composición Antonio Estévez, a programme devoted to helping young composers.

Núñez was one of the first composers of his generation to promote the practice of popular music and improvisation as part of the professional sphere of the classical composer. A good part of his activity lies in collaboration with popular singers and ensembles. His prolific output explores diverse contemporary techniques, but a rhetorical or theatrical/incidental discourse remains predominant. He has won several national prizes, although the import and influence of his music has been controversial, and his polemical stance has contributed to the re-examination of entrenched viewpoints on the teaching of composition and the role of the composer in society. His views and achievements are well represented in his *Tango Cortázar* (1984) for orchestra and in his opera *Chúo Gil* (1982–90).

WORKS
(*selective list*)

Stage: Tempi latini (H. Ossott), actor, dancer, vv, sculpture, light, elecs, 1979; Chúo Gil (op, 3, A. Silva Estrada), 1982–90; Via crucis, actor, nar, soloists, chorus, orch, 1984; Música para el martirio de San Sebastián (F. García Lorca), actor, chorus, orch; Requiem a la memoria de Don Simón Bolívar; Doña Bárbara (op, 1, Núñez, after R. Gallegos); Música para los espacios cálidos (V. Gerbasi), S, 2 Mez, 2 Bar, elecs, 1993; El tambor de Damasco (op, 2, Núñez, after Y. Mishima)

Incid music: Bolívar (J.A. del Rial); A petición del público (F.X. Krötz)

Orch: Toccata sinfónica, 1972; Ritos solares, 1976; Org Conc., 1978; Salmo popular y doliente, 1978; Tango Cortázar, 1984; Poulet Conc., vc, orch, 1985; Double Conc., fl, vn, orch, 1986; Casablanca Conc., ob, bn, jazz ens, 1987; 3 cuadros de Anita Pantin, 1992; Poeta en Nueva York, str orch, 1991; 3 ziganes, vn, orch, 1993

Choral: Gran Puerta de Caracas, Mez, chorus, orch, 1987; El árbol de Chernobyl (L. Velásquez), solo v, chorus, orch, 1992; Tríptico a José María Vargas (R.M. Rilke), nar, chorus, orch., 1993; Misa de los trópicos, 1994; Tríptico con poesía de Federico García Lorca, chorus

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N. Tortolero: *Sonido que es imagen. . . imagen que es historia* (Caracas, 1996)

JUAN FRANCISCO SANS, CARMEN HELENA TELLEZ

Nunn, Trevor (Robert) (*b* Ipswich, 14 Jan 1940). English director. After studying at Cambridge and gaining a director's scholarship to the Belgrade Theatre, Coventry, he joined the Royal Shakespeare Company in 1965, becoming its youngest artistic director in 1968, a post he held until 1986. His early success at the company made generous use of original music and choreographed movement. For *The Comedy of Errors* (1976) Nunn and composer Guy Woolfenden used the text as the book for a musical comedy. In 1981 he directed Lloyd Webber's *Cats*, employing many of his stylistic solutions to its staging from his Dickens production, *The Life and Adventures of Nicholas Nickleby* (1980): a troupe of performers playing many parts, the use of shared narration, ingenious use of 'fringe' techniques, and designs by John Napier, which literally thrust the performance into the heart of the audience.

Subsequent collaborations with Lloyd Webber on *Starlight Express* (1984), *Aspects of Love* (1989) and *Sunset Boulevard* (1993) lacked the originality of *Cats* and became progressively more conventional. Although *Cats* became the longest running musical in theatre history, in purely commercial terms its success was exceeded by *Les misérables*, directed by Nunn with John Caird for the Royal Shakespeare Company in 1985; quasi-operatic, *Les misérables* suited Nunn's bold and fluid style. Of his opera productions, including *Idomeneo*, *Così fan tutte* and *Billy Budd* for Glyndebourne, only *Porgy and Bess* (1988) truly benefited from his approach.

Nunn's grounding in Elizabethan and Jacobean drama suited him well for the changing musical theatre of the 1980s, where the wit and sophistication of musical comedy were supplanted by heightened emotion and a non-cerebral appeal, more akin to the operatic experience. Nunn contributed to the move towards the musical as 'event'. Ironically, when he replaced the ailing Michael Bennett, late in the development of *Chess* (1986), he produced his finest achievement in the genre. He was appointed director of the Royal National Theatre in 1997.

ROBERT HOWIE

Nuno, Jaime (*b* S Juan de las Abadesas, nr Ripoll, 8 Sept 1824; *d* Bayside, NY, 18 July 1908). Catalan composer. He was a choirboy at Barcelona Cathedral from 1833 to 1840 and later studied briefly in Italy with Mercadante. On returning to Catalonia, he conducted local orchestras at Sabadel and Tarrasa and composed church music and dance music until becoming a military reservist in 1845. In 1851 he was sent to Havana as director of the band of the Queen's Regiment with a commission to organize Cuban military bands on the same model. In 1854 the Mexican president Santa Anna invited him to Mexico City with the rank of infantry captain. On 6 May 1854 Santa Anna initiated a competition for new music to fit the text of the national anthem written in November 1853 by Francisco González Bocanegra. The judges, all native Mexicans, awarded first prize to Nuno's anonymously submitted music on 14 August 1854, and it was given its première in the Gran Teatro Santa Anna, later renamed Nacional, on 15 September 1854, conducted by Giovanni Bottesini.

Two months after Santa Anna's deposition on 9 August 1855, Nuno followed him to Havana and from there went to New York in the company of the contralto Vestivalí. In 1857 he directed the orchestra that played at Thalberg's concerts there, in 1860 he conducted an opera company doing a season at the Teatro Tacón in Havana and in 1862 he was contracted to direct a touring Italian opera troupe organized in New York by Mazzolini and Biaceki. During the 1864 visit of this troupe to Mexico City he spent five months conducting opera at the Teatro Imperial (formerly Nacional). The troupe then visited Havana, and was eventually dissolved in 1869. Recommended by Gustave Schirmer, Nuno next established himself as a singing teacher and church organist in Buffalo. Invited to Mexico City for a third stay in 1901, he arrived on 12 September for a triumphal tour lasting a month. In 1904 he made a fourth visit, this time in search of a suitable invitation to settle there. Received coldly, he returned to Buffalo and in 1906 settled with his son at Auburndale, Bayside, where he died.

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R. Stevenson: 'Jaime Nuno after the Mexican National Anthem', *Inter-American Music Review*, ii/2 (1979–80), 103–16

ROBERT STEVENSON

Nuorvala, Juhani (Aarne Kaleva) (*b* Helsinki, 5 Dec 1961). Finnish composer. He studied composition with Hämeenniemi at the Sibelius Academy in Helsinki (1984–5, 1986–91, diploma 1991) and musicology and aesthetics at Helsinki University during the 1980s. He has also studied with Murail (1987, 1989) and Lindberg (1985); he spent 1993–4 in New York, where his teacher was Del Tredici. In addition he has attended composition courses directed by Cage, Grisey, Nono, Takemitsu and Andriessen, among others.

Nuorvala's music has exhibited many different styles. The transition from one style to the next has not been a slow process: often a new work has had quite a different stylistic goal to its predecessor. In the 1980s his interests lay closest to minimalism and the spectral music as represented by his teacher Murail, and in the 1990s pulsation and polyrhythmics became more clearly apparent. The early *Kajauksia, väreitä* ('Rings and Ripples', 1985) for female voice and six players has minimalist ingredients. *Pinta ja säe* ('Surface and Phrase', 1991), which won an award in the Vienna Modern Masters competition, is more obviously spectral music. The work is built on a positioning of contrasts: long tunes, often coloured by micro-intervals, form the 'surface' while more elastic melodic figures are the 'phrases'.

Both pulsation and Nuorvala's earlier devotion to rock music are particularly noticeable in the orchestral work *Notturno urbano* (1996), the main theme of which takes its cue from rock music, and in the earlier *Dancescapes* (1992) for string quartet. *Kellarisinfonia* ('Garage Symphony', 1995) has also felt the impact of rock and jazz. It approaches big band music, yet its harmonies are atonal. *Twitching Gait* (1993), composed during his studies in New York, is built on alternating polyrhythmic figures, and some of its melodic characteristics veer towards jazz. Nuorvala has been called Finland's most 'American' composer; his crossover approach, using elements of jazz and rock, is indeed conspicuously unusual among younger Finnish composers.

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(*selective list*)

Stage: The Cryptogram (incid music, D. Mamet), vn, 2 vc, 1996; Hetki jolloin emme tienneet mitään toisistamme [The moment we knew nothing about each other] (incid music, P. Handke), tape, 1997, collab. J. Liimatainen; Woyzeck (incid music, G. Büchner), 1998; Godot (incid music, H. Pinter), 1999

Orch: Glissements progressifs du plaisir, 1987; Pinta ja säe [Surface and Phrase], 1991; Kellarisinfonia [Garage Symphony], 1995; Notturno urbano, 1996; Cl Conc., 1998

Chbr: Kajauksia, väreitä [Rings and Ripples], female v, cl, pf, elec pf, b gui, perc, vn, 1985; Dancescapes (Str Qt no.1), 1992; Twitching Gait, fl, cl, tpt, vn, vc, 1993; 3 Impromptus, cl, kantele, 1995; 'What's a nice chord like you doing in a piece like this?', accdn qnt, 1996; Str Qt no.2, 1997

Vocal: Parole (L. Otonkonski), Bar, fl, cl + b cl, trbn, perc + sampler, 2 vn, va, vc, db, 1992

Tape: Tiksu (Mun on ikvävä sua, pentu) [Tick (I Miss You, Pet)], radiophony, 1997

Principal publishers: Fazer, Love, Suomen Musiikkioppilaitosten Liitto

OSMO TAPIO RÄIHÄLÄ

Nuova Consonanza. Contemporary music group founded in Rome in 1960. *See* Rome, §II, 4.

Nurcombe [Nurcome], **Daniel.** *See* Norcombe, Daniel.

Nuremberg (Ger. Nürnberg). City in Bavaria, Germany. Its importance as a musical centre reached a peak in the 17th century and afterwards waned with the decline of its instrument making and music printing industries. The city was founded as an imperial stronghold in the 11th century, and between the 12th and 14th centuries grew to be an important trade centre on routes linking Germany with the Mediterranean and eastern Europe. The castle lost its rights and privileges early to the town and by the mid-15th century the corporation was firmly in place. Because of this there were no aristocratic courts where the arts could flourish, but rather the city embraced craftsmanship and corporate rule. The ecclesiastical reins were also held by the city council, and Nuremberg joined the Reformation in 1524, apparently the first imperial city to do so. The Counter-Reformation had little effect on the city, although in 1649 Catholics were permitted to hold services in a chapel. By the early 17th century Nuremberg had become the largest city in the area, but afterwards declined, particularly as a result of the Thirty Years War (1618–48) and a plague in 1634.

1. To 1600. The church was at the centre of Nuremberg life. The two parts of the city, separated by the river Pegnitz, were served by the two large parish churches of St Sebaldus and St Lorenz, a number of smaller churches built in the 12th, 13th and 14th centuries (notably the Frauenkirche, the Kirche zum Neuen Spital (Spitalkirche), the Jakobskirche and the Egidienkirche), and ten churches associated with abbeys and convents. The main churches had organs by the 14th century, and by the mid-15th century some had two. Conrad Paumann, an early organ master, was born and probably trained in Nuremberg; he was organist at St Sebaldus from 1446 until 1450, when he transferred to Munich. Both his *Fundamentum organisandi* (1452) and the *Lochamer Liederbuch* (compiled in Nuremberg, 1452–60) reflect the city's musical repertory in the mid-15th century during which period the town band was also important. This had developed from the *Stadtpfeiffer* known from 1219, when musicians received a pound of pepper and a pair of leather gloves for assisting at the celebration of the removal of imperial taxes. The *Stadtpfeiffer* were recorded as early as 1363 in the city salary lists, and by the mid-15th century the band had grown to include trumpets and trombones as well as lutes and fiddles.

The city's sacred music suffered a setback at the Reformation, when the organ and polyphonic music were suppressed. They were not fully restored until 20 years later, about 1544. The chief 16th-century musicians were the teachers in the church schools of St Sebaldus, St Lorenz, and the Spital- and Egidienkirche, whose pupils provided music for the services. The theologian Cochlaeus wrote his *Tetrachordum musicae* (printed in seven editions between 1511 and 1526) for his pupils at St Lorenz, where he was rector from 1510 to 1515. The Nuremberger Sebald Heyden, a pupil of Cochlaeus, was Kantor and then rector at St Sebaldus, at which time he wrote his treatise *Musicae*, first printed in 1532.

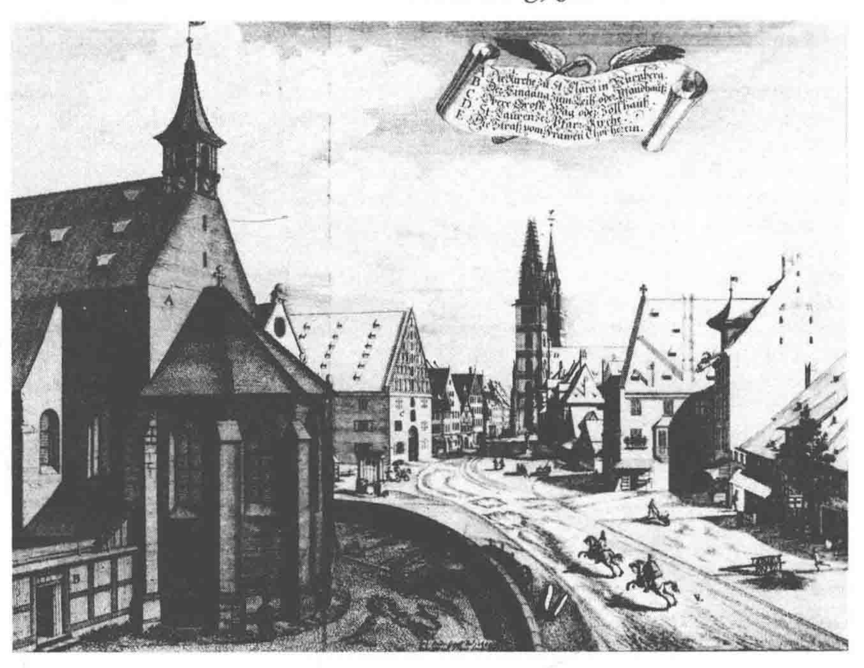
Music printing in Nuremberg began before 1500. Johannes Sensenschmidt, Johann Petreius and Georg Stuchs were among the earliest figures active there; in the 16th century they were followed by Johann Stuchs, Hieronymus Höltzel, Hans Weissenburger, Friedrich Peypus, Hieronymous Formschneider, Johann Petreius and Nicholaus Knorr. Instrument making was important in Nuremberg very early on. In 1427 Hanns Franck fashioned the first German trumpet and trombone. The Neuschel and Schitzer families were prominent in the 16th century, Georg Voll was active as an organ builder about 1540, and Hans Haiden and Sebastian Lindauer built string instruments. The Meistersinger, all local craftsmen, were most active in Nuremberg in the late 15th and 16th centuries (e.g. Hans Sachs) and are not known to have had any connection with the sacred music of the city (*see* MEISTERGESANG).

Nuremberg was now established as a major commercial city, and the size and stature of the town band reflected its importance. The band was present at all major civic events and was also available for private functions such as weddings, when the use of both band and church music was regulated by sumptuary laws. In 1590, for example, the patriciate was allowed two or three choirs, organs and performers. Established craftsmen were allowed only one organ and two *Stadtpfeiffer*. The reputation of Nuremberg's music-printing and instrument-making skills became renowned, with the Neuber, Haas and Hainlain families dominant in these fields. Lutheranism was installed as the dominant religion, and the council appointed church leaders, musicians and teachers in the schools attached to the churches. All major musicians and composers who were to emerge from Nuremberg during this and the next century were employed as church Kantors, organists or music teachers at some time in their profession.

Outside the church, group of amateurs formed 'Musikkränzleine' ('music circles'), sometimes assisted by professional musicians. Members were largely patricians, councillors, lawyers and doctors. The first such formal group was formed in 1568 and consisted of 13 men meeting weekly for a meal and music. They had the reputation of being followers of Melanchthon, and there appears to have been a preponderance of names connected



1. Frontispiece to the records of the 1588 musical society: 'Music', coloured wood engraving after M. de Vos (GB-Lbl Add.25716, f.1r)



2. Churches of St Lorenz (background) and St Klara (foreground) in what is now called Königstrasse, Nuremberg: engraving by Johann Ulrich Krauss after Johann Andreas Graff, 1680

with the church of St Sebaldus. The only musician of repute among the members was Johann Heyden, second son of Sebald Heyden and organist at St Sebaldus. A second society was set up by Ivo de Vento, who worked in or visited the city in the 1570s. He dedicated a book of four-part songs to members of the 1572 society, all members of the Nuremberg council. Leonhard Lechner, a pupil of de Vento, worked in Nuremberg from 1575, taking up a post as musician at St Lorenz's school. By 1582 he had became the town's principal musician, and before he left two years later he had written many madrigals, folksongs and masses, as well as promoting music among young men. He wrote for one specific group of young men, all of whom belonged to prominent Nuremberg families.

During this time the Nuremberg patricians began to send their sons to other German courts or European countries, especially Italy, to broaden their cultural horizons. The arts were then imported on their return, and occasionally with them came recognized musicians. Lassus, for instance, visited Nuremberg in 1581. Meanwhile the Behaim family was instrumental in bringing the arts to the young, educated patrician. Andreas, a poet, and from 1571 Rektor at St Lorenz's school, was also a founder member of the 1568 musical society. His son Paul studied in Italy and returned to Nuremberg to become a prime mover in setting up a new music circle in 1588 (fig.1). Here again a meal formed part of the meeting and fines were levied if rules were not complied with. No music from this society is extant, but the group had a preference for the Italian style. In 1594 there were visitors from Venice and in 1597 Giovanni Gabrieli visited the society meeting. Composers for the society included Friedrich Lindtner, Kantor at the Egidienkirche from 1574 until his death in 1597.

2. 1600–1700. Together with Hamburg and the Leipzig–Dresden area, Nuremberg was a leading centre of German music in the 17th century. At the beginning of the century the Hassler family was pre-eminent. Hans Leo Hassler studied in Italy after early training in Nuremberg; he was the first of many German composers to learn the Italian Baroque style at its source. His brother Kaspar was highly regarded as an organist at Nuremberg churches throughout his life; another brother, Jakob, studied in Italy with support from the Nuremberg city council, but occupied positions elsewhere. Hans Leo, after being employed by the Fugger family in Augsburg (1586–1600), was active in Nuremberg (1601–4) as *Oberster Musiker* ('head musician'), a position seemingly created for him. It was apparently under him that the long tradition of Sunday musical Vespers resembling the music-making of a collegium musicum, was established at the Frauenkirche. In the introduction to his *Kirchengesäng: Psalmen und geistliche Lieder* (1608) Hassler mentioned that the works it contained were specially sung in the Frauenkirche, which did not have its own grammar school to provide a choir, and was the only church in which Communion was not celebrated. The city council provided extra funds for the Sunday afternoon performances, at which there were biblical readings but no sermon. Organists from other churches, instrumentalists and vocalists employed by the city, apprentices and the best singers from the choirs of the church schools all came together for these concerts, which were conducted by the *Oberster Musiker*. The town band also came under his jurisdiction. In the year 1648–9 the group included four strings, three trombones and three bassoons, and some of the musicians doubled on the cornett or the recorder. Little of Nuremberg's 17th-century repertory has survived, and there are no records of what was performed at the Frauenkirche. The repertory is likely to have included polychoral sacred concertos and, later in the century, cantatas; organ music was probably also played.

Hassler's successors were less distinguished; they included Matthias Nicolai, a city assessor, director until his death in 1636, J.A. Herbst (1636–44) and Georg Walch, a bass employed by the city (1644–56). On Walch's death in 1656 the position was shared by Heinrich Schwemmer and Paul Hainlein, an organist and city musician, who continued until their deaths late in the century.

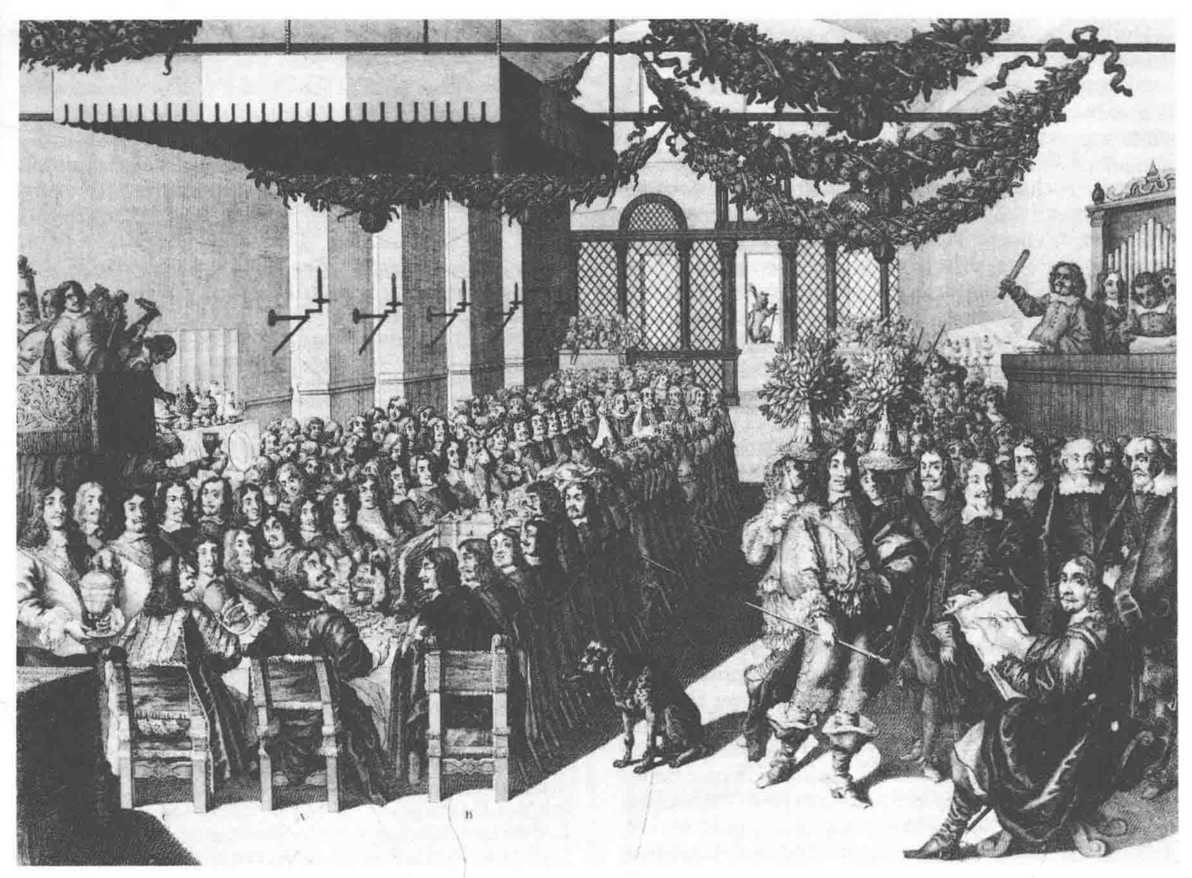
With few exceptions, the most important musicians of 17th-century Nuremberg were organists: those to hold appointments in the city included Valentin Dretzel (ii), Hainlein, Kaspar Hassler, Kindermann, Johann Krieger, Löchner, A.M. Lunssdörffer, Johann Pachelbel, Schedlich, Schultheiss, Johann and S.T. Staden and G.C. Wecker. The exceptions included Johann Philipp Krieger, whose early positions were as organist but whose chief activity was as Kapellmeister. The most coveted organist's post was that of St Sebaldus, followed in importance by St Lorenz; of the organists listed above, only the Kriegers, Kindermann and Schultheiss were not promoted to one of the two parish churches.

The main corpus of extant 17th-century Nuremberg music consists principally of sacred strophic songs for one or more voices with and without continuo, occasionally incorporating a ritornello for strings; such music could serve for domestic devotion or at weddings and funerals. The melodies have a forthright, natural style resembling folksong, and often outline the prevailing harmony; they contain few long melismas, though two notes to a syllable is a common mannerism. The melodic structure is unified by using chiefly notes of equal value and often by an echoing of melodic or rhythmic motifs. There is little repetition of text or melodic phrases, and the melody seldom reflects nuances of the text. A four-generation teacher–pupil tradition and the common stylistic traits of this music clearly constitute a 17th-century Nuremberg school. Johann Staden, who may have studied with the Hasslers, taught his son Sigmund Theophil, Kindermann and Schedlich; Kindermann taught Schwemmer, Wecker and Lunssdörffer; and Schwemmer and Wecker taught Johann Krieger, Pachelbel and probably also J.P. Krieger. A pupil of the last generation would have learnt singing and music theory from the schoolteacher Schwemmer; if he showed aptitude for music he would take part in performances at the Frauenkirche with the city's leading musicians, and would then go to Wecker for instruction on keyboard instruments and in composition.

Like all 17th-century Lutheran music, that of the Nuremberg school has a basic style of composition that is largely an extension of 16th-century practice, but with the addition of concertato techniques and a continuo part that is essentially a contrapuntal line. Other traits common to the choral works of the Nuremberg school are an instrumental melodic style with sparse use of musical–rhetorical figures, a simple harmonic style and a lack of rhythmic vitality. Only Kindermann and J.P. Krieger made expressive use of chromaticism and unprepared dissonance. The most gifted composers either left the city, tried to leave it or returned to it for only a short time. The Kriegers were never employed in Nuremberg; Herbst returned as Kapellmeister for eight years but left again; and Pachelbel, driven from Stuttgart by the French invaders in 1692, only returned to Nuremberg for the last ten years of his life. Johann Kindermann did not leave, but all his life sought positions elsewhere. With the exception of Johann Staden, the other composers remained in Nuremberg during their entire professional lives, but were comparatively unimportant figures. Nuremberg's lack of appeal to musicians is partly explained by the effects of the Thirty Years War. During this time the city lost much of its foreign trade and consequently incurred many debts; however, the city paid its musicians well despite the war. The chief reason was probably the conservative and bourgeois Nuremberg culture, which



3. Detail of a spinet lid painted in 1619 by Frederik van Valkenborch (seen to the extreme right, holding a palette); also identifiable are Johann Staden (playing the claviorgan), to his left Lucas Friedrich Behaim (bass viol), and also on the extreme right the organ builder Stephen Cuntz (with an organ pipe) and instrument maker Paul Wissmaier (with a tuning hammer) – the other three players are probably relatives of Behaim, and may have become members of the 1626 musical society



4. Banquet with music at the Nuremberg town hall, 25 September 1649, celebrating the end of the Thirty Years War: engraving by Georg Daniel Heumann, 1649; the conductor on the right is S.T. Staden

emphasized a civic pride in German art while neglecting foreign accomplishments.

However, as in the 16th century, the city's musical life was enriched by amateur music circles where foreign music was enjoyed. Both Kriegers dedicated instrumental works to such groups, including the Schönerischer Music-Collegio and the Kaufmännische Collegium Musicum. The 1588 society, after its demise in 1602, was set up again in 1626 by Lucas Friedrich Behaim, son of Paul Behaim (fig.3). The records finish abruptly in 1629. Johann Staden and his son Sigmund Theophil Staden, organist at St Lorenz, were major composers for this society. S.T. Staden also mounted an elaborate concert in 1643, tracing the development of music from earliest times under the title 'Entwerfung des Anfangs, Fortgangs, Änderungen, Brauchs und Missbrauchs der Edlen Music'. The concert included music of the angels, music recorded at the beginning of the world and music of the Hebrews, all by Staden himself, and works of Lassus, Hassler, Giovanni Gabrieli and Johann Staden.

However, the chief circle in Nuremberg at that time in the field of the arts was the Pegnesische Blumenorden, which also sponsored concerts. Founded in 1644 by Harsdörffer and Johann Klaj, the Blumenorden consisted largely of local poets and clerics, who wrote most of the song texts for the Nuremberg composers. In 1649, at a banquet celebrating the end of the Thirty Years War, music was performed by a group of 43 musicians, also under the direction of S.T. Staden (fig.4). Löhner and S.T. Staden were the only Nurembergers to write operas, and in 1667 the first opera house in Nuremberg was established.

3. After 1700. Success with the manufacture of brass instruments apparently continued well into the 18th century, and one of the city's instrument makers, J.C. Denner, was noted for the manufacture of the chalumeau and clarinet. Among printers active in the 18th century were Johann Ulrich Haffner, Johann Ernst Altenburg and Balthasar Schmidt, who was also a composer. However Charles Burney, travelling through Europe in the mid-18th century commented that only in Nuremberg was music engraved rather than printed with type, and that there was only one musician of note: Agrel, the town musical director until 1765. Nuremberg was now heavily in debt and reduced to provincial status. It was visited by Mozart in 1780 ('an ugly town', he wrote in a letter), Haydn in 1792 and Beethoven in 1795. Works by these composers were also played in the city.

Only in the 19th century did Nuremberg begin to emerge once again as a musical centre, though of lesser status than in its golden age. In 1821 the town music director Blumröder formed a singing school, the forerunner of the conservatory. In 1829 the first men's group was organized, followed in 1842 by a Mozart society. Wagner visited Nuremberg in 1835, and a church music festival was established in 1885.

During the 20th century the city's opera and orchestra became major musical attractions, if of no more than local importance. A new opera house was built in 1905. Before the Hitler years there was a tendency to embrace contemporary music (Stravinsky played his Capriccio here), and the city became well known as a centre for operetta. Richard Strauss brought *Frau ohne Schatten* and *Feuersnot* in 1924–5 and Weill's *Der Protagonist* was given as part of its première tour in 1927–8. All the major opera singers performed in Nuremberg during these years, and such musicians as the bass-baritone Jaro Prohaska and producer Rudolf Hartmann began their careers in the city, and Richard Holm was born there. From 1928 until the war years the city introduced not only major light opera works but new chamber works at the Ars Nova concerts.

The Nazi era brought its own musical style, and carried Nuremberg to the fore when the city became the party conference centre in 1933. *Die Meistersinger* was performed as the highpoint of the first day's events, and was to return at the conference every year. Nuremberg sponsored the young musician Hans Grimm. Gottfried Müller, born in Dresden in 1914, achieved some fame for his stirring national songs as a teenager, and after the war continued his musical career. In 1961 he was appointed professor of composition at the Nuremberg Conservatory. Other musicians' connections with Nuremberg are tenuous. Distler was a native, but left the city after his secondary schooling. The Berg family included wealthy Nuremberg merchants, but Berg himself had no connection with the city. Hans Gebhard moved to Nuremberg to pursue a career in music; he taught at a girls' school, directed the Chor- und Orchesterklub in the Nuremberg Merkur society, and specialized mostly in choral music, especially with young people. His brother Max became conductor of the Gesang- und Orchesterverein and a professor at the conservatory. Karl Thieme moved to Nuremberg as a school musician before being appointed lecturer in music at Erlangen University, Nuremberg. Willi Spilling (1909–65) was born in the city and studied there and in Berlin before becoming an assistant at Erlangen University. He was the founder of the Collegium Musica and a chamber trio. From 1948 he led the music department at the Nuremberg studio of Bavarian Radio. He was also instrumental in reviving the Ars Nova concerts under the auspices of Bavarian Radio.

After the war the city was able once again to return to its cultural pursuits, and a number of amateur, semi-professional and professional musical groups were founded: the Städtisches Orchester, the Fränkische Landesorchester (later the Nuremberg SO), several chamber orchestras, the Singgemeinschaft, the Madrigalchor and the Nürnberger Philharmonische Chor. The city's historical interest in the organ has been continued with an annual international organ week (Musica Sacra), sponsored by the city council since 1952. A chair in musicology at the University of Erlangen-Nürnberg (founded in 1743) was inaugurated in 1956; its first incumbent was Bruno Stäblein, who established a tradition of plainchant study there. In 1963 the Meistersingerhalle – the first major concert hall complex in the city – was opened. A historical collection of musical instruments, established in 1859 in the Germanisches Museum, has grown into a sizeable collection, but of the little surviving Nuremberg music, that held by the Staatsarchiv was transferred in 1894 to Munich (*D-Mbs*).

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HAROLD E. SAMUEL/SUSAN GATTUSO

Nurïmov, Chary (*b* Bairam-Alisk, 1 Jan 1941). Turkmen composer. He graduated from the Gnesin Institute in Moscow where he studied with Litinsky and after some postgraduate work joined the Ashkhabad Institute of Arts (1972). He became head of the Turkmen Composers' Union in 1977 and has received numerous awards and prizes including People's Artist of the Turkmen Republic (1986) and the State Prize of the USSR (1987). He wrote the first Turkmen ballet, *Gibel' sukhoveya* ('Death of the Arid Wind'), in 1967. This and his other works – which include a popular Trumpet Concerto – combine Western tradition with Turkmen folk music; some of his compositions were inspired by the beauty of particular melodies found in Turkmen songs and dances.

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RAZIA SULTANOVA

Nürnberg (Ger.). *See* NUREMBERG.

Nürnberger. German family of bowmakers. Christian Gottlob Nürnberger (*b* Markneukirchen, 31 Dec 1792; *d* Markneukirchen, 17 Aug 1868), whose father and grandfather were both violin makers, was the first bowmaker of the family, being first recorded as such in 1823. His son, Franz Albert Nürnberger (i) (*b* 19 Aug 1826; *d* 26 May 1894) made very high quality bows in an old German style; they are unsigned. Franz Albert (i) and his son, Franz Albert (ii) (*b* Markneukirchen, 24 April 1854; *d* Markneukirchen, 15 Feb 1931), were founding members of the Bogenmacherinnung Markneukirchen, where they are recorded as Albert sen. and Albert jun.

Franz Albert (ii) began a very successful business relationship with the Wurlitzer Company, Cincinnati, early in the 20th century. About this time he began to offer a new Tourte-type model, which became the typical 'Nürnberger bow'. His bows are made of the finest materials and they were as highly regarded as those of his French counterparts. His son, Carl Albert Nürnberger (*b* Markneukirchen, 28 Oct 1885; *d* Markneukirchen, 2 March 1971), became his successor. It was Carl Albert, working with his brother Philipp Paul (*b* 29 Jan 1882; *d* 6 April 1946), who perfected the 'Nürnberger bow'. His bows were played by some of the most famous artists of his time, including Fritz Kreisler, Eugène Ysaÿe and David Oistrakh. Carl Albert was succeeded by his son, Karl Albert (*b* 22 April 1906; *d* 9 Oct 1972), and grandson, Christian Albert (*b* 12 Dec 1947).

Expert knowledge is required to distinguish the work of the various members of the family, as the stamp ALBERT NÜRNBERGER was used for most of the 20th century.

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KLAUS GRÜNKE

Nussio, Otmar (*b* Grosseto, 23 Oct 1902; *d* Lugano, 22 July 1990). Swiss conductor, composer and flautist of Hungarian descent. He studied at Milan and in Rome under Respighi, then in 1936 settled in Zürich, teaching the flute at the conservatory until 1938 when he became director of the Orchestra della Radio della Svizzera Italiana until 1966; he maintained this position until 1968; his other function was head of programming of the musical department of Radio della Svizzera italiana. In 1953 he founded the Concerti di Lugano, of which he was the artistic director until 1966. His music avoids modern elements and is characterized by a faithfulness to traditional forms, a descriptive quality and skilful orchestration. His celebratory *Vita ticinese* (1941) reveals his attachment to the typically Swiss *Festspiel.* In his later years he turned to poetry: his collection *Il caleidoscopio d'un ottuagenario* was published in 1985.

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KURT VON FISCHER/R/CARLO PICCARDI

Nüssle. *See* NISLE family.

Nut (i) (Fr. *sillet*; Ger. *Sattel*, *Obersattel*; It. *capo tasto*). In string instruments, the thin ridge inserted between the pegbox and fingerboard, and at a right angle to them (*see* VIOLIN, fig.5). It is generally of ebony or other hardwood, but sometimes of ivory (especially in early instruments). The strings, secured at the lower end of the instrument, run over the bridge and then over the nut to the pegs or other tightening devices. The nut serves to raise the strings sufficiently above the fingerboard to allow the open strings to sound freely in a given length from nut to bridge and, like the bridge, it holds the strings at fixed distances apart by means of grooves cut in its top.

For the meaning of 'nut' when speaking of a bow *see* FROG.

DAVID D. BOYDEN/R

Nut (ii). In harpsichords the term that usually denotes the non-sounding bridge located on the wrest plank near the tuning pins. Some harpsichords have free soundboard wood under the nut. In a virginal, if both bridges are placed on free soundboard (which is usual) the left-hand bridge (assuming the tuning pins are on the right as seen from the keyboard) is usually designated the nut. Usage on this point is not consistent.

DAVID D. BOYDEN/R

Nuwera, Abdel-Halim. Egyptian composer and conductor. *See* EGYPT, §II, 2(v).

Nux, Johannes. *See* NUCIUS, JOHANNES.

Nuyts, Frank (*b* Ostend, 3 Feb 1957). Belgian composer and percussionist. He studied music theory and percussion at the Ghent Conservatory, where he now teaches percussion. He studied composition at the IPEM with Goethals, who influenced his early works in the use of total serial techniques and a preference for South American atmosphere (e.g. *Alejandome del camino*). In the early 1980s Nuyts found his own way: in *Sonivers II* he uses cellular development and tries to reconcile serialism with tonality. His music became more playful and humorous, using driving and swinging rhythms (*Rastapasta* and *Woodnotes*). After performing his music with groups such as Membra and De Giek, in 1989 Nuyts founded Hard Score, which uses synthesizers, digital keyboards, drums and percussion to recreate the uninhibited qualities of a rock band. He has written homages to stars from the pop world in *Prince's Pride*, *Death, where's thy Sting* and *Za-va-pa (zencore)*, parts of the cycle *Quirks*. In 1993 he returned to traditional instruments in some large compositions, without however renouncing the ideas tried out in Hard Score (with which he is still involved). In 1980 he was awarded the Tenuto Prize by Belgian Radio and Television for his orchestral work *Alsof de hand nooit meer weggaat. . .*; in 1995 he received the Ghent culture prize.

WORKS
(*selective list*)

Inst: Alejandome del camino, fl, pf, 1976; Alsof de hand nooit meer weggaat. . . (H. Claus), orch, 1979; Bombos del sol, 2 perc, 1981; Savannah, fl, hn, 2 perc, 1982; Squib, large chbr orch, 1984–5; Rastapasta, (melodic inst, b inst, kbd)/(fl, db, 12 str)/2 kbd, 1986; Woodnotes, conc., mar, chbr orch, 1987; A Sym. of Scraps, orch, 1988; Quirks, fl, b cl, pf, 1989; music for pf, perc

Vocal: Sonivers II (Immediaciones de la noche) (P. Neruda, P. Eluard), S, reciter, chbr orch, tape, 1980–81; Ga.n (scenic cant., F. Thooft), 3 S, T, reciter, 3 synth, Wavestation, 1992–3; Sym. no.2 'Wal' (Thooft), S, pf, orch, 1993

Works for Hard Score (synths, digital kbds, drum kit, perc unless otherwise stated): Water Music, S, synths, digital kbds, drum kit, perc, 1989–90; B-Side Art, 1990; Hard Scores, Bks 1–2, 1994–5; transcrs. of Rastapasta, Woodnotes and Quirks

Principal recording companies: Etcetera, BRTN Radio 3, Paul Klinck Productions, Vox Temporis

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YVES KNOCKAERT

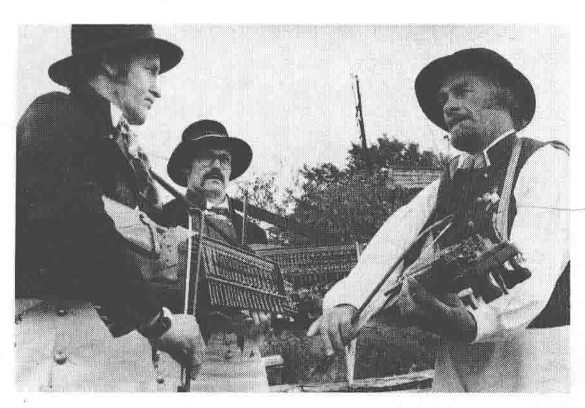
NWA [Niggaz with Attitude]. American rap group. They first gained public prominence with the album *Straight Outta Compton* (Ruthless, 1988), produced by band members Dr Dre (Andre Young) and DJ Yella (Antoine Carraby), with raps by Eazy-E (Eric Wright), MC Ren (Lorenzo Patterson) and Ice Cube (Oshea Jackson). Furiously energetic, raw and confrontational, tracks such as 'Fuck tha police', 'Straight outta Compton' and 'Gangsta Gangsta' precipitated an FBI investigation and media outcry. NWA countered with the claim that they were simply journalists recording the reality of black life in deprived areas such as South Central Los Angeles. Despite a lack of radio or television support the album sold in large quantities and launched the West Coast style of rap known as GANGSTA RAP. Soon after, the group began to split apart. Claiming unpaid royalties, Ice Cube left to pursue a highly successful solo career. His departure was followed by Dr Dre, who became one of the most significant rap producers and entrepreneurs of the mid-1990s, working with Snoop Doggy Dogg and Tupac Shakur among others. NWA's album *Efil4zaggin* (Ruthless, 1991) was even more extreme in its language and subject matter than *Straight Outta Compton*. In the UK, copies were seized under the Obscene Publications Act and only returned after a successful court action by Island Records, the distributing company. After a career of acrimony and controversy, NWA splintered into solo projects, finally ending with the AIDS-related death of Eazy-E in 1995.

DAVID TOOP

Nyckelharpa [nyckelgiga] (Swed.; Ger. *Schlüsselfiedel*). A bowed chordophone with a key mechanism, formerly known in England as 'keyed fiddle'. Like the HURDY-GURDY, the strings are stopped by tangents held in keys placed at right-angles to the neck and pressed by the fingers; they are played with a short hand-held bow, however, not with a rosined wheel.

As far as can be ascertained, the *nyckelharpa* first existed in Scandinavia; it has survived until modern times within a small area of Sweden centred around the province of Uppland. The earliest iconographical sources are chiefly to be found in 15th- and 16th-century frescoes, although a relief on the south portal of Källunge church, on the island of Gotland, dating from about 1350, depicts a figure playing an instrument that appears to be a *nyckelharpa*. The oldest extant *nyckelharpan*, from the 16th and 17th centuries, have two different forms: one with an elongated body in the shape of a figure-of-eight with a flat bottom and a flat belly, separately made; the other with either a pear- or a boat-shaped body, made in a single piece with the neck, and with a slightly vaulted belly. The boat shape became normal from the late 17th century, with marked middle bouts, a high border and a strongly vaulted belly with two oval soundholes. During the 20th century the body came to resemble that of the violin family, with a slightly vaulted belly and two f-holes. The bottom and the belly are now often made separately and the wooden tuning-pegs are supplemented or even replaced by a guitar-like tuning mechanism.

One of the two earliest types of *nyckelharpa* was known as the *enkelharpa* (single harpa). It had one melody string and one or more drone strings. The bridge was flat, so that the melody string and one or two of the drone strings could be bowed simultaneously. On the other type, known as the *mixturharpa*, the keys were fitted with a second tangent, thereby permitting one or more of the strings adjacent to the melody string to be stopped simultaneously. Sympathetic strings were first added during the 17th century. In an 18th-century type, known as the *kontrabasharpa* (contra-drone harpa), the extra tangent was applied to a bass string on the opposite side of the drone strings from the main melody string, thus creating a second melody string. This type of instrument has survived until modern times in an unbroken tradition. The *silverbasharpa* was developed in the 19th century from the *mixturharpa* by the addition of a second row of keys below the first, permitting the 'mixture' string to be stopped independently of the main melody string (while still bowing the drone string). The modern chromatic *nyckelharpa* was created by August Bohlin in 1923. This had a third bowed string with its own keys, and the principle of applying several tangents on each key was abandoned. Instruments with four rows of keys and four



Nyckelharpan played by Curt Tallroth (left), Leif Alpsjö (centre) and Nisse Nordström (right); the latter two instruments are by Sahlström nyckelharpas

bowed strings are also played. On three- and four-row instruments the shape of the bridge is similar to that of the violin, so that each melody string may be bowed separately. The four-row type is generally tuned in fifths (*g–d′–a′–e″*, or a fifth lower); the *silverbasharpa* and the three-row *nyckelharpa* are tuned *c–g–c′–a′*.

From a low point in the mid-20th century when the *nyckelharpa* was played by only a few hundred musicians, there has been a resurgence of interest in the instrument since about 1970, due largely to the influence of the maker, composer and performer Eric Sahlström (1912–86); Åsa Jinder and the Nordman group have also played an important role in increasing the instrument's popularity. The *nyckelharpa* is now heard in other genres besides traditional music (chiefly popular music) and its use has begun to spread outside the Nordic region, albeit on a limited scale. The World Championships in *Nyckelharpa* Playing, held at various locations in Sweden, has attracted participants from Britain and the USA.

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GUNNAR FREDELIUS

Nyert, Pierre de. *See* NIERT, PIERRE DE.

Nyeuwenhuys [Nyhoff]. *See* NIEHOFF family.

Nygryn, Georg. *See* ČERNÝ, JIŘÍ.

Nyiregyházi, Ervin (*b* Budapest, 19 Jan 1903; *d* Los Angeles, 13 April 1987). American pianist of Hungarian birth. At the age of two he began to play the piano, and at four he started to compose; as a child prodigy, he was the subject of a detailed study (see Révész). He took piano lessons first with Lamond and, from 1914, with Dohnányi. His public appearances, including a performance of Liszt's Second Piano Concerto under Nikisch in Berlin (1918) and a New York début (1920), aroused highly favourable comment. His career, however, failed to develop, and although he performed occasionally in the 1920s and 30s (Schoenberg was much impressed by his free, romantic style in 1935) he was reduced to working chiefly in film studios in the Los Angeles area. He continued to compose, and is thought to have written over 700 works. In 1974, in San Francisco, he was again heard in a semi-private recital, and made such an impression that he was taken up by those interested in the history of piano playing, notably the International Piano Archives, and made several recordings. In style he was influenced by Liszt, Busoni and Paderewski; his slow tempos, textual freedoms and individuality of interpretation aroused particular comment.

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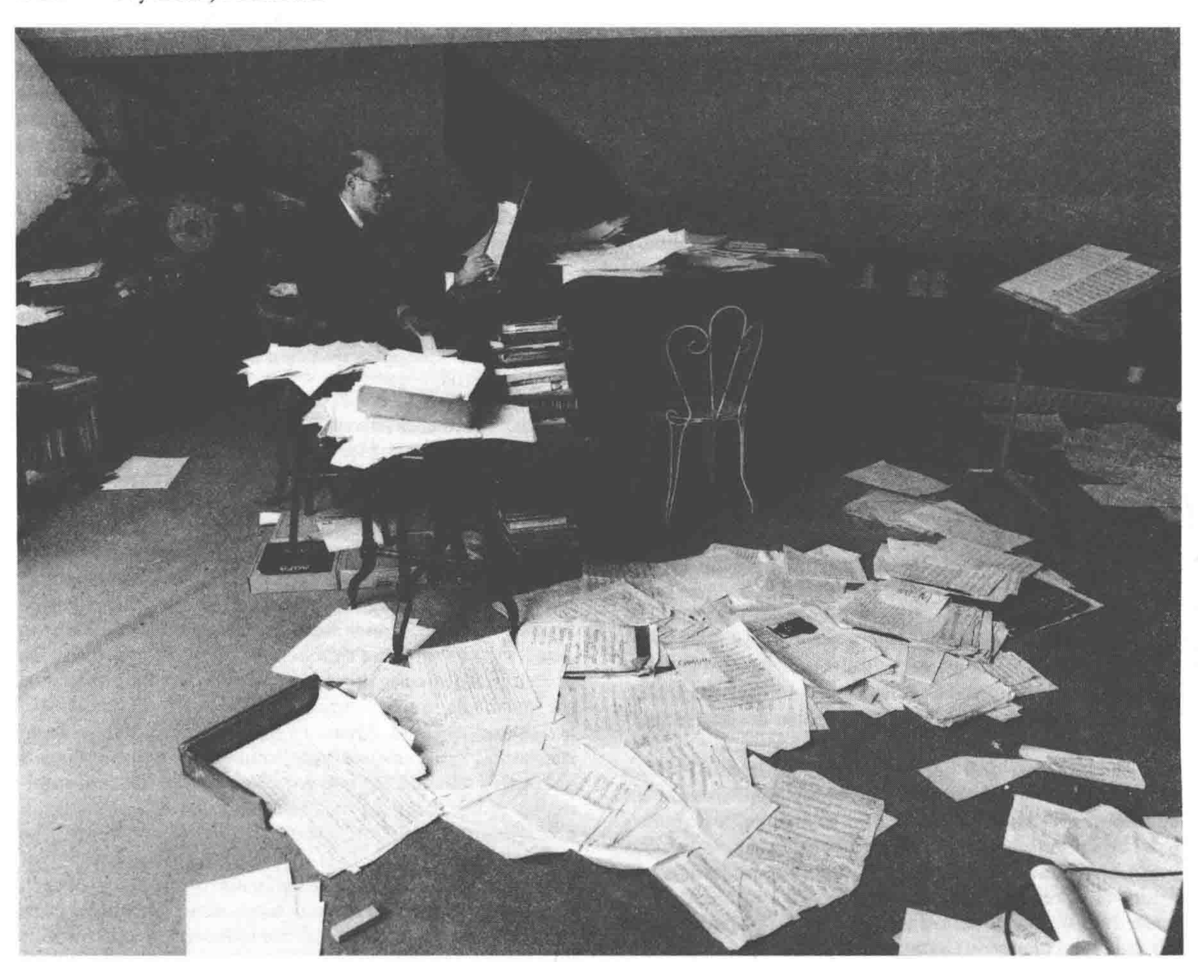
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□

Nylandensis, Theodoricus Petri. *See* THEODORICUS PETRI NYLANDENSIS.

Nyman, Michael (Laurence) (*b* London, 23 March 1944). English composer. He studied composition with Alan Bush at the RAM (1961–4) and musicology with Dart at King's College, London (1964–7). He also spent time collecting folk music in Romania (1965–6). After showing early promise as a composer, he fell silent for almost a decade, during which he worked variously as an editor, librettist and performer, and as a music critic for *The Spectator*, *The Listener* and the *New Statesman*. It was in *The Spectator* in 1968 that he first applied the description 'minimal' to music, though the claim that he introduced the term to music criticism has been disputed (see Strickland, 241–4). Nyman's earliest work, dating from the mid-1970s, shows the influence of John Cage's aesthetics and the techniques of experimental and minimalist music, both of which he had charted in his book *Experimental Music* (London, 1974). For instance, the multiple piano piece *1–100* (1976) employs a series of 100 chords, descending gradually across the range of each piano part in a circle-of-fourths motion, to control both the note-to-note details and the overall form. Durations meanwhile are indeterminate, the performers proceeding through the music at their own pace.

Like many musicians associated with the English experimental movement, Nyman found himself teaching in fine art rather than music departments, holding posts (from the late 1960s) at Trent Polytechnic, Nottingham University and Goldsmith's College, London. These liberating creative environments led him towards a tactile and intuitive approach to sound and timbre. Pre-existing materials form the basis of much of his early music, including *In Re Don Giovanni* (1977) and his first film scores for the director Peter Greenaway. While his use of quotation suggests parallels with the early work of Bryars and Christopher Hobbs, the techniques of layering, stratifying, reordering and superimposing that Nyman uses to transform his material more closely resemble those of film and popular music production. Also during this period he began to develop with an ensemble of his own the vibrant and uncompromising sound world of the 'street band' he had employed for the National Theatre's production of Goldoni's *Il Campiello* (1976). The Michael Nyman Band fused the abrasive, amplified timbres and motoric rhythms of rock with the string and brass writing of the classical tradition. For more than a decade, it provided Nyman with plenty of scope for timbral variety, dynamic flexibility and textural contrast, from the forthright articulation and rhythmic propulsion of the score for Greenaway's *The Draughtsman's Contract* (1982) to the gentle, understated textures of the chamber opera *The Man who Mistook his Wife for a Hat* (1986). Increasingly



Michael Nyman, 1993

during the 1990s, however, Nyman sought ways in which to incorporate this sound into an extended orchestral context, or even, for instance in the Trombone Concerto (1995), to dispense with it altogether.

Whereas Nyman's compositions during the 1980s referred explicitly to the works of past composers, the works of the following decade were marked by a concern with self-quotation, in particular the reworking of materials drawn from film scores or other dramatic contexts into independent, large-scale concert pieces. The score for *Prospero's Books* (1990), itself partly derived from *La traversée de Paris* (1989), proved particularly fertile in this respect: it gave rise not only to a suite (1994), but also to *Ariel Songs* (1990–91), *Masque Arias* (1991) and parts of *Noises, Sounds and Sweet Airs* (1994), otherwise based largely on *La princesse de Milan* (1989).

The 1990s also saw a significant change in Nyman's style: a move towards a more intimate expressivity characterized by sustained and resonant textures, and a broader approach to melodic writing. Early examples are found in the more reflective moments of *Prospero's Books* (1990) and the subtle shifts of mood and emphasis in the *Six Celan Songs* (1990). Allied with this lyricism was an increasing gravitation towards folk music. In the String Quartet no.3 (1990) Nyman drew on the Romanian sources he had studied in the 1960s, while in the score for Jane Campion's *The Piano* (1992) a series of traditional Scottish melodies is subjected to melodic, rhythmic and harmonic transformations.

Though Nyman draws on his knowledge and experience of American minimalism, distinctive elements of his musical language set it apart from those influences. He has spoken of his more 'intuitive' approach to process, in which 'the ear rather than the process is the initial and final arbiter' (1977, p.7). Moreover, the prominence of the bass in his music, as well as suggesting the influence of rock, creates a harmonic stability and rootedness more characteristic of the European tonal tradition than of American minimalism. It is this often curious confluence of classical harmonic functions and rock rhythms and textures that provides Nyman's music with a rich and effective fusion of the codes of 'high' and popular art.

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Writs (TV op, J. Newson, after Mozart), 1991, BBC, 10 Nov 1991, staged London, Shaw, 24 June 1992; Noises, Sounds and Sweet Airs (op), 1994, Tokyo, Globe, 7 Dec 1994

MICHAEL NYMAN BAND

for a combination of the following: 2 s sax + a sax, bar sax + fl/pic, hn, tpt, b trbn/euphonium, pf, 3 vn, va, 2 vc, b gui

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Other: In Re Don Giovanni, 1977, arr. str qt, 1991; Bird List, 1979, rev. 1985; Water Dances, 1984, arr. 2 pf; Memorial, 1985 [from film score The Cook, the Thief, his Wife and her Lover]; La traversée de Paris, S, SATB, Michael Nyman Band, 1989; 6 Celan Songs, A, Michael Nyman Band, 1990; L'orgie parisienne (A. Rimbaud), S/Mez, Michael Nyman Band, 1990; Ariel Songs (W. Shakespeare), S, Michael Nyman Band, 1990–91 [from film score Prospero's Books]; The Final Score, 1992; The Upside-Down Violin, Michael Nyman Band, orch, 1992; MGV (Musique à grande vitesse), Michael Nyman Band, orch, 1993; Prospero's Books, suite, 1994 [from film score]; After Extra Time, 1996

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Orch: Where the Bee Dances, s sax, orch, 1991; The Piano Conc., pf, orch, 1993 [based on film score]; Conc., hpd, str, 1995; Trbn Conc., 1995; Double Conc., vc, sax, orch, 1997; Strong on Oaks, Strong on the Causes of Oaks, str, 1998

Other inst: Bell Set No.1, metal perc, 1972; 1–100, pfs, 1976; Think Slow, Act Fast, 2 pan pipes, 2 a sax, 2 pf, 2 b gui, 2 perc, 1981, version for Michael Nyman Band; I'll Stake my Cremona to a Jew's Trump, 1v + vn, 1v + va, elecs, 1983; Str Qt no.2, 1988 [choreog. S. Jeyasingh as Miniatures]; Zoo Caprices, vn, 1985 [based on film score A Zed and Two Noughts]; Shaping the Curve, s sax, pf, 1990, arr. s sax, str qt, 1991; Str Qt no.3, 1990; Masque Arias, brass qnt, 1991 [based on film score Prospero's Books]; Time Will Pronounce, vn, vc, pf, 1992; For John Cage, 4 tpt, 2 hn/2 double flugelhorn, 3 t trbn, tuba/euphonium, 1992; The Convertibility of Lute Strings, hpd, 1992; Songs for Tony, sax qt, 1993; Yamamoto Perpetuo, vn, 1993; 3 Qts, sax qt, hn, tpt, trbn, tuba, str qt, 1994; Str Qt no.4, 1995; Carrington (film score, dir. C. Hampton), s sax + a sax, a sax + t sax, hn, pf, 6 vn, 4 va, 3 vc, b gui, 1995; Va and Pf, 1995

Vocal: Self-Laudatory Hymn of Innana and her Omnipotence (Ancient Near Eastern texts relating to the Old Testament, trans. S. Kramer), Ct, viols, 1992, version for C, str orch, 1995

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K.R. Schwarz: *Minimalists* (London, 1996)

PWYLL AP SIÔN

Nystedt, Knut (*b* Oslo, 3 Sept 1915). Norwegian composer. His first teachers were Arild Sandvoild (organ) and Reimar Riefling (piano). He later studied theory and composition with Brustad and in the USA with Copland in 1947; Fjeldstadt gave him instruction in conducting. Between 1946 and 1982 Nystedt held the position of organist and choirmaster at the Torshov Church in Oslo. In 1950 he founded Det norske solistkor, with which he toured throughout the world, often presenting new works in the choral repertory. The group quickly acquired an outstanding reputation.

Nystedt's first compositions were in a national Romantic style, making conscious use of folkloric elements within a modal harmonic and melodic language. After World War II he moved rapidly in the direction of neo-classicism, influenced primarily by Hindemith as well as Poulenc and Honegger; the extrovert and strongly rhythmic *Symphony for Strings* op.26 (1950) is typical of this period. With the renewal of Norwegian church music in the late 1950s Nystedt composed a collection of motets for the Protestant liturgy and was subsequently a much sought-after choral composer in the USA. In the 1960s he became attracted to the timbral developments in the music of Ligeti and Penderecki. This preoccupation is evident in the cantata *Lucis creator optime* op.58 (1968), one of his most significant works, in which he reaped the benefits of his practical experience in both choral and orchestral music. In the 1970s Nystedt played a significant role in introducing neo-romantic and pluralist traits into Norwegian music. In works such as *Shells* (1973) he developed new choral techniques with, again, a strong emphasis on timbral possibilities. Characteristic of his compositional technique is his integration of modern timbral experiments into a tonal framework with clear traditional points of reference. With unfailing artistry he has shown a remarkable ability to adapt new musical developments to his own, personal style. His inventiveness continued unabated in the 1980s and 90s.

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Chbr: 5 str qts, 1938–88; The Moment, op.52, S, cel, perc, 1962; Pia memoria, requiem, 9 brass insts, 1971; Rhapsody in Green, op.82, brass qnt, 1978; Messa per percussione, op.122, 1990

Choral: The Burnt Sacrifice, Biblical scene, op.36, reciter, chorus, orch, 1954; De profundis, op.54, mixed chorus, 1964; Audi, 8vv, 1968; Lucis creator optime, op.58, solo vv, chorus, orch, 1968; Suoni, op.62, female vv, fl, mar; Shells, op.70a, female vv, 1973; Kärlekens lov, op.72, female chorus, 1975; O crux, op.79, mixed chorus, 1977; Veni, op.81a, 8vv, 1978; A Hymn of Human Right, op.5, vv, org, perc, 1982; For a Small Planet, op.100, chorus, str qt, hp, reciter, 1983; Missa brevis, op.102, mixed chorus, 1984; 3 geistliche Lieder, op.120, mixed chorus, 1990; Festo pentecostes, op.136, female vv, 1993; Miserere, op.140, 16vv, 1993; One Mighty Flowering Tree, op.141, chorus, brass, perc, 1994; Kristnikvede, op.144, mixed chorus, orch, 1994

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HARALD HERRESTHAL

Nystroem, Gösta (*b* Silvberg, Dalarna, 13 Oct 1890; *d* Särö, 9 Aug 1966). Swedish composer and painter. The son of a headmaster, organist, amateur painter and botanist, he grew up in Österhaninge. His father encouraged him to play the piano and gave him lessons in harmony and composition; until he was 11 he sang in the church choir, and from the age of 12 he deputized for his father as organist. At 15 he began private piano and harmony studies with Lundberg and Bergenson in Stockholm, and in the next year, after he had been refused admission to the conservatory, he studied in Strängnäs to become a primary-school teacher. He was able to study at the Swedish Royal Academy of Music in 1913–14, while taking private composition lessons from Hallén, but he was discontented there and went to Copenhagen, where he studied painting and composition for four years. After brief music studies in Germany he went to Paris in 1920, and there he remained for 12 years in the company of Scandinavian and French artists. He had lessons in composition and instrumentation from d'Indy and Sabaneyev and in conducting from Chevillard. After his return to Sweden he became a pugnacious music critic for the *Göteborgs Handels- och sjöfartstidning* (1932–47). He made painting trips along the Mediterranean coasts of Spain and France, and he held exhibitions in Copenhagen, Stockholm and Paris. Apart from his father, the greatest influences to which he admitted were from painters: Piero della Francesca, Braque and Adrian-Nilsson.

As a composer Nystroem worked best on a large scale, sufficient to allow his music to grow steadily and organically from its initial ideas. Much of his early work, including a piano concerto, a ballet and two oratorios all written in a late Romantic style, was lost when he moved to Paris in 1920. In such works as the symphonic poem *Ishavet* ('The Arctic Ocean', 1924–5) he revealed a powerful and individual, though somewhat ornate, orchestration influenced by Debussy, Ravel and Stravinsky's *The Rite of Spring*. Thereafter he was influenced by his study of Baroque polyphony, and during the 1930s he achieved a synthesis of neo-Baroque features and Romantic emotional ardour. For example, in the Concerto no.1 for string orchestra (1929–30) and the *Sinfonia breve* (1929–31), the latter an artistic breakthrough, he brought together strict linear construction, polyrhythm and harsh dissonance, producing a style that was found shocking at the time. This style was perfected and brought to a dramatic culmination in the *Sinfonia espressiva* (1932–5), where an ever more intensified development through the four movements leads from the sound of a solo violin to a fully orchestrated, fugued mass of sound.

Later Nystroem's music became more harmonic in conception and more lyrical in expression; nature, and in particular the sea, became a dominant stimulus. Marine Impressionism had already featured in *The Arctic Ocean*, a description of a voyage in the northern Arctic with Amundsen, and the manner was pursued in the incidental music to *The Tempest* (1934), the *Sånger vid havet* ('Songs by the Sea', 1942), the *Sinfonia del mare* (1947–8), which, built in an effective symphonic curve around the song 'Det enda' ('The Only Thing'), brought Nystroem popularity, the opera *Herr Arnes penningar* ('Herr Arne's Money', 1958) and the powerful *Concerto ricercante* (1959), constructed in one sweeping stream. His last works saw a return to taut contrapuntal structure combined with a mature, elegiac tone, as in the *Sinfonia seria* (1963), the *Sinfonia tramontana* (1965) and the two string quartets.

WORKS

DRAMATIC

Radio op: Herr Arnes penningar [Herr Arne's Money] (B. Malmberg, after S. Lagerlöf), 1958

Ballet: Ungersvennen och de sex prinsessorna [The Young Gentleman and the Six Princesses], 1950–51, 2 suites, 1950–51

Incid music: Konungen [The King] (P. Lagerkvist), 1933, excerpted as Teatersvit no.1; Stormen [The Tempest] (W. Shakespeare), 1934, excerpted as Teatersvit no.2; Bödeln [The Executioner] (Lagerkvist), 1934, excerpted as Teatersvit no.3; Vår ära och vår makt [Our Honour and our Power] (N. Grieg), 1935; Köpmannen i Venedig [The Merchant of Venice] (Shakespeare), 1936, excerpted as Teatersvit no.4; Madame Bovary (G. Baty), 1938; Vävaren i Bagdad [The Weaver in Baghdad] (H. Bergman), 1943; De blinda [The Blind] (M. Maeterlinck), radio score, 1949

ORCHESTRAL

Rondo capriccioso, vn, orch, 1917, rev. 1920; Ishavet [The Arctic Ocean], sym. poem, 1924–5; Babels torn, sym. poem, 1925; Sym. no.1, 1920s; Suite lyrique, 1928, arr. pf as Regrets; Conc. no.1, str, 1929–30; Sinfonia breve (Sym. no.1), 1929–31; Sinfonia espressiva (Sym. no.2), 1932–5, rev. 1937; Va Conc. 'Hommage à la France', 1940; Sinfonia concertante, vc, orch/pf, 1940–44

Ouverture symphonique, 1945; Sinfonia del mare (Sym. no.3) (E. Lindqvist), S, orch, 1947–8; Palettskrap [Palette Sketches], suite, 1950; Sinfonia shakespeariana (Sym. no.4), 1952; Partita, fl, str, hp, 1953; Vn Conc., 1954; Conc. no.2, str, 1955; Conc. ricercante, pf, orch, 1959; Sinfonia seria (Sym. no.5), 1963; Sinfonia di lontano, 1963; Sommarmusik (E. Malm), S, chbr orch, 1964; Sinfonia tramontana (Sym. no.6), 1965

CHORAL AND CHAMBER

Choral: Herre, vem får bo i din hydda [Lord, who shall abide in Thy tabernacle?] (Ps xv); Huru skön och huru ljuv [How fair and how pleasant] (Bible: *Song of Solomon*); Säg mig du [Tell me, o thou] (*Song of Solomon*); 3 havsvisioner [3 Sea Visions] (E. Diktonius, Lindqvist, V. Ekelund), 1956; Golfiner (C.E. Claeson), 1966

Chbr: Valse solennelle, pf, 1914; Valse marine, pf, 1920; Regrets, pf, 1923–4; Rondo capriccioso, vn, pf, 1927; Str Qt no.1, 1956; Prélude pastorale, pf, 1960; Str Qt no.2, 1961

SONGS

for 1v, pf unless otherwise stated

Hjärtat (H. Bergman), 1916; Ångest (Lagerkvist), 8 songs, 1923–8, 4 orchd; Det satt en katt vid Kattegatt (A.M. Roos), 1923; Nocturne (A. Österling), 1924, orchd; Gubben och gumman skulle mota vall [The old man and the old woman would turn out to graze] (trad.), 1927, orchd; Som ett blommande mandelträd [Like a blossoming almond-tree] (Lagerkvist), 1927; 3 sånger ur Stormen (Shakespeare), 1934, orchd; 3 kärleksvisor [3 Love Songs] (Song of Songs, Österling, Lagerkvist), 1917–42, orchd; Sånger vid havet [Songs by the Sea] (Lindqvist, E. Södergran, H. Gullberg, R. Jändel), 1942, orchd

Brunnen [The Spring] (J. Hemmer), 1944; Den röda blomman [The Red Flower] (A.G. Bergman), 1944; En frivillig [A Volunteer] (M. Stiernstedt), ?1945; Att älska i vårens tid [To Love in the Springtime] (G. Rybrant), 1948; På reveln [On the Spit] (Österling, Malm, Lindqvist), 1949; Lyssna, hjärta [Listen, Heart] (R. Tagore), S, A, fl, triangle, small gong, pf, 1950; Viser (M. Lorentzen), ?1950; Det enda [The Only Thing], 1951 [from Sym. no.3]; Den lyse nat [The Bright Night] (Lorentzen), 1951; Själ och landskap [Soul and Landscape] (Nya sånger vid havet) [New Songs by the Sea] (Lindqvist), 1952

Andakt [Devotion] (J. Oterdahl); Der er i skogen [In the Wood] (J. Welhaven); I ljusningen [At Dawn] (H. Martinson); Jag diktar för ingen [I Write for No-One] (Ekelund); Lillebarn [Child] (B. Bergman); Natt vid sätern [Night on the Mountain Pasture] (C. Günther); Ord mot det tomma [Words against the Emptiness] (B. Malmberg)

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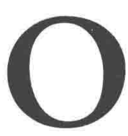
ROLF HAGLUND

N.Z. Cracoviensis (*fl* 1st half of the 16th century). Polish composer and organist. Eight works attributed to 'N.Z.' and one to 'N.Z. Crac.', are known from the organ tablature from the monastery of the Holy Ghost, Kraków (this large manuscript of 362 pages, written about 1548, was destroyed during World War II, but there is a microfilm in the Isham Memorial Library, Cambridge, Massachusetts). Six of these nine compositions were also copied in Jan z Lublina's tablature (*PL-Kp* 1716; ed. in CEKM, vi, 1964–7), five without ascription while the sixth is initialled N.C. It is not known whether this is a copyist's error for N.Z., or whether N.Z. is identifiable with N.C. (i.e. Nicolaus Cracoviensis, also called Mikołaj z Krakowa), who also has works attributed to him in the two tablatures. All N.Z.'s pieces are based on cantus firmi, seven on chorale melodies and two on sacred songs. The chorale-based works are all in four parts: these are Kyrie 'Fons bonitatis' and *Sanctus solemne*, both intended for alternatim performance, the introit *Gaudeamus omnes*, *Ecce panis* (a single stanza from the sequence *Lauda Sion*; an anonymous piece in *PL-Kp* 1716 based on the entire sequence may also be by him), the antiphon for St Stanislaus *Ortus de Polonia* (ed. Z.M. Szweykowski, *Muzyka w dawnym Krakowie*, Kraków, 1964) and the hymns *Crux fidelis* and *Tantum ergo*. The works based on song melodies are *Nasz Zbawiciel* [Our Saviour] (ed. in MAP, ii/4, 1994) and *Cristus iam surrexit*; both are in three parts. The cantus firmi usually migrate; free counterpoint with instrumental traits dominates, but imitation is used in some works. Dominant-tonic cadences are comparatively frequent. *Nasz Zbawiciel* is in the form of variations: the song melody is heard first in the lowest part, then in the middle and highest parts.

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PIOTR POŹNIAK



Oakeley, Sir **Herbert (Stanley)** (*b* Ealing, London, 22 July 1830; *d* Eastbourne, 26 Oct 1903). English composer, organist and educator. He was the second son of Sir Herbert Oakeley, 3rd baronet. His musical gifts began to show when he was only four; at the age of nine, guided by his mother, he began to compose. He was educated at Rugby and at Christ Church, Oxford, graduating BA in 1853 and MA in 1856. At Rugby opportunities for music were few but in Oxford he studied the organ and harmony with Stephen Elvey, the university organist. Visits to clerical friends at Durham and Canterbury strengthened his leaning towards the Church and at one time he thought of taking holy orders. In Leipzig he studied under Plaidy, Moscheles and Papperitz, then he went to Dresden to study the organ with Johann Schneider, and finally to H.K. Breidenstein at Bonn.

In 1865 he was appointed to the Reid Chair of Music at Edinburgh University; he resigned in 1891 on grounds of health and became professor emeritus. His occupancy had been a lively one, full of innovations. He procured a splendid organ for the music classroom, on which he gave many fine recitals (he was particularly gifted in improvisation). He turned the annual concert established by General Reid's will into a three-day festival (1872), bringing the Hallé Orchestra from Manchester, with some of the most famous artists of the time. In 1865 he founded the Edinburgh University Musical Society for students, which still gives public concerts. His greatest achievement was, however, to persuade the Senatus to make of the Reid School a true faculty of music, with full academic curriculum and power to confer degrees.

Oakeley still found time to compose much, church music especially, but also for the piano, orchestra and voice. His compositional style was generally in keeping with late Victorian fashion; the best-known works included the hymn tunes 'Abends' and 'Edina', his quadruple psalm chant in F and his sacred partsong 'Evening and Morning'. From 1858 to 1866 he was music critic of *The Guardian*. He wrote and directed the music on the unveiling of the Albert Memorial in Charlotte Square, Edinburgh, in 1876; he was then knighted and appointed Queen's Composer in Scotland. He was the recipient of many honorary doctorates and other distinctions from universities in Britain and abroad and other bodies.

WORKS

some MSS at GB-Er

all printed works published in London

A Jubilee Lyric (cant), op.29, Cheltenham Festival, 1887 (1887)

Orch works, incl. Edinburgh Festal March, op.22 (1874); Funeral March, op.23 (1875); 6 Hymns, op.31; Minuet and Trio in Olden Style (1885); Suite in Olden Style, op.27, Cheltenham Festival, 1893 (1893)

Church music, incl. Full Service, E♭, op.9 (*c*1880); Psalms and Hymns for Men's Voices (1889); 7 anthems, opp.26, 32, 34, 39–42 (1903); many other anthems; hymn tunes

Partsongs and songs, incl. 3 Vocal Quartets, op.16 (1858/9); 6 Part Songs, op.17, male vv (*c*1859); Scottish National Melodies, op.18, male vv, orch (*c*1859); 4 Choral Songs, op.25, male vv (?1866); 20 Songs, ded. Queen Victoria (1887)

Pf works, incl. 3 Romances, op.33 (1895); Andante, D, org (1887)

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JEAN MARY ALLAN

Oakland. Town in California, near San Francisco, USA. It has its own symphony orchestra (founded 1933), and Oakland public library and museum hold music collections. It is also the seat of Mills College, since the 1930s an important centre for new music. *See* SAN FRANCISCO, §§2, 3 and 5.

O Antiphons [Great Antiphons]. In present-day liturgy a set of seven antiphons to the *Magnificat*, each text beginning with the exclamation 'O': 'O sapientia', 'O adonai', 'O radix Jesse', 'O clavis David', 'O oriens', 'O Rex gentium', 'O Emmanuel'. One of these is sung on each of the seven days preceding Christmas Eve (see *AM*, 208–11). In the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, the number of antiphons was sometimes as many as 12, with added texts such as 'O virgo virginum' (the most popular), 'O Gabriel', 'O Thomas Didyme', 'O Rex pacifice' and 'O Hierusalem' (for example, a sequence of 11 antiphons beginning on 13 December is found in the 11th-century manuscript *GB-Lbl* Harl.2961). It would appear, however, that the first seven were conceived as a separate entity. For one thing, the texts of all seven follow the same basic pattern, first addressing Christ by different titles ('Wisdom', 'Key of David' etc.), then begging him to come to us ('Veni'). Perhaps more striking is the acrostic that results when the first letters of the antiphons are read in reverse order: 'ero cras' ('tomorrow I will be with you'), appropriate to the Advent season.

The antiphons originated at the latest in the 8th century: they were known to Alcuin (735–804) and Amalarius of Metz (775–850), and extensive paraphrases of the texts appear in a poem written before 800 by the English poet Cynewulf. The antiphons are all sung to the same 2nd mode melody. They inspired only a few polyphonic settings, the best-known being Josquin's *O virgo virginum*. The texts of the seven plus *O virgo virginum* are troped in the tripla of a series of related isorhythmic motets in *I-Tn* J.II.9 (14th century). Attaingnant published

settings of all seven in a book of motets for three, four, five and six voices, *Liber septimus XXIIII* (RISM 1534⁹); there are also settings by J.W. Michl in St Peter und Paul, Weyarn. In the late 17th century, Marc-Antoine Charpentier composed settings for three voices and basso continuo.

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For further bibliography *see* PLAINCHANT.

RICHARD SHERR

Oasis. English rock group. It was formed in Manchester in 1992 by Noel Gallagher (*b* Old Trafford, 29 May 1967; lead guitar and vocals), his brother Liam Gallagher (*b* Burnage, 21 Sept 1972; lead vocals), Paul 'Bonehead' Arthurs (*b* 23 June 1965; rhythm guitar: later replaced by Gem Archer), Paul 'Guigsy' McGuigan (*b* 19 May 1971; bass guitar: later replaced by Andy Bell) and Tony McCarroll (drums: later replaced by Alan White, *b* 26 May 1972). After signing to the indie label Creation, the band's first single, *Supersonic* (1994), set down the blueprint for their trademark style of slow-tempo, catchy pop songs. Liam Gallagher's sullen, declamatory delivery owes much to previous groups associated with Manchester, particularly the Happy Mondays, but Oasis grafted a melodic, song-based aesthetic onto their work, largely foreswearing the dance-oriented music of their local scene. Their excellent first album, *Definitely Maybe* (1994), contained the sublime tracks *Live Forever* and *Slide Away*. Unabashed admirers of Lennon and McCartney, their Christmas single for that year, *Whatever*, complete with a string section and sing-along chorus, was an artful Beatles pastiche. *What's the Story (Morning Glory)* (1995) contained a string of successful UK hits such as *Roll with It*, and the rock ballads *Wonderwall* and *Don't Look Back in Anger*. *Be Here Now*, the most eagerly anticipated album of the year and an instant UK number one, was similar in style, if with a harder rock edge. Oasis's fusion of 1960s Beatles-inspired melodies, 1970s Slade-influenced glam rock and 1980s Happy Mondays' indie styles has made them one of the most commercially successful British bands of the 1990s. The Masterplan, a collection of 'B-side' releases, entered the UK charts in 1998. For further information see P. Hewitt: *Getting High: the Adventures of Oasis* (London, 1997).

DAVID BUCKLEY

Obadiah the Proselyte (*fl* Oppido, Apulia, early 12th century). Norman-Italian baronet. A convert to Judaism, he was responsible for the earliest surviving manuscript source of Jewish music; *see* JEWISH MUSIC, §I, 3.

Obbligato (i) (It.: 'necessary'). An adjective or noun referring to an essential instrumental part. The term is often used for a part ranking in importance just below the principal melody and not to be omitted. Obbligato is the opposite of AD LIBITUM when the latter qualifies the mention of a part in a title. On the title-page of Corelli's *Concerti Grossi* op.6, for example, the concertino parts are designated 'obligato' while the ripieno parts are described as 'ad arbitrio, che si potranno radoppiare' (as you wish, when you are able to double the parts). Used in connection with a keyboard part in the 18th century, obbligato designated a fully written-out part instead of a figured bass. Sometimes obbligato means simply independent, as in C.P.E. Bach's *Orchester Sinfonien mit zwölf obligaten Stimmen* (1780).

In music for voice with instruments, 'obbligato' refers to a prominent instrumental part in an aria or other number. The archetype of the obbligato part is the instrumental solo which, with a basso continuo, constitutes the accompaniment of vast numbers of late Baroque arias. The direct antecedents of the late Baroque phenomenon are to be found in the *concertato* style of the early 17th century. Schütz's *Benedicam Dominum in omni tempore* (*Symphoniae sacrae*, i, 1629) for soprano, tenor, bass and continuo, with obbligato 'cornetto, o violino' is an early example, and the trumpet arias in later 17th-century opera carry on the development. Examples in Mozart's operas include one for horn in *Mitridate* (1770), one with flute, oboe, violin and cello in *Die Entführung* (1782) and the arias with clarinet and basset-horn in *La clemenza di Tito* (1791). An especially ornate violin obbligato appears in the Benedictus of Beethoven's Mass in D. Such parts were often less formal in the 19th century, but prominent obbligato writing for flute in particular is not unusual in Romantic opera – for example in the cadenza of the traditional version of the Mad Scene in *Lucia di Lammermoor* (1835) – and the cello and english horn are often assigned an obbligato role in melancholy contexts.

DAVID FULLER/R

Obbligato (ii). The term *recitativo obbligato* (or *recitativo strumentato*) is sometimes used for 'accompanied recitative'; that is, recitative accompanied by the orchestra instead of the continuo alone (*see* RECITATIVE).

DAVID FULLER/R

Obbligato (iii). The term 'obbligato homophony' is sometimes applied to the symphonic textures of Haydn and his contemporaries, characterized by a wealth of prominent, independent part-writing but not formal polyphony.

DAVID FULLER/R

Obbligo [obligo] (It.: 'obligation'). A 17th-century term indicating a compositional problem or task which the composer chooses to treat throughout a piece. An example is Frescobaldi's *Ricercar ottavo* (from *Ricercari, et canzoni francese fatte sopra diversi oblighi*, 1615), in which the voice parts have the 'obligation' to avoid conjunct motion entirely ('obligo di non uscire mai di grado'). More frequently the term indicates that the subject or theme – usually written at the head of the composition in solmization syllables, as in Frescobaldi's *Ricercar quarto, obligo mi re fa mi* (1615) – forms the chosen structural basis of the piece. In such pieces the 'obligation' is to maintain consistently the identity of the theme, which may be treated imitatively or canonically as a kind of migrant cantus firmus, or as an ostinato in one voice (e.g. Frescobaldi's *Ricercar con obligo del basso come appare* in *Fiori musicali*, 1635). Romano Micheli's *Musica vaga*

et artificiosa continente motetti con oblighi, et canoni diversi (1615) contains several five-voice motets in which the performer must resolve an 'obligation' set by the composer; *Veni sponsa Christi*, for example, has four written parts and the 'obligo' of a fifth part consisting of a six-note cantus firmus on the plainchant melody which is to be repeated five times to as many different mensurations. Paolo Agostini wrote a number of canonic masses with *obblighi* (published in 1627). An eight-voice Agnus Dei 'con obbligo sopra la sol fa mi re ut' (ed. in G.B. Martini: *Esemplare ossia Saggio fondamentale pratico di contrappunto*, ii, Bologna, 1775/*R*, pp.295ff) has the hexachord *obbligo* treated canonically in the upper two voices while the remaining six voices are derived from two one-in-three canons. Romano Micheli's 20-voice canon *Dialogus annuntiationis* (1625), with 30 *obblighi*, forms a highpoint in complexity in treating such pre-established restrictions.

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□

Oberek [obertas]. Polish folk dance in triple time, with a rhythmic character similar to the MAZURKA, but distinguishable by its rapid tempo. The term 'obertas' is first recorded by Adam Korczyński (*Lanczafty*, 1697), with the now preferred 'oberek' dating from the 19th century. The dance originates from the Mazovia region, and with its increasing popularity has in some areas overtaken the KRAKOWIAK. Today it is usually performed by an instrumental group of violins, drum and harmonium. It is a whirling, circular dance for couples with stamping and kneeling figures. These figures are indicated by the music, which is performed with much rubato and freedom in the placing of accents within the bar. Several of Chopin's mazurkas have *oberek* characteristics, and there are also examples by Wieniawski, Szymanowski (the third of his Four Polish Dances of 1926), Statkowski and Bacewicz.

For bibliography *see* MAZURKA.

STEPHEN DOWNES

Oberheim, Thomas Elroy (*b* Manhattan, KS, 7 July 1936). American designer of electronic instruments. His name is primarily associated with the range of synthesizers designed by him and manufactured since 1974 by Oberheim Electronics, first in Santa Monica, California, then (from *c*1980) in Los Angeles. While working as an electronics engineer for a small computer company in the late 1960s Oberheim built amplification equipment for musicians in his spare time. He was asked to construct a ring modulator, and the success of the original device led to requests for others. In 1971 Maestro marketed both Oberheim's ring modulator and his phase shifter; Oberheim Electronics was set up in connection with their production. In 1973, when he was an agent for ARP synthesizers, Oberheim devised a digital sequencer (DS-2) and the following year he and Jim Cooper developed the 'Synthesizer Expander Module', a small monophonic synthesizer with two oscillators. In 1974–5 Oberheim marketed the first polyphonic synthesizers, the three-octave Oberheim 2-Voice and four-octave 4-Voice; these were based on the expander module (one module for each voice) combined with a keyboard developed by the newly formed E-mu Systems. The 8-Voice (one or two manuals) and less popular 6-Voice followed soon afterwards. The company then produced two programmable synthesizers, the monophonic OB-1 (1976) and the polyphonic OB-X (1979). Several variants of the latter followed, as well as (up to 1985) a further expander module, the Matrix 6 and 12 synthesizers which were based on it, a digital sequencer and an electronic percussion unit.

In 1985 Oberheim lost control of the company he had founded, which became part of ECC Development Corporation in Los Angeles; he left the company in 1987. After producing the Matrix 1000 and a sample player, Oberheim/ECC went bankrupt in 1989. It was briefly owned by Suzuki, then relaunched in 1991 by Gibson Guitars in North Hollywood and later Oakland, California; it is currently owned by the Italian electronic organ manufacturer Viscount.

In 1987 Oberheim founded Marion Systems in Lafayette, California, specializing in sampler and synthesizer modules, and carrying out external design work (including non-musical consulting). In 1999 he launched the first product from his new company Sea Sound.

See also SYNTHESIZER.

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HUGH DAVIES

Oberklang (Ger.). *See under* KLANG (ii).

Oberlender [Oberländer]. German family of woodwind instrument makers, active in Nuremberg. Johann Wilhelm Oberlender (i) (bap. 14 March 1681; bur. 25 Oct 1763) founded the family tradition of making woodwind instruments. He was granted master's rights as a wood turner in 1705, and was first mentioned as a turner of flutes in 1710. He soon rose above the rank of craftsman; documentary evidence shows him holding such positions as member of the Greater Council (1719) and sworn master of the turners' guild (1721–2). After the middle of the century, at the latest, his advanced age probably meant that he was no longer working himself, but he was still employing travelling journeymen around 1750. Salomon Heckel (1719–91), a town musician and turner, took over the workshop after Oberlender's death.

Heckel's advertisement stating that from now on 'Oberlender's musical wind instruments may only be obtained from him' drew a protest from Oberlender's son, Johann Wilhelm Oberlender (ii) (bap. 12 Sept 1712; bur. 29 Nov 1779), who had become a master in the turners' guild in 1735. That this date coincided with the death of Jacob Denner led to the now discarded assumption that Johann Wilhelm (ii) had taken over Denner's workshop. However, economic and personal problems prevented him from achieving success. His professional

failure was due in part to the keen competition in Nuremberg, where several workshops were active concurrently, including those of his father and of another brother, Wendelin Oberlender (bap. 4 April 1714; bur. 17 March 1751). Also trained by his father, Wendelin was granted master's rights in 1738. At his funeral he was described as 'the honourable Wendelin Oberlender, experienced in his art, Vicarius of the town musicians, also oboe and flute maker'.

The last member of the family to be active in instrument making was Franz Adolf Gabriel Oberlender (bap. 11 March 1748; bur. 19 May 1805), the son of Johann Wilhelm Oberlender (ii). He received master's rights in 1774, but made instruments only as a sideline. Documentary sources usually describe him as a turner, gatekeeper and dealer in musical instruments.

After the Denners, the Oberlender family was probably the most important in the history of woodwind instrument making in Nuremberg. Their position is due primarily to the work of Johann Wilhelm (i), who was active during the period when woodwind instrument making in Nuremberg was in its heyday. Following the examples of the successful J.C. Denner and J. Schell, Oberlender specialized in woodwind instruments of high quality; he also profited from the high reputation of Nuremberg instruments. His master's mark ('I.W. OBERLENDER' in scroll, 'OB' and 'ND' as ligatures, with an 'O' underneath) imitated the marks of Denner and Schell. Attribution of the more than 50 extant instruments to their individual makers is still unsatisfactory, since masters' marks were inherited in Nuremberg, a fact that has been overlooked in the past. Extant instruments (see Young) include: flageolets; recorders of various pitches, including some with strikingly carved decorations (not, however, done in the Oberlender workshop itself); transverse flutes (including a tierce flute and a flauto d'amore); oboes (including oboes d'amore); and clarinets. The tierce flute and the clarinets are among the earliest specimens of their kind.

The instruments changed in style but also declined in quality through the generations. Those which can be dated with certainty to an early period show clearly the characteristics of a 'Nuremberg School'; in particular, they may be compared with instruments from the Denner workshops, their rivals then as now.

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MARTIN KIRNBAUER

Oberlin, Russell (Keys) (*b* Akron, OH, 11 Oct 1928). American countertenor and teacher. He was educated at the Juilliard School of Music (diploma 1951). Oberlin was a founding member in 1952 of the New York Pro Musica with Noah Greenberg, and also appeared as a countertenor with numerous opera companies, orchestras and ensembles, and in theatrical productions. Admired for his virile, sweet tone and subtle phrasing, he was a leading exponent of early music, and through his many recordings and appearances helped to popularize not only music at that time unknown but also the repertory of the countertenor voice. In 1961 he sang Oberon in the first Covent Garden production, and the US première in San Francisco, of Britten's *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. In the mid-1960s he turned to teaching, and appeared as lecturer and lecture-recitalist at colleges and universities throughout the USA and abroad. In 1971 he was appointed professor of music at Hunter College, CUNY, and director of the Hunter College Vocal Collegium.

PATRICK J. SMITH

Oberlin College Conservatory of Music. A conservatory attached to a private college in Oberlin, near Cleveland, Ohio, USA. The college was founded by Congregationalists in 1833. In 1837 George N. Allen, a student, was designated instructor of sacred music; he later became a professor (1841–64), and in 1865 two of his students, John P. Morgan and George W. Steele, established a conservatory which was joined to the college in the following year. Under the directorship (1871–1901) of Fenelon B. Rice the conservatory attained a position of national prominence which it still holds. Karen Wolff was appointed Dean in 1991. The conservatory enrolled about 550 students and had a faculty of about 75 in the mid-1990s. The college awards, on recommendation from the conservatory, BM and MM degrees in performance, composition, music education, music history, historical performance, electronic and computer music and jazz studies, and also a diploma in performance. An electronic music studio and a collegium musicum are among the available facilities. The library has over 110,000 books and scores, and over 42,000 sound recordings.

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BRUCE CARR

Obermayer, Joseph (*b* Starnberg, nr Munich, 17 Oct 1878; *d* Starnberg, 13 July 1966). German harp maker. Obermayer established his harp making concern in Munich in 1928, and produced his first instruments in the 1930s. His factory was bombed during World War II, but he re-established himself in 1944 in Kufstein, Austria. In 1952 Obermayer moved his factory to his home town, and he was joined there by his chief assistant from Kufstein, Maximilian Horngacher. After the sudden death of Obermayer's son in 1960, Horngacher was gradually trained to take over the business; this he did on Obermayer's death in 1966.

Obermayer produced three styles of harp. Shortly before his death he developed and built a fourth type in a more modern style, without the traditional gilding. Horngacher continued to produce all four models; in 1970 he was awarded a gold medal for exceptional craftsmanship by the state of Bavaria. Individually hand-built, the Obermayer-Horngacher harps are particularly notable for their reliability, their stability of pitch, the meticulous precision of their mechanism and their brilliant sound. This latter property may be attributable to the tuned cast-metal ribs, rather than the usual wooden ones, which are used in the construction of the harp's sounding-box.

ANN GRIFFITHS

Oberquintteiler (Ger.). *See under* DIVIDER.

Obersattel (Ger.). *See* NUT (i).

Obertas. *See* OBEREK and MAZURKA.

Oberthür, Charles [Karl] (*b* Munich, 4 March 1819; *d* London, 8 Nov 1895). German harpist and composer. The son of a maker of strings for musical instruments, he

was educated in Munich, studying the harp with Elisa Brauchle and composition with George V. Röder, music director at the Munich court. In the autumn of 1837 Charlotte Birch-Pfeiffer engaged him as harpist for the Zürich theatre, where he remained until 1839. He then made a concert tour of Switzerland and Germany, after which he was a chamber musician at the court of the Duke of Nassau in Wiesbaden; he composed two operas, *Floris von Namur* and *Der Berggeist des Harzes*, which were performed at the Wiesbaden court. From 1842 to 1844 he was solo harpist at the court theatre in Mannheim, where a dispute with Vinzenz Lachner culminated in Oberthür's giving up his position.

English friends in Mannheim urged Oberthür to go to London, where he received support from Moscheles and in 1844 performed with success. He settled there in 1848, meanwhile giving concerts on the Continent and staying at Frankfurt in 1847–8. He was an unrivalled virtuoso, and his concerts were always well received. In London he became solo harpist at the Italian Opera but cancelled his contract to devote himself to composition and teaching. He became harp professor at the London Academy of Music, founded in 1861, and was widely known as a teacher; his method, *Harfenschule für doppelte und einfache Bewegung* op.36 (later published as *Universal Method for the Harp*), is still used by teachers. A prolific composer, he wrote 351 works with opus numbers and more than 100 unnumbered works. His compositions, which reflect his experience as a concert performer, include many transcriptions for harp, about 30 collections (mainly for harp), trios, quartets, about 40 piano works and 27 duos for harp and piano, as well as many vocal and orchestral works.

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(selective list)

for fuller list see PazdírekH

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ALICE LAWSON ABER-COUNT

Oberwerk (Ger.: 'upper department'). The upper chest and manual of a German organ, often (since *c*1840) provided with SWELL shutters, able by its position to take larger pipes than the BRUSTWERK and other minor chests of a WERKPRINZIP organ. In many sources (e.g. the autograph registrations in Bach's Concerto BWV596) *Oberwerk* denotes HAUPTWERK, i.e. the main chest above the player, as opposed to the Rückpositiv (CHAIR ORGAN). Praetorius (1619) used other phrases such as 'Oben in der Brust' or 'oberste Positiff' if he wished to refer to the *Oberwerk*. Schlick (1511) disparagingly mentioned small subsidiary chests placed within the main case, but the *Oberwerk* found on such organs as Kampen (1523) was a major department. That called *boven int werck* at Amsterdam Oude Kerk in 1543 had two chests and took all the colour stops away from the *Hauptwerk*, which was thereby kept to a size convenient for builder and bellows-blower. Such a department was very useful when it had its own keyboard and became highly developed, those in the big four-manual organs of Schnitger (*c*1690) still full of flutes, full-length reeds and other colours giving variety. The *Unterwerke*, *Seitenwerke*, *Echowerke* and *Kronwerke* ('under, side, echo, crowning, departments') found in later Baroque and Romantic organs are of much less musical significance.

PETER WILLIAMS

Obey, Ebenezer [Chief Commander Ebenezer] (*b* Idogo, 1942). Nigerian performer. At the forefront of the modernization of JÙJÚ music in Nigeria. Obey joined the Fatai Rolling Dollars band in 1958. He made his first recordings in Lagos in 1963 and since then has made over 90 commercially released recordings and singles. Similar in style and influence to 'KING' SUNNY ADÉ, Obey has an instrumentarium that includes Hawaiian steel guitar and is generally thicker, drawing on vocal call-and-response forms, reflecting his personal *miliki* (enjoyment) style, a combination of African and Western musical materials. Obey introduced three guitars (tenor, lead and rhythm) to the typical *juju* ensemble. He first appeared with his International Brothers band in 1964, introducing a slower music rooted in Yoruba drumming traditions. An accomplished guitarist, Obey long performed within the tradition of praise-singing, drawing on Christian values as well as economic and political issues. He became an international success in the 1980s with his Inter-Reformers Band which has consisted of up to 20 musicians at any given time; Obey remains the best-selling musician of modern *juju* in Nigeria.

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GREGORY F. BARZ

Obiols, Mariano (*b* Barcelona, 26 Nov 1809; *d* Barcelona, 10 Dec 1888). Spanish composer. He began his studies in Spain but went abroad in 1831, becoming a protégé of Mercadante, with whom he toured Europe. His first opera, *Odio e amore* (two acts, libretto by F. Romani), had a successful run at La Scala beginning on 5 September 1837. In the same year Obiols returned to Barcelona to teach at the recently formed Conservatory, becoming its director in 1847, and during the next two decades dedicated himself mostly to teaching, administration and conducting. Not until 1874 did he produce another opera, *Editta di Belcourt* (four acts, libretto by F. Fors de Casamayor), first performed at the Gran Teatro del Liceo on 28 January. Though its italianate features were in harmony with the conservative repertory of the major Spanish theatres, *Editta* represented a compositional path abandoned by many of Obiols's younger contemporaries, such as Bretón and Pedrell. Pedrell's *El último Abencerraje*, in which Moorish and Spanish musical elements are prominent, was produced at the Liceo just a few months

after the première of *Editta*. Obiols also wrote works for choir, orchestra and chamber ensemble, as well as a *Método de solfeo* and *Ejercicios para canto*.

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ROLAND J. VÁZQUEZ

Obizzi, Domenico (*b* ?Venice, 1611–12; *d* after 1630). Italian composer and singer. He was employed as a singer at S Marco, Venice, from 16 April 1627 until 1630. He had important connections with influential Venetian patrons. When he was only 13 a motet by him for solo voice and continuo, 'Jubilate Deo', appeared in the collection *Ghirlanda sacra* (RISM, 1625[2], 2/1636[2]), edited by Leonardo Simonetti, a musician at S Marco. In 1627 he published in Venice his *Madrigali concertati a 2–5 voci con il basso continuo . . . libro primo* and his *Madrigali et arie a voce sola . . . libro primo* op.2. The dedications state that he was then 15 years old, that from the age of nine he had been living under the protection of the Venetian patrician Lorenzo Loredano, and that Girolamo Mocenigo, another patrician and important patron of Monteverdi, was his sponsor at his confirmation. Many of the texts Obizzi set were the work of Pietro Michiel, a Venetian patrician and later co-founder of the illustrious Accademia degli Incogniti. Obizzi's music is well crafted and shows mastery not only in the fusion of affective madrigalian techniques with lilting tunefulness within the same strophic aria, but also in the way short epigrammatic madrigal texts are dramatized through clever repetitions of text and music. (R. Miller: *The Composers of San Marco and Santo Stefano and the Development of Venetian Monody (to 1630)*, diss., U. of Michigan, 1993)

COLIN TIMMS/ROARK MILLER

Obligate Lage (Ger.). *See* OBLIGATORY REGISTER.

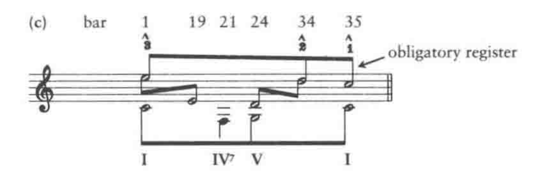
Obligato. *See* OBBLIGATO (i).

Obligatory register (Ger. *obligate Lage*). In Schenkerian analysis (*see* ANALYSIS, §II, 4), the register in which the URLINIE, or fundamental melodic line, makes its stepwise descent to the tonic from the 3rd, 5th or octave above. The term may also be applied to the supporting lower voice, which presents the bass arpeggiation (*see* ARPEGGIATION (ii)).

'Obligatory register' is most often invoked in connection with a general principal (which Schenker called the 'Gesetz der obligaten Lage') which binds every primary elaboration (PROLONGATION) of the fundamental line and bass arpeggiation to the registers in which they unfold, and every secondary or subsequent prolongation to the respective register of the prolongation from which it is derived. The techniques most often encountered in the 'freeing' of lines from the registers to which they are tied involve movement into a different octave: ascending and descending REGISTER TRANSFER, the raising and lowering, respectively, of a line by one or more octaves; and COUPLING, the joining of two lines lying one or more octaves apart.

In the first prelude from book 1 of Bach's *Das wohltemperirte Clavier*, for instance, the register of the fundamental line is determined by the *e″* established in bars 1–4 (ex.1*a*) and brought down an octave to *e′* (bar 19), which resolves to *d′* (bar 24); the low *d′* is then

Ex.1
(a) outline of bars 1–4 (b) bars 34–5



brought back to the higher octave (*d″* in bar 34) so that the last two bars of the prelude (ex.1*b*) can complete the descent of the *Urlinie* to *c″*, i.e. in its original, 'obligatory' register. The coupling *e″–e′/d′–d″* (ex.1*c*; after Schenker, 1935, fig. 49/1, which shows the entire prelude at a higher level) thus serves to reinforce this register, as well as providing expansion into the lower octave.

Schenker argued that the law of obligatory register applied to both the fundamental line and the bass arpeggiation; but subsequent writings about long-range registral coherence both by Schenkerians (Oster, 1961) and non-Schenkerians (Rosen, 1971, pp.34f and 349), have mainly been concerned with examples of 'melodic' connections.

WILLIAM DRABKIN

Obligo. *See* OBBLIGO.

Oblique motion. In PART-WRITING, the melodic movement of one part against another part that remains stationary.

Oboe (Fr. *hautbois*; Ger. *Oboe*; It. *oboe*). Generic term in the system of Hornbostel and Sachs for an aerophone with a double (concussion) reed (for detailed classification *see* AEROPHONE). The name is taken from that of the principal treble double-reed instrument of Western art music (see §II below).

I. General. II. The European treble oboe. III. Larger and smaller European oboes.

I. General

1. Oboes. 2. Reeds.

1. OBOES. The AULOS of ancient Greece may sometimes have had a double reed, and some kind of reed aerophone was known in North Africa in pre-Islamic times. Instruments of the SURNĀY type became established with the spread of the Arab empire around the end of the first millennium CE; they were possibly a synthesis of types from Iran, Mesopotamia, Syria and Asia Minor. From there the instrument, then used in a military role, spread into conquered areas and areas of influence: to India, and later, under the Ottoman empire, to Europe (around the time of the fifth crusade, 1217–21; there may already have been bagpipes with double reeds there) and further into Asia (to China in the 14th century). As the instrument spread, it came to be made of local materials and fashioned according to local preferences in usage, shape and decoration: the ŚAHNĀĪ of north India has a flared brass bell; the SARUNAI of Sumatra has a palm leaf reed

and a bell of wood or buffalo horn; the ALGAITA of West Africa is covered with leather and has four or five finger-holes.

The *surnāy* is the oboe of traditional music in the Islamic world; instruments of this type and with local names are played in the Near East, Turkey, south-east Europe, North Africa and many parts of Asia. The *surnāy* consists of a wooden conical tube widening at the end into a flared bell, a tuning-fork-shaped section (*nazik*) which is inserted fork end down into the instrument, a staple, inserted into the top of the instrument, a metal lip disc (PIROUETTE, a name taken by Hornbostel and Sachs from Mersenne) which may be part of the staple or separate from it and attached to it, and the reed, which fits over the top of the staple and is taken entirely into the mouth when playing. The tube usually has seven finger-holes and a thumb-hole. The instrument of the Middle East is made in three sizes. It has a loud and brilliant tone and is used for outdoor celebrations. It is usually played in small ensembles: with a double-headed drum (*ghayṭa* with *ṭabl* in North Africa (*see* GAITA (i)), *zurna* with *davul* in Turkey); in Egypt three *mazāmīr* (sing. *mizmār*) play with one or more drums, two of the *mazāmīr* acting as drones; in Macedonia a large *zurla* acts as a melody instrument, a smaller one as a drone, a reverse of the usual pattern. The technique of circular breathing is commonly used. The SUONA of China, which has a large flaring metal bell, and the European SHAWM are descendants of the *surnāy* (and have related names). The *śahnāī* of North India resembles the *surnāy* but is distinct in not having a lip disc. Large oboes of the *surnāy* type include the NĀGASVARAM, a wooden conical oboe of South India about 95 cm in length, with seven finger-holes, played with drums and *ottu* (a drone oboe with no finger-holes) for festivals, and the *rgya-gling* of Tibet, played in identical pairs for Buddhist rituals.

A small type of double-reed instrument originated in China where it was known as *bili*; it became the GUAN of China, the HICHIRIKI of Japan (imported to Japan in the 8th century), and the P'IRI of Korea. Instruments of this type are made in a variety of sizes. The *guan* has a cylindrical bore. The *hichiriki* has a reverse conical bore with seven finger-holes and two thumb-holes; the reed is made of a length of reed stalk, flattened and scraped. Such instruments are characterized by their capacity for subtle ornamentation and flexible pitch.

Rustic oboes without finger-holes, used for signalling or as noise makers, are found in England and France. The WHITHORN (England) and the *bramevac* (France) are made of a strip of coiled bark bound together with thorns; the reed is made of green bark. There are also idioglot oboes (with the reed formed from the material of the tube); they have been found in Europe, Korea and Malaysia. The *hodugi* of Korea is a tube of bark removed from a slender branch. At one end the upper layer of bark is shaved down to make a reed. It may have finger-holes and the sound may be modified with open or cupped hands.

2. REEDS. The reed is not long-lasting and so tends to be made of a plentiful local material. The reeds of the modern Western oboe, and of most other European double-reed instruments, are made of a slip of the stem of a large semi-tropical grass (*Arundo donax*) folded in half, the two halves bound together and scraped thin to vibrate. *Arundo donax* grows around the Mediterranean Sea, in Spain, France and Italy (and also in other places with a similar climate such as California and South America). The *p'iri*, the *guan* and the *hichiriki* have reeds of flattened and scraped bamboo. The reeds of the *surnāy* and many related instruments are made from a section of soft cane, bound at one end and flattened at the other to an oval; when the reed is not in use a protective cover may be placed over the end to maintain the correct shape. The guard, spare reeds and staples, and a metal mandrel for making reeds are strung together and hung from the *śahnāī* during performance. The *charumera* of Japan has a reed of corn stalk. Many instruments of South-east Asia have reeds of palm or other leaf. The *selompret* of Indonesia has reeds of thin plates of bamboo cut into a fan shape and tied together in two sets of three; the reeds of the *pī* of Thailand are similar, but made of palm leaf. The *hnè* of Myanmar has a composite double reed made from young leaves of toddy palm, which are soaked, smoked, folded and cut to shape; six to eight fan-shaped layers are bound with a thick cord. (*See also* REED.)

Other oboes of Western music include the basson d'amour, BASSOON, cromorne (*see* CROMORNE (i)), curtal, DOLZAINA, HAUTBOIS D'ÉGLISE, HECKELPHONE, RACKET, SARRUSOPHONE, SORDUN, TARTÖLT, tenoroon and TRISTAN SCHALMEI. The *cleron pastoral*, cornamusa (*see* CORNAMUSA (i)), CRUMHORN, HAUTBOIS DE POITOU, SCHREYERPFEIFE, SCHRYARI and some types of KORTHOLT and SHAWM are WIND-CAP INSTRUMENTS, oboes in which the reed is enclosed within a rigid wooden cap. Some bagpipes have double reeds; *see* BAGPIPE.

See also BŪQ; MIZMĀR; and PIFFARO.

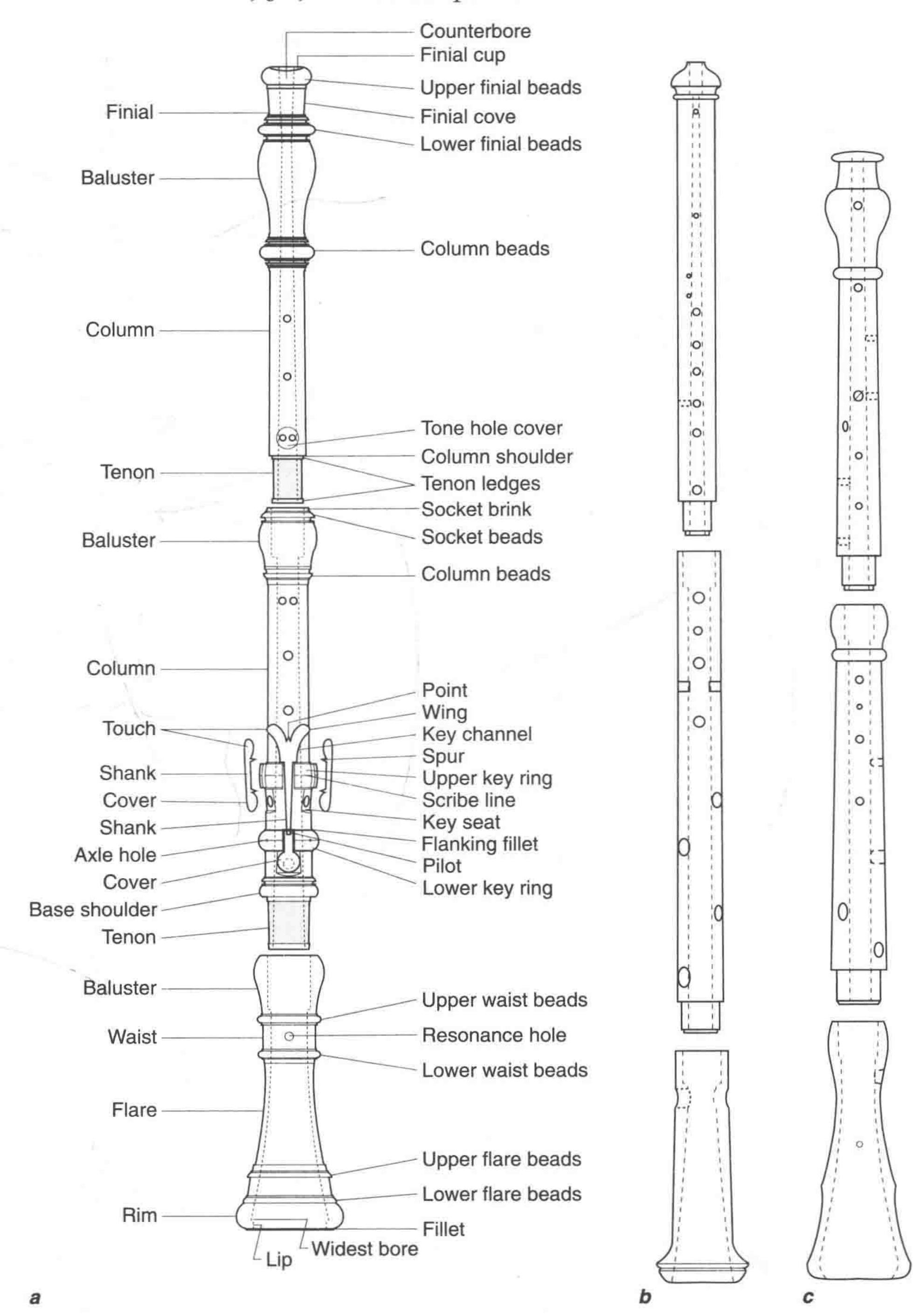
For bibliography *see* individual entries.

II. The European treble oboe

1. Introduction. 2. History to 1800: (i) Introduction (ii) Before 1670 (iii) 1670–1700 (iv) 1700–30 (v) 1730–70 (vi) 1770–1800. 3. The 19th century: (i) Characteristics and repertory (ii) Additional keys, 1800–40 (iii) Interactive mechanisms, 1840–60 (iv) The Conservatoire-system oboe. 4. The 20th century: (i) Instruments and playing styles (ii) Repertory and performers (iii) Technique (iv) Alternative playing styles.

1. INTRODUCTION. The oboe family, as used in Western music, consists of a group of conical-bore double-reed woodwind instruments in a variety of sizes. The most common member of the family, and the one usually referred to as the oboe, is the treble instrument in C. The term 'hautboy', one of a number of spellings in use during the early history of the instrument and found occasionally into the early 20th century, has been revived to designate the two-or three-key oboe in use from the mid-17th century to the early 19th; it will be so used here. A terminology for identifying the parts of the oboe appears in fig.1.

The oboe consists of a slender tube of wood some 60 cm long, in three sections united by tenon-and-socket joints. The modern oboe is made of grenadilla, occasionally of other woods, ebonite or plastic, and the hautboy usually of boxwood or fruitwood. The joints of the hautboy are generally decorated with turnery. The bore of the modern oboe, which is narrow and conoidal, expands fairly regularly for about five-sixths of its length and then opens out more rapidly to form a moderate bell (fig.1*b*). This expansion takes the shape of a smooth curve or a succession of cones, according to the formulae adopted by different makers and worked out experimentally by them. The effective length of the tube is made

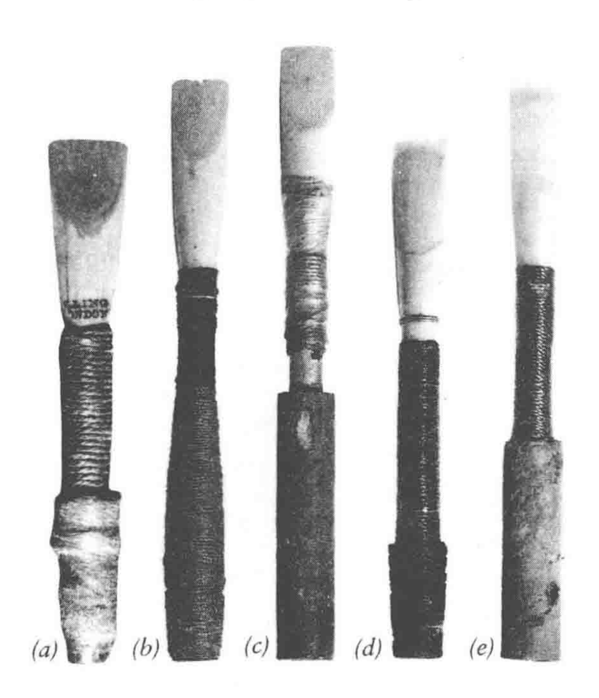


1. Diagrams comparing the bores and placement of holes on three oboes: (a) hautboy; (b) modern French; (c) modern Viennese

variable by means of 16 to 20 side holes, six of them directly under the player's fingers and the rest controlled by a mechanism of keys which is sometimes most ingenious and complicated. At least four systems of KEYWORK have been applied to the oboe. Since World War II the Conservatoire system, developed in France and adopted by the Paris Conservatoire in 1882, has become an international standard.

The hautboy (fig.1*a*) has a contraction rim at the end of the bell, retained also in its descendant, the modern Viennese oboe (fig.1*c*). It has eight side holes, six under the control of the fingers, with holes three and four often split into two smaller twin holes, and keys for *c′* and E♭, the latter sometimes duplicated. Additional holes and keys for chromatic notes were added to this basic design during the 19th century.

Oboes are sounded by means of a reed formed of two hollowed-out blades of thin 'cane', actually the semi-tropical grass *Arundo donax* or *Arundo sativa* (fig.2). These are bound face to face with thread to a narrow



2. Oboe reeds from the late 18th century to the 20th: (a) late 18th century, by Thomas Ling; (b) by Triébert, c1850; (c) modern French; (d) modern Viennese; (e) modern American (private collections)

tapered metal tube, slightly flattened at the tip, termed a 'staple'. Although the dimensions of the reed may not match the volume of the missing end of the instrument's conical bore, the reed nevertheless functions as an extension of the bore. At their free ends, the blades are scraped down to a feather edge. When placed between the lips and blown through, the blades of the reed vibrate together, alternately opening and closing the elliptical chink between them and thus transmitting bursts of energy to the air column in the body tube. The proper management of this very delicate apparatus is probably the most difficult part of oboe technique for the learner to acquire or for the teacher to impart.

On the hautboy, notes outside the basic scale are obtained by 'resistance fingerings' – cross- or forked fingerings and half-holed fingerings. The hautboy overblows an octave, giving a range of at least two octaves (*e'–d'''*). The compass of the modern oboe extends from *b♭* to *a'''* – in all, 36 notes, of which the first 15 are fundamental notes. Acoustically, the remainder are harmonics of the first 15 and are produced by changes of 'lip' pressure on the reed, assisted by the use of speaker or octave keys.

Intonation, tone-colour and dynamics are modified by the combined control of breath and embouchure pressure. Because the oboe requires very little air, the player is able to perform long phrases in one breath, but must learn to exhale stale air before inhaling. Articulation is achieved by stopping the vibrations of the reed with the tongue.

In addition to the treble or soprano oboe in C, the family includes a number of deeper-toned members (fig.3). Lower oboes have appeared in a variety of forms, often with a bulb-shaped bell (see §III). The modern family includes the oboe d'amore in A, the english horn in F and the bass oboe in C. Smaller oboes were built for military use in the 19th century, and in the late 20th century a small oboe in F, the musette, was developed to complete the family.

2. History to 1800. The term 'hautboy' has been adopted here to refer to the form of oboe that gradually separated itself from the Shawm in the first half of the 17th century and flourished until the first part of the 19th, when it was supplanted by the keyed oboe. Although the hautboy was revived in the 1960s for use in ensembles of historical instruments, only its past history will be considered here.

(i) Introduction. The normal size of hautboy was the treble, which gave a seven-fingered C. It was usually 58–9 cm in length and was made in three separate joints coupled by tenons and sockets, the top and centre being of about equal length and the bell somewhat shorter (see



3. The modern oboe family (by F. Lorée): (left to right) musette, treble oboe, oboe d'amore, english horn, baritone oboe

fig.1*a*). It had a conical bore with steps at the joints. The outer joints usually featured mouldings. There were six finger-holes, a key for E♭ (sometimes doubled), an open-standing and articulated key for *c′* (the lowest note), and two vent holes placed opposite each other on the bell. The larger tone holes were undercut (i.e. they expanded inwards). The bell normally had a thick contraction rim, called a 'lip', at the bottom.

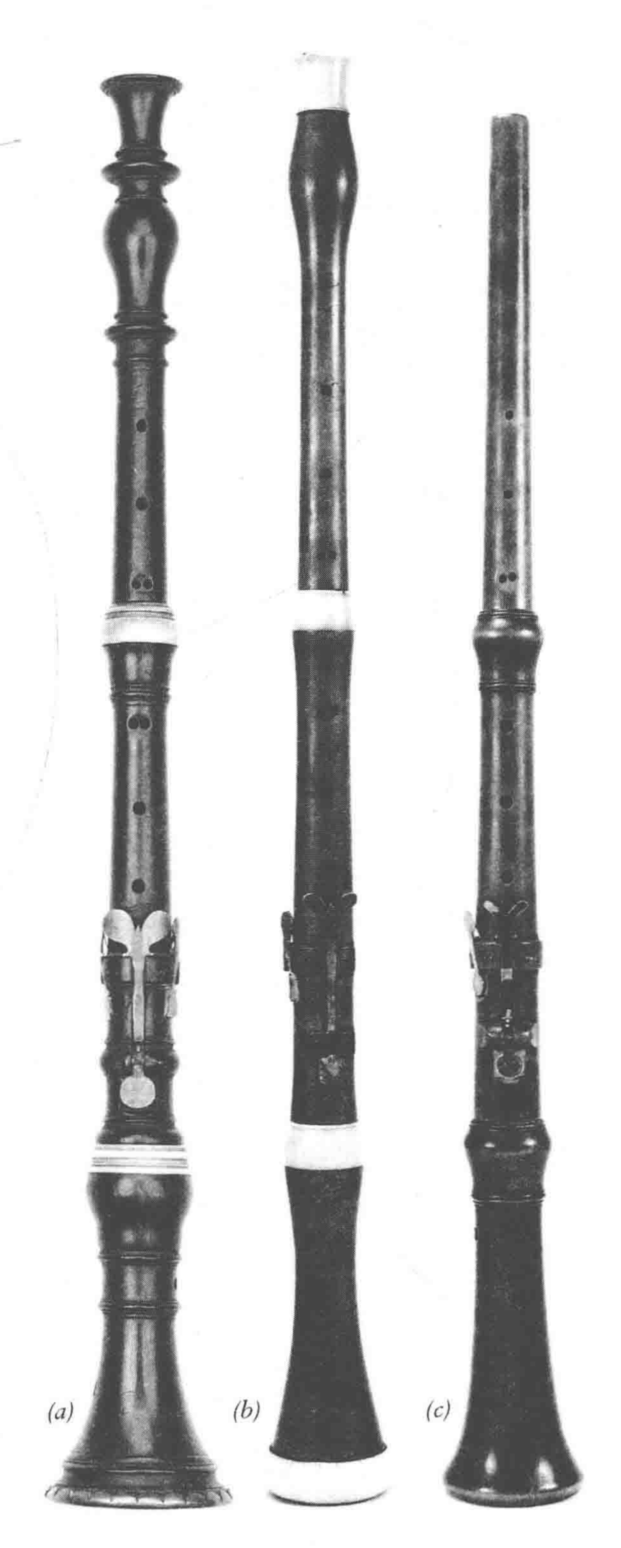
Of an estimated 15,000 original treble hautboys, about 750, made between about 1680 and 1820, were known to survive at the end of the 20th century. The majority (about 85%) are made of boxwood, which also appears to be the wood of hautboys shown in paintings of the time. Other materials used include ebony, ivory and fruitwoods. Darker stain was sometimes used, and some early instruments imitate tortoiseshell. Close to half the surviving hautboys have ivory tips; others have ferrules of brass or silver or are tipped with horn or bone. The fourth hole was sometimes twinned (i.e. two small holes were drilled next to each other), as was the third.

The hautboy's outward form was based on concepts of architectural moulding. Physical features such as the shape of the keys, the type of wood, the presence of ornamental mounts or twin holes, the turning profile and turning details, and the shape of the bell, varied with time and from workshop to workshop (fig.4).

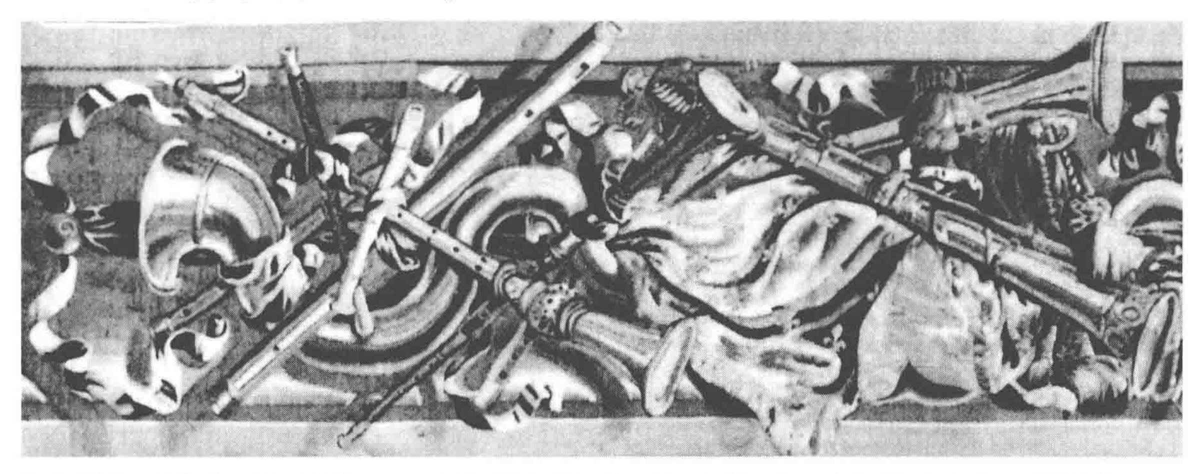
No reeds made earlier than the late 18th century survive, and little written information on reeds and reed-making exists from before about 1780. It was not unusual for players (even some professionals) to purchase ready-made reeds from instrument makers. Pictures indicate that, dimensions apart, reeds were made much as they are for the key-system oboe (see fig.11 below). A staple, or metal tube, was used to connect the two blades of cane to the bore of the instrument; the reed could be separate or fixed permanently to the staple. The cane was shaped with parallel sides for at least half its length. Reeds must have varied considerably, as they do now (see fig.2), and no single way of making them can by itself be considered 'historical'. In general terms, reeds tended to become narrower and shorter during the course of the 18th century as the bore became correspondingly smaller and both tessitura and pitch moved upwards.

Throughout its history the hautboy shared with the other woodwind certain techniques that seem stylistically remote today. It used an elaborate system of paired tonguing patterns, the *flattement* or finger vibrato (not the modern breath vibrato), and the *messa di voce*. These techniques were used throughout Europe, and descriptions and demonstrations can be found in sources and handbooks to the end of the 18th century.

(ii) Before 1670. In all European languages the hautboy's name was either taken over directly or transliterated from the French *hautbois* (pronounced 'oh-bway' in the 18th century). Later German and English sources described the hautboy as having originated in France. Lully probably began using an early form of hautboy in his ballet *L'amour malade* in 1657; such an instrument was introduced into the French military in 1663. The few surviving sources from this period indicate that the hautboy was a new conception, the result of a fundamental redesign. This change is difficult to date because in French both shawms and hautboys were called 'hautbois'. The shawms described by Michael Praetorius in 1619 were played with a pirouette and had a range of an octave and



4. Three hautboys: (a) by C. Rijkel, Amsterdam, c1700–26 (Gemeentemuseum, The Hague); (b) by Thomas Lot, Paris, 1734–c1787; (c) by W. Milhouse, Newark, c1765 (Bate Collection, Faculty of Music, University of Oxford)



5. Panel F from the border of the Gobelins tapestry 'L'air',1669–c1680, (from the series 'Les elemens' after Charles Le Brun, 1664); (Palazzo Pitti, Florence)

a 5th. Shawms had been played as an independent family, or consort; Lully's combining of wind with strings to form an 'orchestra' was thus a break with traditional practice. The reed instrument had to match the range and pitch of its new partner, the violin; it had to function well in more than a few tonalities, it needed a direct control of a wide range of dynamics, and it had to blend easily with the general sound. None of this had been required of the shawm.

The bore of the shawm was thus lengthened, and its tone holes were repositioned further down the instrument's length and drilled smaller. This had several effects. It increased the effectiveness of cross-fingering (also called 'forked fingering') and half-holing, which was how the accidentals were played. Examples are the notes *b♭′* and *a♭′*: whereas *b′*, *a′* and *g′* were produced by closing respectively the top hole, the top two holes and the top three holes (or 1, 1 2, 1 2 3), *b♭′* was played 1 3, and *a♭′* used the half-hole fingering 1 2 3. These fingerings produced greater back-pressure and played less freely than the open-fingered notes. Not only did they feel different to play, their sound was covered or veiled, and they produced the characteristically uneven sound of Baroque woodwind scales, not unlike a singer using different vowels for each note.

To compensate for the greater built-in resistance caused by the hautboy's small tone holes and cross-fingerings, the reeds were wider and scraped thinner than those of the key-system oboe. The player thus used a lower pressure, which made it easier to perform the short intense musical gestures, quick and extreme changes of dynamics and tone, and frequent starts and stops demanded by the music written in the 18th century. The complex dynamic nuance of the Baroque period and the phrasing it implied was gradually abandoned in the 19th century in favour of the 'long line' phrase – an approach better served with the narrower, harder reeds of the key-system oboe and the greater, more constant pressure needed to play them.

These changes also caused the new treble instrument to sound a 4th lower than the treble shawm and a major 2nd above the alto. The lower pitch and covered fingerings darkened and decentralized the instrument's tone, helping it to blend.

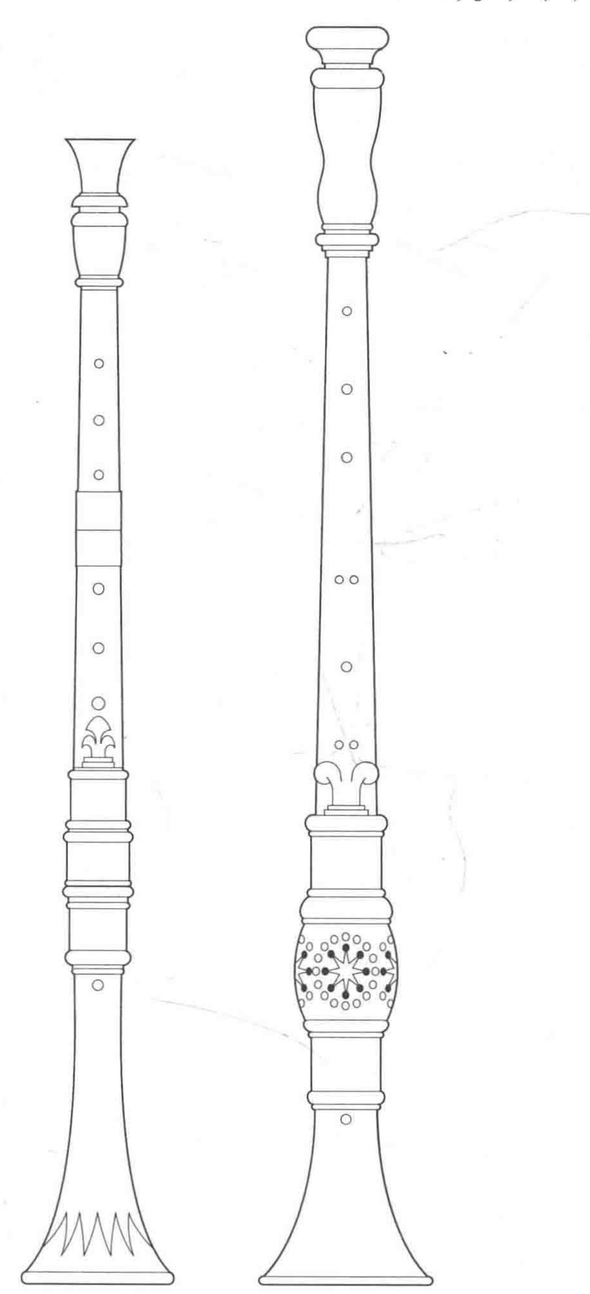
This process has been attributed to woodwind players at the French court (members of the Hotteterre and Philidor families are mentioned). It evidently took place in stages. The shawms described by Mersenne in 1636 possessed a range of two octaves, and one of them appears to have had no pirouette. By the 1660s two new types of instrument that shared characteristics of both shawm and hautboy were shown on tapestries made by the royal Gobelins studios (figs.5 and 6). These protomorphic hautboys retained the shawm's fontanelle to cover the key, but had twin 4th and 6th tone holes and, apparently, only a single pair of vent holes. The longer-belled instruments (which were also featured in another Gobelin of the same decade) resemble Mersenne's shawms, but they are about the same acoustic length as later treble hautboys at *A″* (392 Hz). The shorter-belled ones look very much like his *Haut-bois de Poitou* and, being considerably longer, were probably pitched a 5th lower.

After the production of *Les plaisirs de l'île enchantée* in May 1664, the hautboy seems to have vanished from Lully's next 14 large-scale ballets and *comédies-ballets*. It did not reappear until 1670, with *Le bourgeois gentilhomme*. It is thus possible that a new model, the definitive hautboy first shown in Blanchet's engraving of 1672 (see fig.24 below) was developed during this period.

(iii) 1670–1700. The new instrument is also shown in a Gobelins tapestry made in 1684 (fig.7). The fingering used by the player is fictitious but is obviously inspired by a cross-fingering.

From the mid-17th to the late 18th century the French court employed 35 woodwind players in the *grande écurie*, most or all of them hautboists. No other European court used so many hautboists, many managing with two or three. The Opéra functioned separately from the court, and other musical activities took place in Paris that used hautboys.

Both Lully's monopoly of power and the revocation of the Edict of Nantes forced many musicians to leave France. Other countries were very receptive of French music, musical style, playing techniques and players, and the new hautboy was quickly adopted all over Europe. It was first heard in England in 1675 and was being used in English military circles by 1678. In 1677 the court at Turin was employing a military band of six hautboists, some of whom had French names. French hautboy players arrived in Madrid in 1679. A number of German courts hired French hautboists in the 1680s. The hautboy was



6. Schematic drawing by Marc Ecochard of the treble and alto protomorphic hautboys in the borders of the Gobelins tapestry shown in fig.5

being played in Vienna by 1697 at the latest, and it was admitted to the *cappella* of S Marco, Venice, in 1698, effectively replacing the cornett.

As the instrument took root abroad, local musicians were sent to France for instruction. And by the 1690s 'French' hautboys were being made in Germany, England and Holland. In some cases (like that of Christoph Denner and other Nuremberg makers) they were direct copies; in others, French makers (like Peter Bressan) emigrated to other countries. By the late 17th century Amsterdam was supporting a thriving woodwind-making industry.

Once the new hautboy had spread over Europe and had lost its primary French association, neither its playing style nor the way it was made had any particular national character. Players frequently circulated between countries, bringing with them techniques of playing and instruments of the latest design.

In its earliest decades, the hautboy was often heard in bands, continuing the consort tradition of the shawm. Repertory consisted of marches, dance suites and ceremonial music, much of which was played by heart and is now lost; surviving scores include the Philidor manuscript (*F-Pn* Rés.F.671). The normal formation was 2 treble hautboys, 2 tenors and 2 bassoons, but, starting early in the 18th century, horns often replaced the tenor hautboys, making a band of 2 hautboys, 2 horns and 1 or 2 bassoons.

Hautboys also doubled strings in the orchestra and provided variety by playing short 'trios' by themselves. In Lully's works they inherited the symbolic attributes of shawms and appeared in direct connection with events occurring on stage; their presence was associated with certain dramatic situations, especially pastoral scenes.

The earliest chamber music that used the hautboy was usually conceived 'en symphonie', that is, it could be played on any treble instrument or combination of instruments. This music included the trios written in the 1690s by François Couperin, Marin Marais and Jean-Féry Rebel. In the same decade Agostino Steffani, Johann Kusser and Reinhard Keiser began writing obbligatos in opera arias featuring the hautboy, many of them exceptionally beautiful; they represent the earliest solo use of the instrument.

(iv) 1700–30. In Venice the hautboy had been used sporadically in operas during the last decade of the 17th century. Ignazio Rion, who played Handel's solos in Rome, had taught the hautboy at the Pietà orphanage in 1704–5. Other notable Venetian players included Onofrio Penati, Ludwig Erdmann and the girls at the Pietà, including Pellegrina 'dall'Oboe', for whom Vivaldi wrote some of his concertos and chamber music.

Among makers in France were Pierre Naust, the Hotteterres (nine individuals from three generations were at work during this period) and Jean Jacques Rippert. The elder Thomas Stanesby had worked in London since 1691, and his son also began making instruments about 1714. Building on an old craft tradition, Nuremberg was the first German centre for makers of the new French woodwind instruments; Christoph Denner and Johann Schell were making recorders and hautboys in the 1690s, and three hautboys survive by Benedikt Gahn, who died in 1711. Denner's eldest son Jacob opened his own workshop in 1707. The woodwind maker Joannes Maria Anciuti set up shop in Milan at this time.

In Amsterdam Richard Haka founded a school of makers that included Coenraad Rijkel, Jan Steenbergen and Abraham van Aardenberg, among at least ten others. The number of surviving Dutch hautboys from this period is remarkable. The only other region with as many is Germany. Considering the relatively small number of players who were active in the Dutch Republic, it must be assumed that some German, English and even French hautboists played Dutch hautboys.

The hautboy had one quality that made it unique among the instruments of the early 18th century: it was the sole instrument to be used in every imaginable kind of music. Philipp Eisel wrote in 1738, 'It is used in the



7. Detail from the Gobelins tapestry 'Danse des nymphes' (left side), fifth in the series 'Sujets de la fable', 1684 (Musée du Louvre, Paris)

battlefield, in opera, in social gatherings, as well as in churches'.

The period 1700–30 contained the greatest quantity as well as some of the most profound and varied solo music of any period in the hautboy's history. It was rich in solo sonatas and suites with basso continuo, concertos, and obbligato solos for oboe with voice. Italian composers did not feature the obbligato hautboy in vocal scores as much as Handel or J.S. Bach, but they were probably responsible for starting the vogue for the solo hautboy concerto continued by, for example, Benedetto Marcello, Tomaso Albinoni and Vivaldi. France produced almost no concertos or vocal works with solo hautboy, but provided many solo and trio sonatas.

Tutors, written for amateurs, appeared from 1688 onwards. The information they offer is usually rudimentary; professional players probably received their training directly from masters rather than from books.

Fingering charts of the period generally give the range as *c′–d‴*. From early on there is mention of the possible use of *b* and of notes above *d‴*. Early solos exploit the entire range but usually stay within a compass of *d′* or *e′* to *b♭″*. Until the Classical period, fingering charts indicate that the high notes up to *b″* were fingered like their lower octaves, and *c‴* was played 'all open'.

Choice of key was of prime importance. Each scale had a specific, individual sound, and different fingering combinations (including special fingerings for trills and other ornaments) determined its difficulty. Tonalities with too many cross-fingerings (i.e. those with more than four accidentals) were impractical and avoided. Any piece that used A♭ or G♯ frequently was awkward, as it involved the use of the half-hole on 3; the combination *e♭″* to *d♭″* set the technical limit of the hautboy because it involved moving the little finger between the two keys and was only imperfectly solved with alternative fingerings.

In relative volume, the hautboy was regularly equated with the violin, transverse flute and recorder in trio sonatas, and with the voice in arias. In the orchestra, the ratio of hautboys to violins varied greatly, from to 1:1 to



8. Detail from 'St Cecilia Playing the Harp' (1691): P. Mignard (Musée du Louvre, Paris)

GAME DU HAUTBOIS.

En Montant

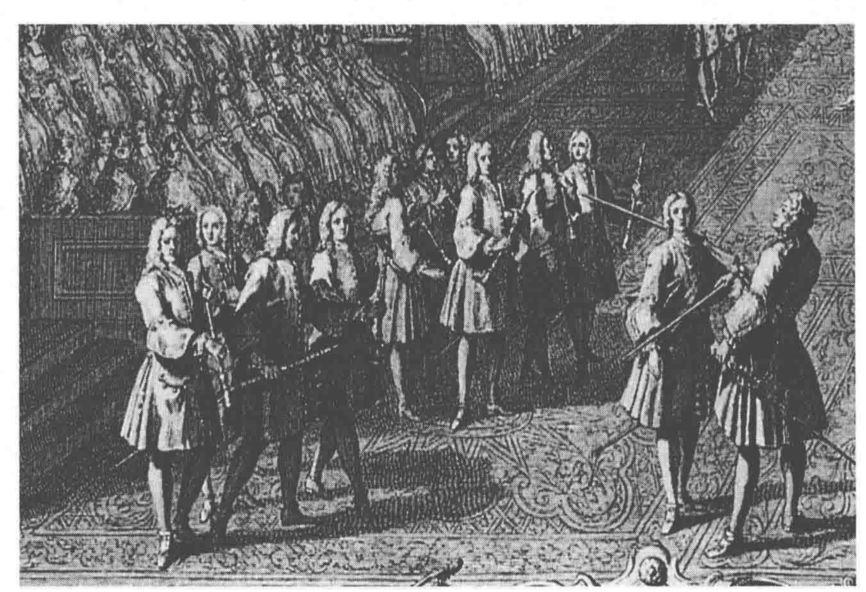
En Descendant

Les Chiffres 1.2.3.4.5.6.7.8. marquent le nombre des trous du Hautbois et les ○ blancs ou noirs ● ou demi noirs ◐ quand les Trous doivent être ouvert ou fermez, ou bien demi ouverts et demi fermez.

9. Fingering for the hautboy, from Michel Corrette's 'Méthode pour apprendre aisément à jouer de la flûte traversière' (revised edition, 1773, including oboe and clarinet)

1:11. Hautboys were regularly muted by putting a piece of cloth, paper, damp sponge, cotton wool or wood in the bell.

Records of the *grande écurie* list the many hautboists who performed at the French court (fig.10). Titles to those posts were sold or passed on to younger family members, and generations of Rousselets, Destouches, Hotteterres, Pièches, Philidors, Descoteaux and others filled them. Among the leading hautboists in Germany in this period were François La Riche, Michael Böhm, Peter Glösch, J.C. Richter, Jacob Denner, Jacques Loeillet and Alois Freymuth. It was primarily court musicians who were soloists, although Stadtpfeifer were responsible for church music; Caspar Gleditsch was Bach's soloist at Leipzig,



10. The Douze Grands Hautbois from the 'grande écurie' at the coronation of Louis XV: detail from an engraving by Nicolas-Henry Tardieu (soon after 25 Oct 1722) from the series 'Le sacre de Louis XV'

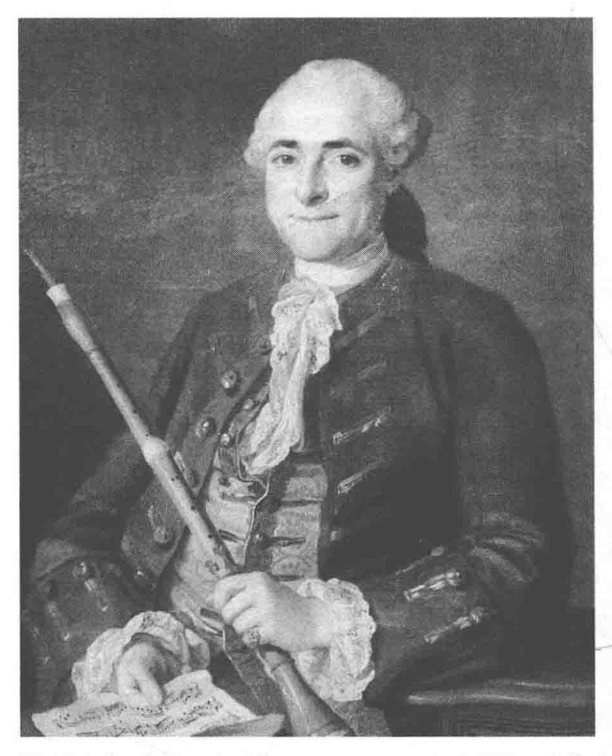
and the solos Bach wrote for him in his sacred works are the greatest single monument to the talent of any hautboist in the history of the instrument. Bach must also have written chamber music with hautboy, but it is lost; the hautboy concertos (BWV1053, 1055, 1056, 1059 and 1060) survive only in arrangements for harpsichord. At the London opera, where Handel worked from 1711, hautboists (all foreigners) included B.J. Loeillet (i), J.C. Kytch, J.E. Galliard and Peter La Tour (the two last using hautboys made by Colin Hotteterre, principal at the Paris Opéra). In 1729 Giuseppe Sammartini, one of the foremost woodwind players of his day, settled in London.

Inventories of the Naust-Delerablée workshop (probably the most important French maker of the 1720s and 30s) list a number of prominent woodwind-playing clients. Some German players could well have been playing French or Dutch hautboys, but most probably obtained them from the Nuremberg makers, or from J.H. Eichentopf and J.C. Sattler in Leipzig. The principal source of hautboys from the Spanish Netherlands (now Belgium) was that of the Rottenburgh family, which produced many excellent instruments from about 1700. Hautboys continued to flow from the workshops of Amsterdam.

(v) 1730–70. This period saw the fragmentation of the archetypal 'French hautboy' into several new models. By the 1730s the Italians had developed the straight-top and, somewhat later, the type associated with Palanca (see below). The straight-top became popular in England. The French, meanwhile, developed another type that looks as if it had been stretched lengthwise; these instruments are among the longest hautboys that survive, and the swellings at the balusters and bell flare are very gradual and 'streamlined' (fig.11). The music of this period was mostly played on these new models. As different as they were in outward turning style and pitch level, the hautboys of this period generally had one important feature in common: a distinctly narrower bore. While the earlier models had an average minimum bore of 5·95 mm or larger, the new ones scarcely averaged wider than 5 mm. The bores of hautboys in the period 1760–1820 were on average about 4·8 mm, and that of the modern key-system oboe is about 4·2 mm.

Hautboy playing was dominated at this time by great Italian virtuosos: wherever one looks, Italians were playing solos in important musical centres. In Paris the appearance of the Besozzi brothers at the Concert Spirituel in 1735 changed the French hautboy world decisively. In Germany Italians like Giovanni Platti, Antonio and Carlo Besozzi, the Ferrandinis, Gioseffo Secchi and Vittorino Colombazzi transformed the hautboy's image. In England Sammartini left a lasting impression on players and audiences.

By mid-century, solo genres such as sonatas and obbligatos with voice were less frequently used. Concertos were the dominant solo medium, and it was at this time that the first hautboy quartets (hautboy and string trio without continuo) began to appear. The hautboy appeared regularly in the orchestra as a soloist, but over the course of the 18th century its relation to the violin changed. Originally it doubled the violin in tutti passages, but by mid-century orchestral composers were starting to give the wind a more harmonic function in the form of held chords against moving violin lines. As hautboy parts became simpler, the violins were gradually given more complex figuration, until by the Classical period the two instruments had taken on quite independent functions.





11. (a) An hautboist: portrait by an anonymous artist, ?c1750, with (b) detail of reed from the same picture (Stiftelsen Musikkulturens Främjande, Stockholm)

Foreigners, including the Catalan brothers Joan Baptista and Josep Pia, became popular in Paris. Virtuosos of international renown appeared in Italy: Alessandro Besozzi at Turin, Matteo Bissoli in Padua, and Gaetano Besozzi at Naples (the last went on to have a brilliant career in Paris). In England in the 1740s Sammartini and Thomas Vincent were frequent soloists in public concert series. After Sammartini's death in 1750 Redmond Simpson emerged as London's pre-eminent hautboist.

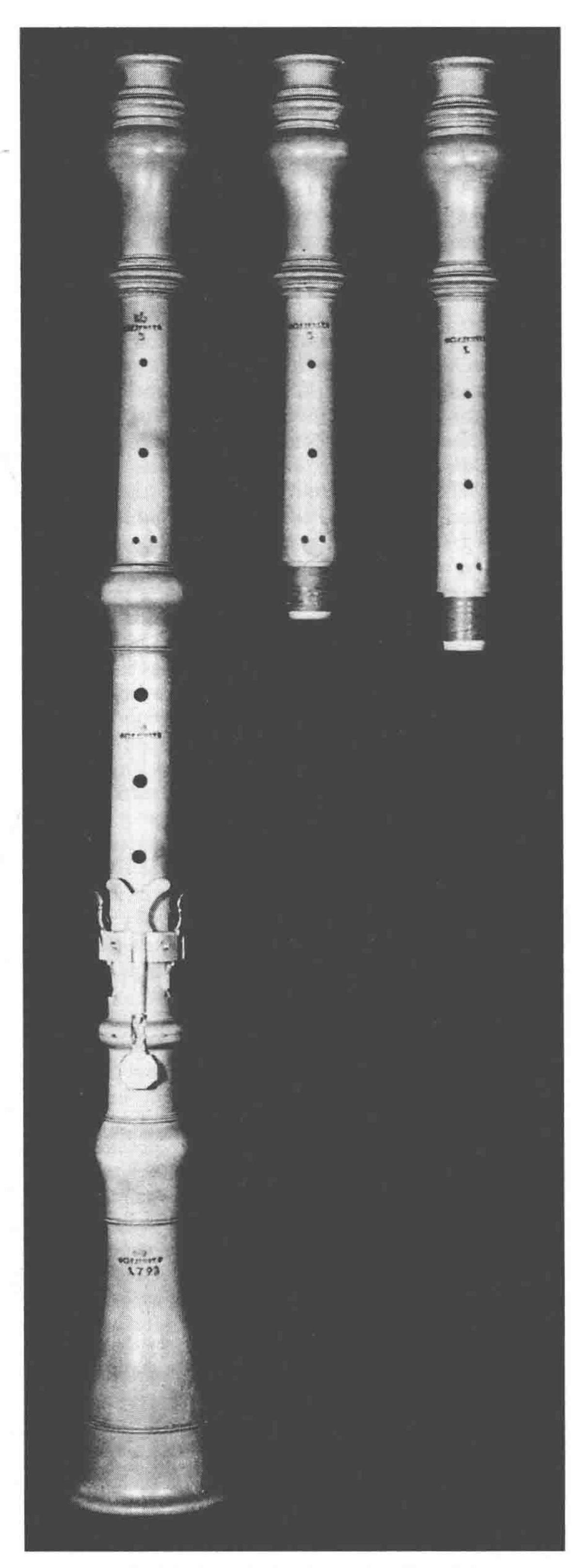
In France the Naust-Delerablée workshop was continued from 1734 by Thomas Lot. He and Charles Bizey were the principal French woodwind makers of the period. Among the more interesting German makers were David Denner (who worked until mid-century, using his father Christoph's workshop stamp), the younger Wilhelm Oberlender and Thomas Gottlieb Crone. In London Thomas Stanesby (ii) worked until about 1754 and was succeeded by his assistant, Caleb Gedney. J.J. Schuchart, who may have worked for Bressan, established his shop shortly after the latter's death in 1731.

Alternative joints on hautboys (called 'Muttationen' in Austria) began to appear in the 1760s (fig.12). Such joints, usually three in number, may have been used principally by travelling soloists; they allowed for small pitch changes (about a comma, or a ninth of a whole tone). In military bands starting in the 1750s the hautboy was gradually replaced by the clarinet as the principal instrument. In many cases the players were probably the same but had simply switched instruments.

(vi) 1770–1800. By the 1770s the new 'Classical' hautboy was in vogue; it differed from its predecessors not only in outward form but also in its smaller bore, thinner walls and diminutive tone holes. The beginnings of such attributes can be seen in instruments made in Italy in the previous generation, especially those by Carlo Palanca of Turin. A year after Antonio Besozzi was appointed principal hautboy at Dresden in 1738, Augustin Grenser moved to Dresden, and Jakob Grundmann followed him in the early 1750s. These two makers developed a model that was the prototype almost everywhere for the rest of the century. The earliest surviving Grensers and Grundmanns closely resemble the instruments of Palanca and Giovanni Panormo.

The tone of the Classical hautboy was narrower and more focussed. It played more softly, especially in the upper register, and was extremely sensitive to corrections in intonation and to choice of fingering; it also played the high notes more easily. The hautboys of this period were built to be agile and mercurial rather than, as in earlier generations, rich and sensuous. Pitch was moving towards a relatively universal standard of *a′* = 440, which was in place by about 1770. It was probably no accident that *a′* = 440 had been traditional in Venice and northern Italy; its adoption all over Europe was no doubt the result of the important role of travelling Italian virtuosos in the preceding period. By 1770 the new 'long' high-note fingerings were in general use (see below).

As orchestral parts became increasingly simplified, the more enterprising players wrote concertos for themselves and began touring; hence the remarkable number of bravura pieces for hautboy and orchestra written in the second half of the 18th century. A number of travelling virtuosos left music for the instrument, including Joseph Fiala, Georg Druschetzky, Franz Joseph Czerwenka (recipient of Beethoven's variations on 'La ci darem la



12. Oboe in C, with alternative head joints, by J.G. Liebel, 1798 (Dayton C. Miller Collection, Library of Congress, Washington DC)

mano'), Ignaz Malzat (who probably wrote the 'Haydn' concerto), Carlo Besozzi (with J.C. Fischer, the best-known hautboist of his day), J.F. Braun, L.A. Lebrun, Fischer, and Friedrich Ramm (recipient of Mozart's Quartet). In the Habsburg lands prominent composers, including Mysliveček, the Wranitzky brothers and Vanhal, also wrote important works. Most of the solo and chamber genres that had previously provided showpieces had now fallen out of favour; the dominant genres were the hautboy quartet and quintet, which effectively replaced the solo sonata and the trio. Despite the popularity of these forms, the quantity of new compositions for solo hautboy was on a steady decline in the second half of the century.

By this period, the hautboy began to cede some of its former orchestral territory to the clarinet. The conscious use of instrumentation to create tone-colour meant that no specific wind instrument predominated in the orchestra, as the hautboy had formerly done. By 1802 François-Joseph Garnier wrote of the hautboy, 'The usage that most of the great masters made of it in their learned compositions attest sto its excellence and is a daily reproach to the present taste, which seems to neglect it'.

Starting about that time, solos began to show a preference for sharper tonalities, a higher tessitura and an extended upper range. Mozart's Quartet for oboe and strings K370/368*b*, for instance, shows a mean range about a major 3rd higher than Bach's average for hautboy solos. Upward slurs of intervals larger than a 3rd (virtually unplayable on earlier hautboys) were required more frequently, explaining the general adoption of long high-note fingerings based on harmonics, and the eventual addition of a speaker key. The note *f‴* appears first in a sonata by Bissoli written about 1750, but it was still exceptional when Mozart used it in his Quartet in 1781. L.J. Francoeur noted the use of *g‴* as early as 1772, but it did not appear in a fingering chart until 1792 (Wragg: see Haynes, 1978). Lebrun (who died in 1790) avoided *g‴* in one of his concertos. In 1802 Garnier discouraged the use of notes above *d‴* in his *Méthode* written for for the two-key hautboy.

In France the principal hautboists of this period were François Sallantin and Gaetano Besozzi. Sallantin was the first professor of oboe at the Paris Conservatoire (for which institution Garnier wrote his *Méthode*), and François Devienne's Sonatas opp.70 and 71 (1793) are dedicated to him; they are unusual in French music for being specifically for hautboy. In 1776, after a successful career in Munich, Secchi returned to Turin to replace the aging Alessandro Besozzi. Giuseppe Ferlendis was the principal hautboist at Salzburg (Mozart wrote the concerto for him there) and later played in Vienna and Venice. Sante Aguilar was active at Bologna, 1761–1808. Besides Fischer, leading players in London included John Parke and his brother W.T. Parke.

In the latter part of the 18th century, members of the Lot family, Prudent, and Christophe Delusse were the most celebrated makers in France. Andrea Fornari began making hautboys at Venice some time before 1791. Among several active makers in Germany, the Dresden makers Grundmann and his assistant Johann Friedrich Floth, together with Grenser and his nephew Heinrich, dominated the market in much of Europe during the last quarter of the 18th century (nearly a fifth of all the hautboys that now survive are by these makers). Many English hautboys from this period have also survived, made to meet the demands of a large amateur clientèle; William Milhouse had the best reputation. By this time instruments were also being made in Vienna and Prague by such makers as Friedrich and Martin Lempp and Jakob Baur. Haydn preferred the hautboys of the Viennese maker Rocko Baur.

From the 1780s additional keys began to appear on the hautboy. Keys had been used for centuries, usually to close holes beyond the reach of the fingers, but dedicated key systems did not find acceptance until the Industrial Revolution. The purpose of many of the new keys was to eliminate cross-fingerings by providing a separate tone hole, opened by its own key, for each semitone. This development affected fingering technique, but, more basically, it also altered the sound and character of the instrument: accidentals were clearer, so that the whole scale became brighter and more focussed. A few cross-fingerings remained (the forked *f′* is still used on the key-system oboe), but they came to be used as alternatives or for special effects. The advent of the key systems indicates a rejection of the basic characteristic of the hautboy and thus represented a turning-point in the history of the oboe.

3. The 19th century. During the 19th century the oboe changed more than in any other period. Most accounts have dwelt on the mechanism, with little consideration of other less obvious alterations and how they influenced the instrument's playing characteristics. Taken together, these changes not only allowed the hautboy to meet the technical demands of new musical aesthetics but also affected its pitch, timbre, carrying power, intonation, balance of registers and ultimately its character and function. In the 19th century the oboe remained a specialist's instrument. Because of the difficulties associated with reeds and the patience required to produce an acceptable tone quality, the oboe never became popular as an amateur instrument and was little used in domestic music-making. Oboe classes in conservatories across Europe were small, and the size of the market was responsible for consistently high production costs.

(i) Characteristics and repertory. By the mid-19th century the oboe had lost the dynamic power of the hautboy, rendering it unsuited to military and ceremonial music, while in the orchestra it fought a losing battle against the increasing power of the brass and string sections. Players saw themselves as successors to the tradition established by the Besozzis, Lebrun and Fischer, all renowned for their virtuosity and sweet tone. The Romantic attitude to the oboe was summed up by Berlioz:

> Candour, artless grace, soft joy, or the grief of a fragile being, suits the hautboy's accents; it expresses them admirably in its cantabile. A certain degree of agitation is also within its powers of expression; but care should be taken not to urge it into utterances of passion – the rash outburst of anger, threat or heroism; for then its small acid-sweet voice becomes ineffectual, & absolutely grotesque . . . The theme of a march, however manly, grand or noble, loses its manliness, its grandeur, and its nobility, if a hautbois deliver it.

Cantabile became the oboe's characteristic mode of expression: according to the French oboist Henri Brod, 'great composers use the oboe soloistically only in melodic passages, and most often in slow tempos' (1825–35, i, 1). Characteristic examples include the soaring line of Florestan's aria in *Fidelio* (Act 2 scene i), 'Tristesse' in

Berlioz's *Roméo et Juliette*, the solo at the beginning of the slow movement of Brahms's Violin Concerto and many examples in Wagner's scores, such as the moment in Act 2 of *Tannhäuser* where, in the words of Richard Strauss, 'no other instrument could reveal the sweet secret of love's innocence in such affecting tones' (*Instrumentationslehre*, 1904).

Both lyricism and virtuosity had a place in the concerto and in chamber music. Oboe with string trio or quartet was a favourite combination in the early 19th century. A profusion of concertos, *pièces de salon* and operatic fantasies emanated from the Paris Conservatoire, many written by the professors for their own and their students' use. Few concertos were written outside France; those by Kalliwoda and Bellini were exceptions. Among the works for oboe and piano, the *Drei Romanzen* op.94 by Robert Schumann (1849, with clarinet and violin as alternatives) are the most important; these pieces are more lyrical than virtuoso. At the end of the century, music by the Italian oboe virtuoso Antonio Pasculli (1842–1924) introduced an unprecedented level of virtuosity (e.g. the *Fantasia sull'opera Poliuto di Donizetti* and the *Grand concerto sul I vespri siciliani di Verdi*). The oboe's pastoral associations were perpetuated in works such as Brod's *Sur le retour du petit Savoyard* for oboe and piano (*c*1835) and the *Notturno Alpenreigen und Rondoletto pastorale* by Rudolf Tillmetz as well as in the 'Scène aux champs' in Berlioz's *Symphonie fantastique*.

Most of this music was written by lesser-known composers or by oboists for their own use. Judging from quantity and the difficulty of the music, many oboists reached a high technical standard. That few prominent composers produced solo or chamber music for the instrument was perhaps due at least in part to the limited range and expressive capabilities of the oboe relative to other instruments: it was considered unequal on its own to the aspirations of Romantic expression.

The independent traditions of oboe making that arose in France and Germany came about to meet different musical demands. While the French oboe quickly lost the qualities associated with the hautboy, the construction of the German oboe encouraged a more robust tonal character. By 1840 most modern oboes of the two schools had almost identical keywork, but were distinguished by other features of construction. The German oboes had a slightly wider bore and the keys were supported on wooden mounts, which tended to damp resonance; and these characteristics, together with the use of relatively hard reeds, produced a dark sound. The profile of the French oboe was more streamlined and it was played with lighter, narrower reeds. The sweet, bright tone of the French oboe added brilliance in the orchestra, while the heavy, dark tone preferred in the German lands was better able to blend with other instruments. Other European countries gravitated towards one or other of the two schools: Italy towards the German school and England likewise, until French influence began to predominate around the middle of the century. Oboe methods of the 19th century dwell on technical rather than musical aspects and contain much information relevant to the chronological development of the instrument.

(ii) Additional keys, 1800–40. For over a century two keys had served the oboist's needs, and although the technology for adding keywork was available, it was rarely applied. The development of keywork was stimulated by the challenge of adapting to the new musical style together with the economic viability provided by the Industrial Revolution. The oboe was the last wind instrument to be equipped with additional keywork, but this does not mean that it was disadvantaged: the double reed provided it with the flexibility to overcome the limitations of minimal keywork. Some oboists thought that too many keys could damage tone quality – Gustave Vogt (1781–1870) was one of the most outspoken on this issue. By the mid-1820s the evenness of tone provided by keyed fingerings was widely accepted, but cross-fingerings continued to be used for much of the century. Not all oboists stayed abreast of the latest developments, and orchestration manuals cautioned composers against demanding techniques available only on the most mechanically advanced instruments.

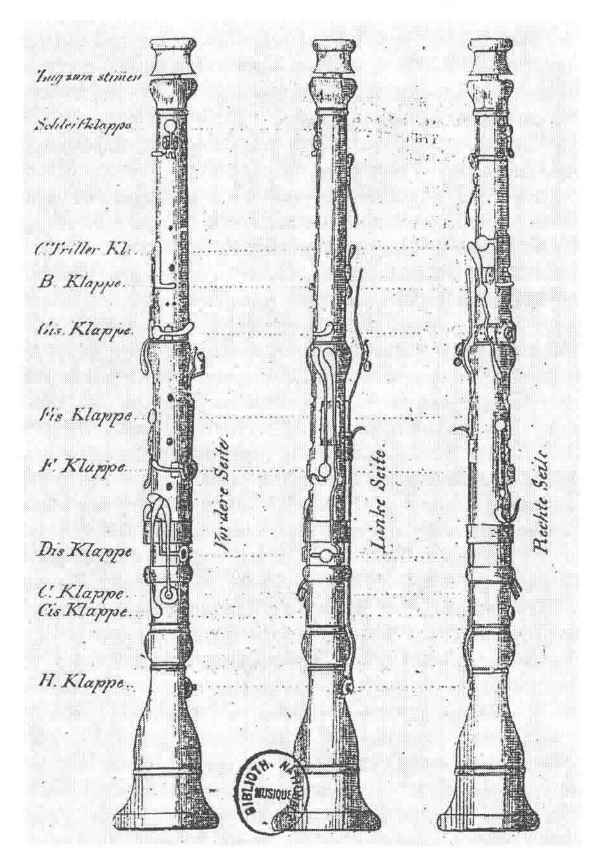
The exact circumstances and order in which keys were added to the oboe are difficult to track: priorities varied according to local preference. The first keys were added by German makers. A small percentage of the oboes made in Dresden by Heinrich Grenser (1764–1813), J.F. Grundmann (1727–1800), J.F. Floth (1760/61–1807) and his apprentice C.G. Bormann (1770/71–1839) have up to ten keys. In 1823 the oboist Wilhelm Braun considered four keys essential (C, C♯, E♭ and the speaker key), and a further four advisable. Two years later Josef Sellner (1787–1843), professor of the oboe at the Vienna Conservatory, published his *Theoretisch-praktische Oboeschule*, which promoted the 13-key oboe he had developed in collaboration with the maker Stephan Koch (fig.13). This model did not force other oboes into immediate extinction but was to remain the most advanced Austrian/German oboe for the next several decades.

French oboists were more cautious about adding keys; developments in the first two decades of the century concentrated on improving the much-admired oboes of Christophe Delusse (*fl* 1781–9; fig.14). François Sallantin (1775–1861), first oboe at the Opéra to 1812 and professor at the Conservatoire to 1816, added two keys, which Gustave Vogt, his pupil and successor, described in his *Méthode* (*c*1816–25) as essential for correct intonation, although he rejected the addition of further keys. However, by 1825 Vogt, then the pre-eminent player in France, had adopted a seven-key instrument (Musée de la Musique, Paris, 481/E263) similiar to the oboes described in methods by his pupils Brod (1825–35) and Auguste Vény (1828). French builders of the period such as Guillaume Triébert, Brod and F.G. Adler (*d* 1854) also respected the Delusse tradition (fig.15).

Two-key oboes remained in use in Italy perhaps longer than in other countries; Andrea Fornari continued to make such instruments until 1832. The virtuoso solos in Rossini's operas – notably *La scala di seta* (1812) and *La gazza ladra* (1817) – were written for Baldassare Centroni (1784–1860), who for most of his career played a two-key oboe.

The keys added in this first phase served six main functions: to extend the range; to modify the tuning of certain notes; to provide alternatives to cross-fingerings; to improve the high notes; to improve trills; and to expand the range of tonalities in which the instrument was technically fluent and tonally effective.

The range of the hautboy in late 18th-century instructions is *c′* to *f‴*, fully chromatic except for *c♯′*. A *c♯′* key



13. Sellner-system oboe: illustration from a review of Sellner's 'Theoretisch-praktische Oboeschule' (1825) in 'Cäcilia', iv (1826)

was an early addition on German oboes, but the note continued to be unavailable in France until about 1825. A key to close the vent holes on the bell to produce *b* was added to some German oboes in the first decade of the 19th century, but it did not appear on French oboes until Brod's model of 1835. Brod is also known to have made oboes descending to *a*, by which he intended to improve the overall tone of the instrument as much as to increase its range. The most widely accepted upper limit of the oboe's range in the 19th century was *g‴*. Sellner extended it to *a‴*, but this note was never called for in the music of the time.

The tuning compromises inherent to the hautboy were not always compatible with 19th-century intonation and could be eliminated with keys. The practice of distinguishing enharmonic equivalents with different fingerings was retained in France by contrasting cross- and keyed fingerings, with the higher of two fingerings for a particular pitch assigned to the sharpened note.

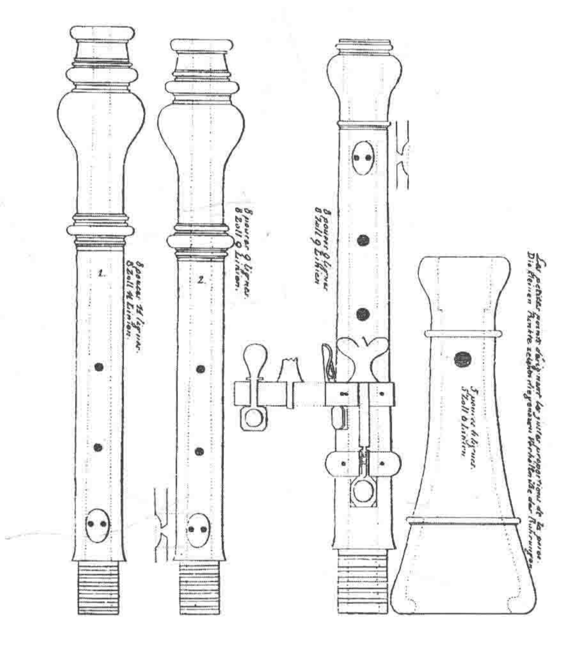
Evenness of tone became an important component of Romantic musical aesthetic. Keys could be used to reduce the variation in the tone of different notes, to correct intonation without requiring adjustments to embouchure or breath pressure, and to simplify certain passage-work.

It was discovered about 1800 that opening a small hole near the top of the bore as a high note was attacked improved the note's response. In Germany the key that covered this hole had two names: *Schleifklappe* ('slur key') referred to its use as an aid in playing upward slurs and *hohe F-Klappe* to its use in producing high notes, particularly *f‴*. The first French instruments with such a speaker key (*clef d'octavier*) were made by Brod in the late 1830s. Brod also devised a pierced plate to provide the correct venting, to overblow *d″* and *e♭″*.

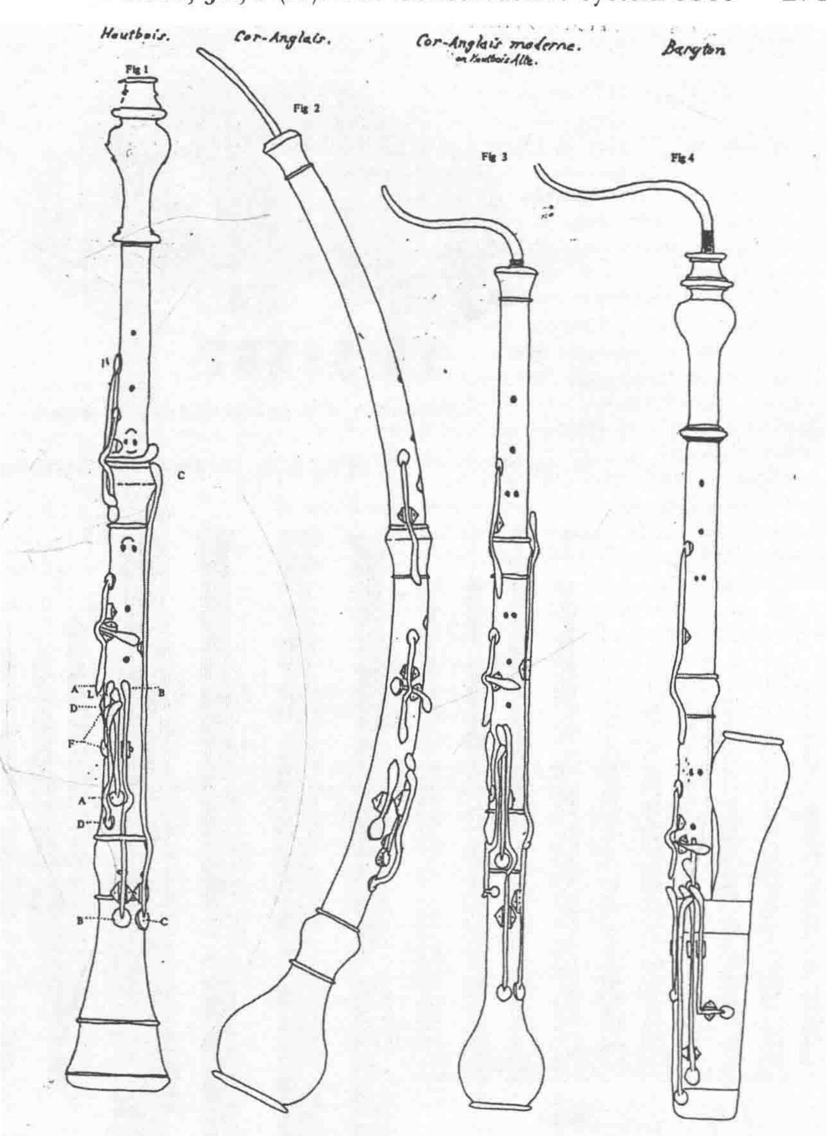
On the hautboy, many trills require one of the pitches to be 'bent' in tune by the player. Trill keys such as the *c′* key on the Sellner oboe provided more acceptable intonation.

The duplicate E♭ and F keys on the Sellner oboe greatly facilitated playing in tonalities with more than three sharps or flats, such as the D♭ major cantabile theme in the second movement of Schubert's 'Unfinished' Symphony (1822). Austrian and German compositions for solo oboe, written for such instruments, tend to be in tonalities further removed from C major than works by French composers. Although keys helped to produce a more even tone, they had little effect on the overall volume of the instrument. In addition, in this phase of the oboe's development the keys were not always ideally placed for rapid execution.

(iii) Interactive mechanisms, 1840–60. The second phase of the oboe's development was centred on France, stimulated by the flourishing school of virtuosity at the Paris Conservatoire during the tenure of the distinguished professors Vogt (tenure 1816–53), S.-X. Verroust (1853–63), C.-L. Triébert (1863–7), F.-C. Berthélemy (1867–8), Charles Colin (1868–81) and Georges Gillet (1881–1919). Makers aimed to improve the facility of execution by simplifying fingerings and to make the tone even more uniform over the compass of the instrument. Frédéric Triébert (1813–78) was responsible for a series of innovative designs, in which he addressed these problems by revising the layout of the keys and adopting interdependent mechanisms (*see* KEYWORK). The Triébert



14. Delusse oboe from F.-J. Garnier's 'Méthode raisonnée pour le haut-bois' (1802)



15. Oboe, english horn, cor anglais moderne and baryton from Brod's 'Méthode pour le hautbois', pt 2 (1835)

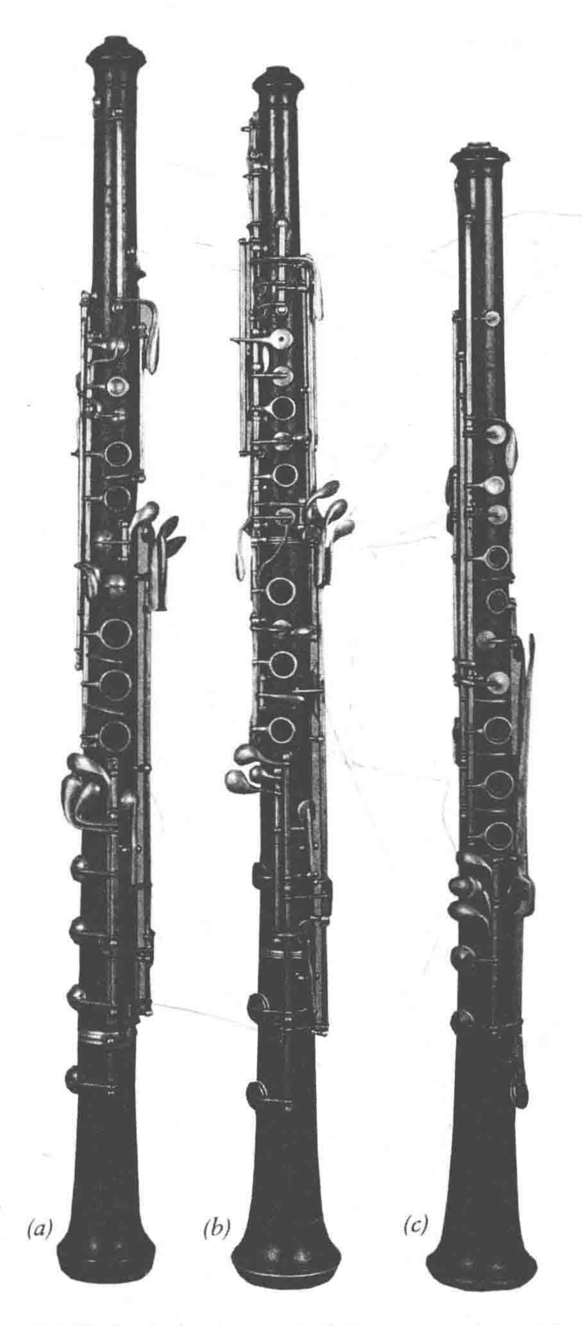
catalogue of 1862 advertised all *systèmes* created over the preceding 20-year period (fig.16). The profile of the more modern oboes was streamlined to accommodate the increasingly complex system of keys. By 1840 axles and posts had supplanted metal saddle key supports, and rings (*brilles*) had been added to facilitate *f♯′*, *b♭′* and *c″*.

No national schools of playing developed outside France, and, apart from a few virtuosos such as Philipp Barth, Sellner and F.E. Thurner (1785–1827), the market for oboes in Germany and Austria was made up predominantly of orchestral musicians, for whom 10- to 13-key oboes were sufficient. Most mechanical developments introduced in France in the 1840s were not adopted in Germany until after the middle of the century. C.T. Golde of Dresden (1803–73) made impeccably tuned oboes which, typically for German oboes of his time, had independent key mechanisms supported by wooden blocks, and simple levers rather than the rods found on French oboes.

(iv) The Conservatoire-system oboe. The central figures in the final stage of the development of the modern French oboe were Frédéric Triébert and A.-M.-R. Barret (*c*1803–79, from 1829 first oboe at Covent Garden). In the second edition of his *Complete Method for the Oboe* (1862) Barret announced a new design created in collaboration with Triébert (fig.17). On the new instrument the range was extended downwards to *b♭*; like Brod, Barret argued that lengthening the bell improved the tone of the instrument. The fingerings of the first octave were now used for the second octave, with the addition of an octave key for *a″* to *c″*; this simplified the fingering for *b♭″*, *b″* and *c‴*, notes formerly produced as modified 3rd harmonics of *e♭′*, *e′* and *f′* respectively. The facility gained by the simplified fingerings was, however, achieved at the expense of stability of pitch, tone quality and projection. The addition of new keys and new links between keys made trills available on all pitches throughout the compass of the instrument. Barret also devised a thumb-plate to activate the *b♭′* and *c″* keys. Many features of Barret's design were incorporated into Triébert's 'système 6' (1872); French players, however, preferred to



16. Frontispiece to Triébert catalogue, c1862 (prepared after the company was awarded the 'médaille d'honneur' at the 1855 Paris Exposition), including detailed descriptions of all the instruments in production at that time: 1–3 older-system oboes ('systèmes 1–3'); 4–6 newer-system oboes ('systèmes 4, 6'); 7 Barret-system oboe; 8–10 Boehm oboes; 11–13 oboes in B♭, D♭ and E♭; 14–16 hautbois pastoral; 17, 18, 20 english horns; 21 Boehm-system english horn; 22–3 baritone oboes; 24–6 bassoons; 27 Boehm-system bassoon; 28–9 clarinet mouthpieces; 60 gouging machine for oboe reeds; 66 shape for oboe reeds



17. *(a) Triébert Boehm oboe, c1862; (b) Barret-system oboe, c1862; (c) L.-A. Buffet Boehm oboe, c1844 (Bate Collection, Faculty of Music, University of Oxford)*

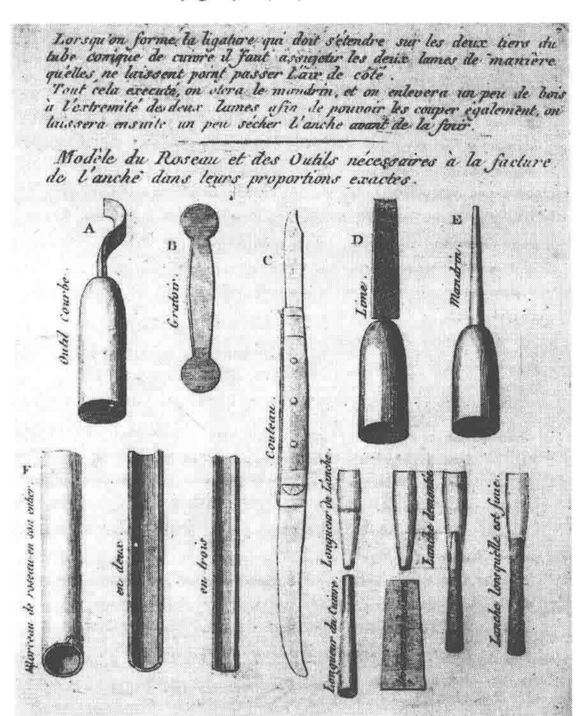
maintain the freedom of the thumb, so the *b♭′* and *c″* keys were operated by the index finger of the right hand.

After the death of Frédéric in 1867, the firm of Triébert changed hands several times. It was declared bankrupt in 1881, at which time the foreman, François Lorée (1835–1902), established his own workshop to continue the Triébert tradition. In the same year Georges Gillet adopted Triébert's 'système 6' as the official instrument of the Paris Conservatoire. It was, however, some time before this 'Conservatoire system' oboe became established as an international standard. In Belgium it was not until the last decade of the century that it superseded previous models. In England Alfred Morton (1827–98) made hybrid oboes with the wider bores of German oboes and French keywork. By 1860 Central European makers had added rings on holes 5 and 6; few further changes are noticeable in German oboe designs until the end of the century. The Austrian oboe was the least affected by French developments and retained most features of the Sellner-Golde tradition, with modifications by Josef Hajek (1849–1926), whose instruments were championed by the Viennese oboist Richard Baumgärtel (1854–1941). Pasculli was one of the first Italian oboists to use a French oboe. He played a Triébert 'système 3' to the end of his career in 1884, 45 years after the model was created.

Concurrently with the development of the Conservatoire-system oboe, some makers developed a radically new oboe based on the theories of Theobald Boehm. Initially there was much optimism about the new design – it would improve the oboe's faulty tuning by doing away with the 'acoustic monstrosities of forked fingerings and half-holings' (Fétis, *Rapports du Jury international, Exposition universelle, 1868*) – but the success of these instruments was short-lived. In the 1840s and 50s the oboist A.J. Lavigne (1816–86), an ardent supporter of Boehm's principles, participated in the three projects to realize a Boehm oboe (see fig.18). The tonal results were incompatible with the oboe's established character, and each attempt only exacerbated the oboe's reedy tone. The Boehm-system oboe continued to be used only in military music, where its simplified fingering, increased power and improved intonation were appreciated. Although it failed to supplant traditional designs, the Boehm experiment served to affirm the desired characteristics of the French oboe.

Like their 18th-century predecessors, early 19th-century makers favoured the superior acoustic properties of boxwood, which was, however, a soft wood with a tendency to warp. By the 1840s makers were experimenting with other woods in an attempt to find a more stable support for the delicate interactive key systems. The Triébert catalogue of 1862 recommended boxwood only for oboes with minimal keywork, preferring rosewood, grenadilla and ebony for all other models. In 1890 Gillet's revision of Brod's tutor suppressed all reference to boxwood, naming in its place pallisander, grenadilla and ebony. Of these, grenadilla wood has proved the most serviceable.

As much as the instrument itself, oboe reeds changed decisively over the course of the 19th century. The earliest detailed reed-making instructions are found in F.-J. Garnier's *Méthode* of 1802 (fig.18). Other early instructions appear in the method books of Sellner (1825), Brod (1825–35) Clemente Salviani (*Metodo completo per oboe*, Milan, 1848) and Giuseppe Cappelli (*Metodo teoretico-pratico*, Milan, 1853). During the 19th century reeds became narrower, made from cane of smaller-diameter tubes, gouged increasingly thinner (see fig.2 above). Like the instruments, reeds did not follow a simple chronological evolution but varied according to national preference, the French reeds being the smallest and lightest. A gouging machine invented by Brod revolutionized reed making by providing more uniform results than had been possible by scraping the interior of the cane by hand, and resulted in the abandonment of the tapered gouges seen in some hautboy reeds. Changes to the instrument also influenced



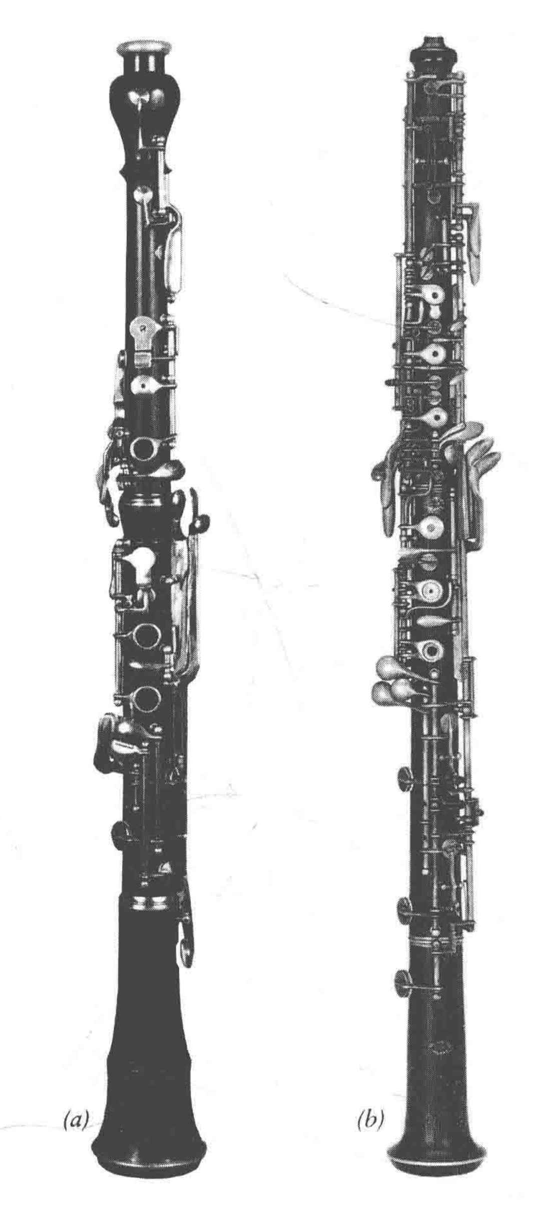
18. Oboe reeds (before and after binding) and reed-making tools: engraving from F.-J. Garnier's 'Méthode raisonnée pour le haut-bois' (1802)

reed design. With the addition of the speaker key, reeds no longer needed to respond to the changes of air pressure to overblow the high notes, and the dimensions of the staple were less critical because intonation in the upper octave could be adjusted with less risk of the notes dropping to the lower octave. As cross-fingerings require light and flexible reeds, only when these fingerings became virtually obsolete did harder reeds come into use.

As at the end of the 18th century, most orchestras in the 19th century had two oboes. The english horn was usually played by one of the oboists, more rarely by an additional player. This configuration was expanded to three oboes and english horn in some of Wagner's late works (e.g. *Parsifal*). The tradition of tuning to the oboe is documented from the beginning of the 19th century. According to Vogt and Fétis (*Manuel des compositeurs*, Paris, 1837, p.117), the narrow bore of the oboe made it less susceptible than other wind instruments to pitch variation caused by temperature fluctuations.

4. THE 20TH CENTURY.

(i) Instruments and playing styles. At the end of the 20th century the Conservatoire-system oboe was used by soloists and orchestral musicians throughout the world. For over 120 years since its invention in 1872 this design has been forced (with only minor modifications) to adapt to performing music from the 17th century to the present day. Richard Strauss's enthusiasm for the French oboe's superior mechanism, evenness of tone, facility in extreme ranges and ability to blend with other instruments (1904, p.164) was probably responsible for its adoption in Germany. The first oboist to promote the use of the French instruments there was Fritz Flemming (1872–1947), professor at the Berlin Hochschule für Musik from 1907. By 1920 most German oboists had followed his example. His influence is evident in the playing of Karl Steins (*b* 1919) and Lothar Koch (*b* 1935), whose dark, voluminous sound, produced by playing a French oboe with German reeds, was an unmistakable part of the sound of the Berlin PO during the tenure of Herbert von Karajan. Vienna has remained the only place to resist French influence. The modern Viennese oboe, descended from the instruments of Sellner and Golde, was made in the 20th century by Hermann Zuleger and Yamaha (fig.19*a*). It is characterized by a wide, non-continuous bore, thick walls, a fingering system that incorporates cross- and harmonic fingerings, and short, wide reeds inserted into a tapered reed well. Shorter than the French oboe, the Viennese oboe does not usually have



19. (a) Modern Viennese oboe by Hermann Zuleger (Bate Collection, Faculty of Music, University of Oxford); (b) experimental oboe by Romeo Orsi, Milan, 1918–30 (private collection)

a key for *b♭*; Mahler's scores provide alternative versions for French and Viennese oboes. At the end of the 20th century some Viennese oboes were being made with Conservatoire-system keywork.

Attitudes towards modifying the Conservatoire-system oboe have remained exceptionally conservative, with the result that defects in the French design have remained unsolved on the modern instrument. The intonation of the upper octave and the lowest notes is still problematic, and the tone of *b♭″* to *c‴* remains poor. A few small modifications have been made. Early in the century *plateaux*, or pierced keys, were installed above the six finger-holes. This innovation, called the 'Gillet' system after Georges Gillet, who proposed it to Lorée, assists the execution of certain trills and encourages a dark tone-colour. A third octave key, for playing in the extreme high register (*e‴* and above), has been added to some oboes. Extra tuning vents have been added to correct the pitch of notes affected by the lengthening of the bell to accommodate *b♭*. In the late 1980s and early 90s the walls of the top joint were thickened, increasing sonority and projection. The only resistance fingering used on the modern oboe is the forked F, which is still required for certain successions of notes. With the exception of rare examples in rosewood, 20th-century oboes are made of grenadilla. There have been sporadic experiments with synthetic substances, but these have not been widely used outside the production of student models. Isolated attempts to redesign the oboe have included an oboe made about 1930, signed 'Prof Romeo Orsi Milano', with added tuning holes, a network of automated octave keys and duplicate key systems for the low notes (fig.19*b*). The extra weight of the encrustation of keywork alone limited the practicality of this design. In the 1920s and 30s attempts were made to make the oboe more accessible to doublers in dance bands. The English firms Louis (established 1923) and Boosey & Hawkes (established 1930) created oboes with saxophone fingerings, and the Berninger-Adler oboe (1928) employed a single-reed mouthpiece. Neither enjoyed more than limited success. Likewise a system devised by the English oboist Arthur Forman to improve intonation of E and F by repositioning holes 5 and 6 has not been pursued. Persistent attempts to find an adequate synthetic substitute for reed cane have failed. Many oboists use commercially gouged and shaped cane, which they tie and scrape themselves; others personalize the process from an earlier stage, shaping, or gouging and shaping, the cane to their own specifications. There are many descriptions of the process (see Bourns, 1998). Reed-scraping machines have further mechanized reed making.

At the end of the 20th century the market was dominated by three French manufacturers: Lorée (see fig.3 above), Marigaux (established 1934) and Rigoutat (established 1922). The monopoly of French makers did not result in the total suppression of national styles. Although virtually identical mechanically, each company's instruments possessed unique tonal qualities adapted to specific schools: Lorée oboes were being used in North America to the almost total exclusion of other makes; Marigaux was supplying the German market with oboes of darker tone; and Rigoutat was making instruments with the more delicate tone preferred in France. National differences also existed in technique and reeds, although during the 1990s even these were becoming less apparent. Slight variations in key mechanisms existed in some traditions. Of these, the most important is the thumb-plate open-hole system used extensively in Britain. Although directly affecting only *b♭′* and *c″*, this system influences the tonal balance of the whole instrument. However, the Conservatoire-system oboe has always had a number of English adherents, Terence McDonagh (1908–86) being one of the most renowned. In the Netherlands the Stotijn system (named after a famous Dutch family of oboists) was developed; it has a special automatic octave-key mechanism. The Prestini system, developed by the Italian firm of the same name, assigned the keys for *b* and *b♭* to the left thumb.

Vibrato, which began to be used in France in the last decade of the 19th century, may have been introduced partly to compensate for the loss of resonance resulting from the narrow bore of the Conservatoire-system oboe. Strauss (*Instrumentationslehre von Hector Berlioz*, 183) may have been referring to vibrato when he observed: 'The French tone, though thinner and frequently tremulant [*oft vibrierend*], is much more flexible and adaptable'. Fernand Gillet (1882–1980), following the example of his uncle Georges, used throat vibrato discreetly in his *premier prix* examination in 1897 (Post, 1982, p.36). Leon Goossens (1897–1988), inspired by the violinist Fritz Kreisler, is considered the first oboist to have used diaphragm vibrato as a regular adjunct to tone production. It was well into the 20th century before vibrato was accepted by all schools; by the end of the century constant vibrato had transformed the tonal character of the oboe.

(ii) Repertory and performers. In the 20th century the oboe re-emerged as a solo instrument, stimulating composers to write concertos, solos and ensemble chamber music for it. This development was largely inspired by the playing of a number of fine oboists. French composers continued to write for the professors of the Conservatoire and their pupils; Saint-Saëns's Oboe Sonata (1921), written for Louis Bas (1863–1944), is an important work from the early 20th century. Goossens, who studied with Charles Reynolds (1843–1916) and the Belgian Henri de Busscher (1880–1975), forged a model career as orchestral musician, soloist and teacher. Known for the silken tone of his playing, his supple phrasing and control of vibrato, Goossens inspired more works than any other oboist of the 20th century. Arnold Bax's Quintet for oboe and strings (1922) was the first of the works dedicated to him; later came an incomplete suite by Elgar and concertos by Leon's brother Eugène (1927), Gordon Jacob (1933) and Vaughan Williams (1944).

The most important compositions of the middle of the century include concertos by Strauss (1945), Martinů (1955) and Zimmermann (1952), and sonatas by Wolpe (1932), Hindemith (1938), Dutilleux (1947), Schuller (1951) and Poulenc (1962). Britten's *Six Metamorphoses after Ovid* op.49 for solo oboe was written in 1951 for Goossens's pupil Joy Boughton (1913–63). This work, in particular the two-part writing exploiting the oboe's different registral and dynamic capabilities in no.5, 'Narcissus', influenced many later compositions for solo oboe: Krenek's *Sonatine* (1956), John Exton's *Three Pieces* (1972), Stoker's *Three Pieces* (1973) and Dorati's 'Fugue à 3 voix' from *Cinq pièces* for solo oboe (1981).

From 1960 the enormous versatility and phenomenal technique of the Swiss virtuoso Heinz Holliger (*b* 1939) brought prominence to the oboe in a wide range of

musical styles. Without ignoring the Baroque and Classical repertory, Holliger has revived unknown works of the 19th century and maintained an important position in contemporary music as both a performer and a composer for his instrument. Works written for him include Jürg Wyttenbach's Sonata (1961), Castiglione's *Alef* (1965), Penderecki's Capriccio for oboe and strings (1965), Berio's *Chemins IV* (1975, based on *Sequenza VII*) and Carter's Quintet for piano and wind (1992). Works for oboe and harp for performance with his wife Ursula include Carter's *Trilogy* (1944) and double concertos by Henze (1966) and Lutosławski (1990). Of his own oboe compositions, *Mobile* (1962) and *Siebengesang* (1967) are important.

Other noteworthy European oboists of the 20th century are Pierre Pierlot (*b* 1921), Maurice Bourgue, appointed professor at the Paris Conservatoire in 1979, and the Swiss-born Thomas Indemühle (*b* 1951), who earned a reputation as a teacher in the Netherlands and Germany. A number of women became prominent players: in England, Janet Craxton (1929–81) and Evelyn Rothwell (*b* 1911), and in the USA, Lois Wann and Nora Post, the latter noted as a performer of contemporary music.

The Frenchman Marcel Tabuteau (1887–1966), principal oboist of the Philadelphia Orchestra under Stokowski and Ormandy, exerted immense influence, establishing an 'American' style of oboe playing which has developed apart from European influence. The characteristic tone of the American school is generated by reeds with more bark scraped from the cane and a posture with the oboe held closer to the body than in other traditions. Tabuteau's many distinguished pupils have held principal chairs in orchestras across the USA, notably John Mack in the Cleveland Orchestra, Harold Gomberg (1916–85) in the New York PO, Robert Bloom (1908–84) in the NBC SO and, from 1934, the Bach Aria Group, and John de Lancie (*b* 1921) in Philadelphia. Other well-known American oboists include Joseph Marx (1913–78), Ray Still (*b* 1920), principal in the Chicago SO 1954–96, Robert Sprenkle and Humbert Lucarelli. At the end of the century prominent players included Richard Woodhams of the Philadelphia Orchestra, Joseph Robinson of the New York PO and Alex Klein of the Chicago SO.

(iii) Technique. 19th-century études – divorced from their obsolete accompanying technical remarks – remained the mainstay of the oboist's practice routine, supplemented by études of ever-increasing technical difficulty by such French oboist-composers as Louis Bleuzet (1874–?1940), Albert Debondue (1895–1984) and Roland Lamorlette (1894–1960). Lawrence Singer's *Metodo* and Holliger's *Pro musica nova: Studien zur neuen Musik* equipped the oboist with avant-garde techniques. From the 1960s the exploration of non-conventional sounds expanded the technical requirements of the oboist. Many of these new techniques are described in Holliger's performance notes printed with the score of Berio's *Sequenza VII* (1969; fig.20).

The range of the oboe has been extended to *a‴* and beyond. Extremely high notes, devoid of the oboe's reedy sound, can be produced by placing the teeth on the reed. Although Sellner provided a fingering for *a‴* in 1825, it was over a century before the pitch became usable; the presence of this note caused the first performance of Wolpe's *Suite im Hexachord* (1936) to be delayed until the 1950s. Notes below *b*♭ have been demanded in some works, for example in Wilfred Josephs's *Solo Oboe Piece* (1974).

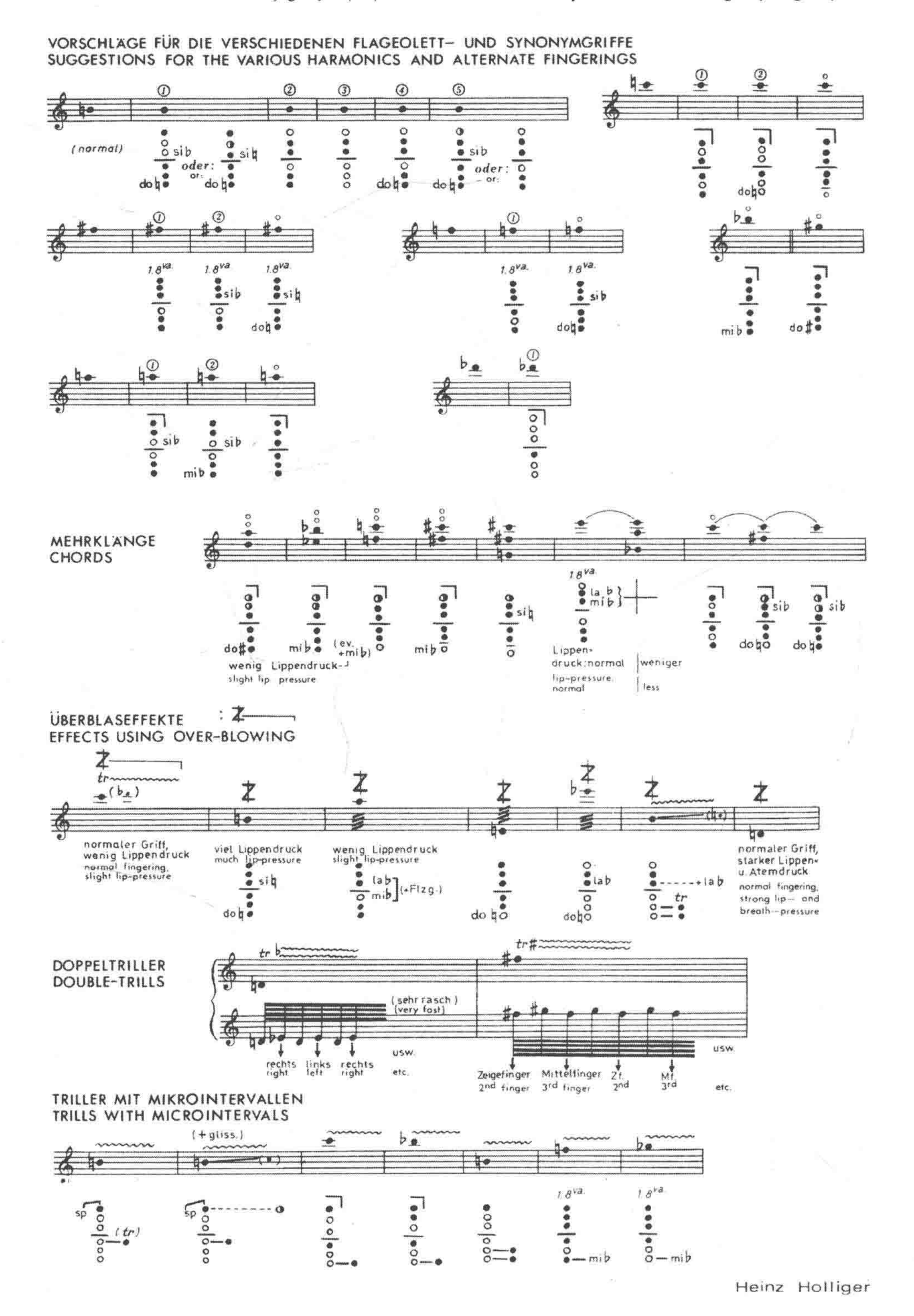
In the 20th century alternative fingerings were used for their colouristic possibilities. Harmonics have been in use since at least 1909, when Georges Gillet provided fingerings in *L'enseignement supérieur du hautbois*. A *bisbigliando*, or timbral trill, can be achieved on the oboe by oscillating between alternative fingerings producing the same pitch. Alternative fingerings are used to create a *Klangfarbenmelodie* at the beginning of Berio's *Sequenza VII*, where the oboist colours an electronically generated pedal with six different fingerings of *b′*. Glissandos, quarter-tones and other microtonal effects can be produced by partly closing the tone holes; because this technique is hampered by the *plateaux* system, some contemporary music specialists have preferred oboes with open holes. Double trills exploit duplicate keys.

Other new playing techniques have also been developed. The protrusion of the reed in the player's mouth makes double-, triple- and flutter-tonguing more difficult on the oboe than on other wind instruments; consequently these became an essential part of the oboist's technique only late in the century. Flutter-tonguing can be produced either with the tongue or in the throat. Stravinsky's marking 'Flatterzunge' in *The Rite of Spring* was probably envisaged as a means for the oboist to articulate rapid scales rather than as the timbral effect intended by later composers. Vibrato is sometimes specified at different speeds. Breath noises, key clicks and other percussive effects are featured in Holliger's *Cardiophonie* (1971), and other composers have called for the reed or instrument to be played on its own. Takemitsu's *Distance* for oboe and *shō* (1972) develops a polyphonic interplay between the performer's singing and playing.

Circular breathing became a regular part of the oboist's technique in the 1970s. The oboe reed provides the necessary resistance to allow the player to inhale while playing, the cheeks acting as a reservoir. Uninterrupted passage-work such as in Pasculli's *Le api*, for example, suggests that the technique had been developed much earlier by isolated players, but since the appearance of works like Globokar's *Atemstudie* (1972) circular breathing has become essential.

MULTIPHONICS have been used in many compositions. Bruno Bartolozzi's *New Sounds for Woodwinds* (1967) has been a seminal source-book. In collaboration with the oboist Lawrence Singer, Bartolozzi determined the audible pitches in each multiphonic and developed a number notation for the fingerings (fig.21*a*). Other forms of notation have included a simplified version of Bartolozzi's system (see Post, 1982; fig.21*b*) and a tablature specifying fingerings, and breath and lip pressure (Holliger, *Studie über Mehrklänge*, 1971; fig.21*c*). Double harmonics, the most consonant of multiphonic possibilities, are produced by isolating two partials generated from a single fundamental. 'Rolling tones' (*rollender Töne*), introduced in Klaus Huber's *Noctes intelligibilis lucis* (1961), are produced by the disruption pattern between slightly out-of-tune harmonics.

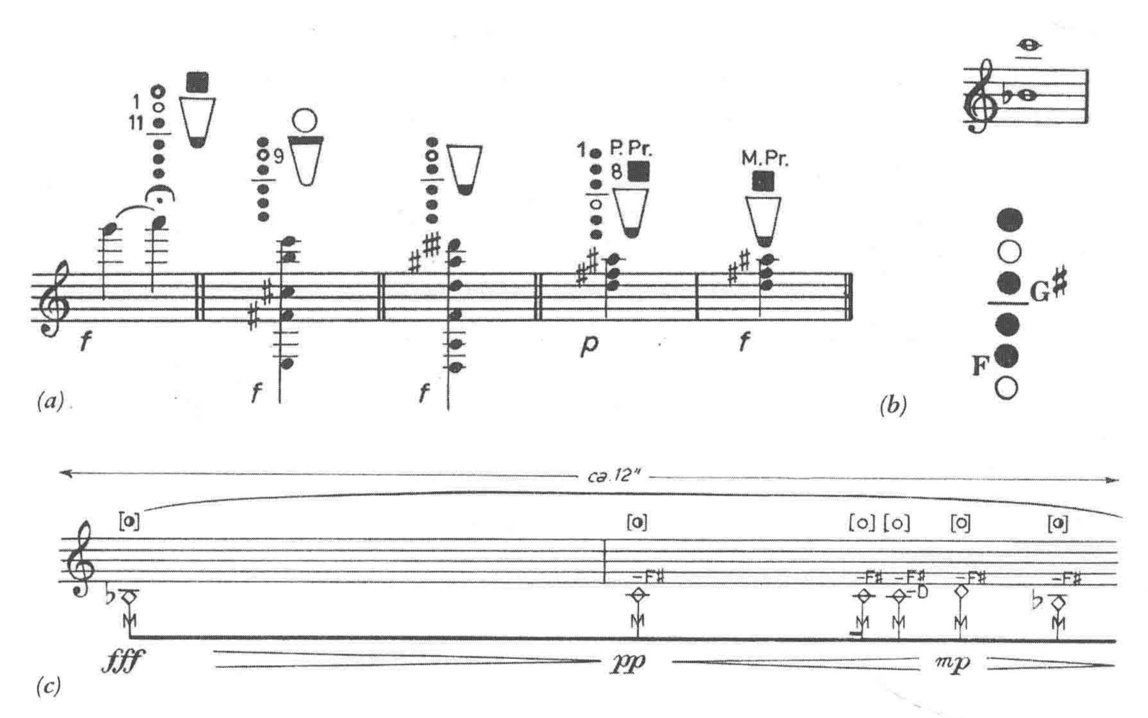
A variety of electronic devices and techniques have been applied to the oboe, manipulating its sound by amplification, artificial reverberation, tape delay and ring modulation. All of these techniques are required in Włodzimierz Kontonski's Concerto for oboe and orchestra (1972).



20. Heinz Holliger's playing instructions for the performance of Berio's 'Sequenza VII' (©1971, Universal Edition)

With the rise of the english horn as a permanent member of the orchestra, a third oboist has become essential in the 20th-century orchestra. However, it is common for 20th-century scores to call for a larger oboe section. Both Schoenberg's *Gurrelieder* (1901) and Igor Stravinsky's *Symphony of Psalms* (1930) require four oboes and one english horn.

(iv) Alternative playing styles. The last 30 years of the 20th century saw the revival of performance on historical



21. *Multiphonic notations: (a) Bartolozzi system, from L. Singer, 'Metodo per oboe' (1967); (b) N. Post, 'Multiphonics for Oboe' (1982); (c) H. Holliger, 'Studie über Mehrklänge' (1971)*

oboes – primarily the hautboy, but also 19th-century models. Pioneers were Michel Piguet (*b* 1948), Bruce Haynes (*b* 1942), Paul Goodwin and Han de Vries (*b* 1941). As these players were trained in a variety of schools, a number of different reconceptualizations of the oboe in the 18th and 19th centuries have emerged. Some players, such as de Vries, have also had important careers as modern oboists, but many have restricted their interests to pre-20th-century oboes and music. Among makers of hautboys are Paul Hailperin (Germany), Toshi Hasegawa (Netherlands), Olivier Cottet (France) and Sand Dalton (USA).

The oboe has not been absent from jazz or popular music: the best-known representatives have been Bob Cooper (*b* 1925) in jazz and Paul McCandless of the New Age group Oregon. At the end of the 20th century Rigoutat was developing a new system of amplification for the oboe, hoping to encourage its use in popular music.

III. Larger and smaller European oboes

1. Introduction. 2. Early lower oboes: (i) Haute-contre de hautbois (ii) Taille de hautbois (iii) Quinte de hautbois. 3. Mezzo-soprano oboes: (i) Oboe grande (ii) Oboe d'amore. 4. Tenor oboes: (i) The taille (de hautbois) in the 18th century (ii) Vox humana (iii) Oboe da caccia (iv) English horn (v) Alt[h]oboe. 5. Bass oboes and larger forms: (i) Bass oboe (ii) Sub-bass and contrabass oboes. 6. Smaller oboes.

1. Introduction. Lower oboes began to appear at the court of Louis XIV in the mid-17th century, at the same time as the treble instrument. They were needed to play the middle parts between treble oboe and bassoon in the five-part, later four-part, double-reed consort. But while the treble oboe spread rapidly throughout Europe and soon developed into a solo instrument and an integral member of the orchestra, the lower oboes followed a more erratic course, in some places disappearing completely for a time from the musical scene. The mezzo-soprano oboes were favoured during the late 17th and early 18th centuries but then faded from view, not to re-emerge until the 20th century. The tenor oboe, which had more variants than the other sizes, was continuously in use from the 17th century. Bass oboes, always less widespread than the others, have appeared occasionally as ensemble instruments. By the late 20th century each member of the family had become a soloist in its own right.

One feature common to all modern lower oboes is the bulb-shaped bell (Fr. *pavillon d'amour*; Ger. *Liebesfuss*). It was first applied to the tenor instrument about 1700 and to the mezzo-soprano about 1720. Such bells were used on shawms and bagpipes from the Middle Ages onwards; small bulb-belled shawms are depicted in the *Cantigas de Santa María*, from the court of Alfonso X of Spain (late 13th century; fig.22), and bulb bells appear on both the drones and chanters of bagpipes from Iberia to eastern Europe. The bulb bell has long been considered the source of the distinctive tone of the modern english horn and other lower oboes. While this is still open to debate, it is clear that the voicing of the bell affects the tonal quality and response of the instrument as a whole.

2. Early lower oboes.

(i) Haute-contre de hautbois. A mezzo-soprano oboe in A. It was used to play the second line (which sometimes descended to *a*, too low for the treble instrument) in the five-part ensemble music of the Lullian era. There are no extant examples. Personnel lists for Louis XIV's Douze Grands Hautbois reveal that there were usually two players of the haute-contre in the ensemble (*see* Paris, §V, 1(i)), and Sébastien de Brossard (*Dictionaire de*



22. Double-reed instrument with a bulb bell and clappers; miniature from the 'Cantigas de Santa María', Spanish, c1270–90 (E-E b.I.2, f.295v)

musique, 1703) mentioned the instrument, although he did not provide a separate entry for it. Lully used the haute-contre de hautbois in stage works, including *Les plaisirs de l'île enchantée* (1664), *Atys* (1676) and *Persée* (1682), and in instrumental music (*Airs de Carrousel*, 1686). It fell out of use in the late 17th century as interest shifted to the four-part ensemble of two oboes, tenor oboe (taille de hautbois) and bassoon and the trio of two oboes and bassoon. Although the second line in these ensembles was usually taken by a treble oboe, the part itself continued to be referred to as 'haute-contre', a practice that has led to doubt about the existence of the haute-contre de hautbois. However, by the late 17th century the instrument had been carried to other parts of Europe, where it would take on new forms during the early 18th century.

(ii) Taille de hautbois. A tenor oboe in F, a 5th below the treble, employed to play the third line in the wind ensembles and orchestras of Lully's time and later. Like the haute-contre, the taille de hautbois had a straight body with two keys and an open bell. It may have made its first appearance in Lully's *Alcidiane* (1658); he also used it in *L'impatience* (1661), *Les noces de village* (1663) and *La princesse d'Elide* (1664). A true solo part appears in Pascal Collasse's *Enée et Lavinie* (1690). Along with other members of the oboe family, the taille de hautbois was carried to England, Germany and the Netherlands, where it was employed in orchestras and wind ensembles (fig.23). The term TAILLE survived into the 18th century as a designation for a middle part in an ensemble work or for an instrument that played such a part.

(iii) Quinte de hautbois. A basset oboe in D, a 3rd below the taille de hautbois and a 5th below the haute-contre, apparently the fourth voice in the five-part double-reed ensemble during the early experimental years of the Lullian era. No examples are extant. Its existence is inferred by analogy with the recorder family of the time, which included haute-contres, tailles and quintes, and on a single piece of iconographical evidence: the frontispiece of Pierre Borjon de Scellery's *Traité de la musette* (1672), which depicts an *hautboïste* of the period with his 'full kit', including what might be a quinte de hautbois (fig.24). This instrument is equipped with keys, probably modelled on those of the musette and designed to assure reasonable intonation. The instrument did not survive the experimental years.

3. MEZZO-SOPRANO OBOES.

(i) Oboe grande (It., also *oboe luongo*, *oboe basso*; Fr. *grand hautbois*; Ger. *grosse [H]oboe*). The 18th-century designation for the haute-contre de hautbois, a mezzo-soprano oboe with an open bell, made in A and B♭ versions. It was used in central Europe in *Hautboisten* bands and other ensembles: Johann Fischer, J.C. Pez and Telemann, for example, scored for it in wind music; J.G. Hoffman, G.A. Homilius and Telemann, among others, used it in church cantatas. The instrument in A was favoured for music in keys with several sharps, and the instrument in B♭ for keys with several flats; the treble in C did not play well in tune in these keys. The oboe grande was used in a number of works by Italian composers, beginning in the 1720s. Porpora's *Angelica* (1720) and Vinci's *La caduta de' Decemviri* (1727) have parts for a pair of 'oboi lunghi', and Conforto's *Livia Claudia vestale* (1755) includes a solo for the instrument. By the late 18th century it was not much in evidence, although the Viennese oboist-composers Johann Went and Josef Triebensee wrote for it. In the 19th century a few oboes in B♭ were made for use in bands. In 1874 Victor-Charles Mahillon produced a pair of open-belled 'hautbois



23. Bell of an oboe by Beukers, c1690, depicting musicians playing (left to right) hautboy, bassoon, taille de hautbois and hautboy (Victoria and Albert Museum, London)



24. Frontispiece from Pierre Borjon de Scellery's 'Traité de la musette' (Lyons, 1672): engraving by Thomas Blanchet; the long instrument on the ground beside the player is thought to be a quinte de hautbois

d'amour' in A, with 19th-century keywork, for the first London revivals of J.S. Bach's works; similar instruments were also made in Germany around the same time.

(ii) Oboe d'amore (It.: 'oboe of love'; Fr. *hautbois d'amour*; Ger. *Liebes[h]oboe*). A mezzo-soprano oboe in A with a bulb bell (fig.25*a*), developed in south-central Germany during the second decade of the 18th century. The tone of the oboe d'amore, described as 'more sombre than the treble, but less weighty than the tenor', was exploited by J.S. Bach, Telemann and their contemporaries. Unlike the oboe grande, which was primarily an ensemble instrument, the oboe d'amore was used as a solo and obbligato instrument. The earliest extant specimen, dated 1719 (Musikmuseum, Stockholm), is by J.G. Bauer (1666–1721) of Leipzig. That city appears to have been a centre for oboe d'amore making; there are a number of extant instruments by J.H. Eichentopf and J.C. Sattler, both of whom were also active there about 1720.

The rich harvest of solo, concertante, obbligato and chamber music produced for the oboe d'amore in Germany during the late Baroque testifies to a strong interest in this new tone-colour. Soloists such as J.C. Gleditsch of Leipzig, who worked with Kuhnau, then Bach, and J.M. Böhm (*fl c*1685–1753) of Darmstadt, who worked with Graupner and Telemann, developed the new instrument as a distinctive solo voice. Bach used it with special effectiveness. His earliest surviving score to include it (*Die Elenden sollen essen* BWV75) dates from 1723, after his arrival in Leipzig. He achieved a particularly striking effect in the opening chorale of *Meinen Jesum lass ich nicht* BWV124 (1725); there a solo oboe d'amore weaves an obbligato around the choral lines. One of his best-known solos for the instrument is that in the alto aria 'Qui sedes' in the B minor Mass. Telemann's output includes solo concertos for the instrument and a triple concerto for flauto d'amore, oboe d'amore and viola d'amore as well as obbligato parts in vocal works for church and stage. Interest in the oboe d'amore began to flag in the 1740s, and by the 1760s few works were being written for it. The instrument was heard occasionally during the second half of the 18th century: a concerto by Dittersdorf (*c*1778) and several other works from this period with orchestral parts for it are preserved (*D-Rtt*), and instruments are known to have been made by Grundmann of Dresden (1774) and Otto of Neukirchen (1799).

Renewed interest in the music of J.S. Bach led to the development in the late 19th century of a new version of the oboe d'amore with 'modern' keywork and bore proportions. After first producing mezzo-soprano oboes with open bells, Mahillon began to make instruments with bulb bells; both types earned him medals at the Paris Exposition of 1878. Shortly thereafter, the Berlin firm of C.W. Moritz began to make *Liebesoboen* for performances at the Berlin Hochschule für Musik and the Bach summer festivals then becoming popular in Germany. Other makers followed, including François Lorée, who produced the first French oboes d'amore in the 1880s. The first modern composer to use the new instrument was Richard Strauss, who scored for it in his *Symphonia domestica* op.53 (1903). During the 20th century the instrument was used in the orchestra by many composers, including Mahler ('Um Mitternacht', orchestrated 1904–5), Debussy ('Gigues', *Images*, 1913), Holst (*A Somerset Rhapsody* op.21 no.2, 1906–7), Ravel (*Boléro*, 1928), Havergal Brian and Ligeti. Holbrooke, Koechlin and Ligeti have written solo and chamber works for it.

4. Tenor oboes.

(i) The taille (de hautbois) in the 18th century. At the end of the 17th century the taille de hautbois had the same profile as the treble oboe, but about 1700 the instrument began to be fitted with a bulb bell (fig.25*b*), probably by German makers. The taille served as the middle voice of the double-reed consort in France, northern and central Europe, England and Italy. In France it was used in theatre and concert works until the middle of the 18th century, and after that its use waned. In Germany it was called for in numerous church cantatas (for example, J.S. Bach's *Falsche Welt, dir trau ich nicht* BWV52). The taille de hautbois probably arrived in England in 1673, along with the first treble oboes; there it became known as the 'tenner hautboy'. Henry Purcell was the first English composer to take an interest in the instrument, scoring for it in *The Prophetess, or The History of Dioclesian* (1690) and other theatre music. By the 1720s horns had replaced tenor oboes in wind bands. However, a preference for the older consort instrumentation was retained in some locations, and tailles continued to be made for several more decades. The instrument had disappeared by about 1780. The bulb-belled version was revived half a century later when Henri Brod developed the *cor anglais moderne*, the prototype of the modern english horn. The open-belled version enjoyed a brief reincarnation as Wagner's 'Althoboe' (see (v) below).

(ii) Vox humana (Lat.: 'human voice'; It. *voce umana*). A tenor oboe in F, pitched a 5th below the treble, in use



25. *(a) Oboe d'amore by P. Wolraupier, 18th century (Musée des Instruments de Musique, Brussels); (b) bulb-belled taille de hautbois ('taille d'amour') by Lindner, Augsburg, c1705 (Musée de la Musique, Paris); (c) vox humana, Richard Milhouse (ii), Newark, c1775 (Leslie Lindsey Mason Collection, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston); (d) oboe da caccia by J.T. Weigel, Breslau, c1720 (Musikinstrumenten-Museum der Universität Leipzig; (e) angular english horn, J.T. Uhlmann, Vienna, c1825 (Bate Collection, Faculty of Music, University of Oxford); (f) bass oboe by Charles Bizey, Paris, c1749 (Musée de la Musique, Paris); (g) bass oboe by Triébert, Paris, c1860 (Bate Collection, Faculty of Music, University of Oxford)*

in the mid- to late 18th century. It is characterized by a narrow and largely unadorned profile, two-part construction (with the bell integral with the lower joint; fig.25*c*), minimal flare at the bell aperture and an angular crook to support the reed. It has two keys and six single finger-holes. The name of the instrument was apparently derived from the eponymous organ stop. Long associated exclusively with England, the vox humana is now known also to have been used in southern Italy.

The vox humana appeared in England just as the 'tenner hautboy' was giving way to the horn. It may have been invented by Thomas Stanesby (ii), the earliest active of the known makers of the instrument, who was also the author of a fingering chart for it. The first known appearance of the vox humana was in a concert at the Drury Lane Theatre, London, in May 1733; according to an advertisement, duets were to be performed on a pair of these new instruments. Though heard occasionally in the theatre, the vox humana was used primarily in the double-reed bands often employed in lieu of organs in poor provincial churches. One such band at Swalcliffe, north Oxfordshire, purchased a vox humana, reeds, a reed case and a fingering chart from Thomas Collier in 1783. This church supported a double-reed ensemble until 1815. A similar type of ensemble was used in Swiss churches around the same time (*see* HAUTBOIS D'ÉGLISE).

During the 1770s and 80s Gregorio Patria, an Italian living in Dublin, performed with success there on the vox humana, 'a new Italian instrument'. The vox humana was a favoured instrument in southern Italy, especially Naples, in the era before the english horn became common there. Paisiello included it in church and theatre music performed in Naples and Rome, primarily in the 1760s and early 1770s, and Sacchini and G.F. de Majo also wrote for it. The only known Italian maker of the vox humana was Giovanni Panormo of Naples, whose instruments have more flaring bells than the English models, a doubled third hole for C♯ and carved ivory rosettes at the bell aperture. By the 1780s the vox humana had been supplanted by the english horn. The term 'vox humana' was sometimes used for the english horn in Italy and England in the late 18th and early 19th centuries; it is often unclear which instrument was being referred to.

The vox humana was also made in a larger size, pitched in C, a 4th below the tenor instrument. Such instruments were probably used in lieu of bassoons to play the bass parts in church bands. An unmarked example with an octave key and keys for C, C♯ and E♭, three-part construction and vent holes in the bell is preserved in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

(iii) Oboe da caccia (It., also *oboe di silva*; Fr. *hautbois de chasse*, *hautbois de forêt*; Ger. *Jagd[h]oboe*, *Jagdhautbois*, *Wald[h]oboe*, *Waldhautbois*). A curved, leather-covered tenor oboe in F with a broadly flaring bell, in use between 1720 and about 1760 (fig.25*d*). It was produced by only a few makers and used in a small number of places in central Europe. The one-piece body of the oboe da caccia is strongly curved, sometimes in a complete semicircle. It was constructed by cutting a row of small wedges along the back of a straight instrument, then bending the body into an arc. The joins were usually pinned and the body sealed and covered with a leather binding, often decoratively tooled. The curved shape and flaring bell give the instrument a horn-like appearance, hence its name. The most distinguished maker of the oboe da caccia was J.H. Eichentopf of Leipzig, who made instruments with brass rather than wooden bells.

Bach began to use the oboe da caccia shortly after his arrival in Leipzig, where he found a fine soloist in J.C. Gleditsch. The instrument has a gentle and expressive nature, which Bach understood perfectly; one of the most striking moments in the *St Matthew Passion* is the soprano aria 'Aus Liebe will mein Heiland sterben', accompanied only by a solo transverse flute and two oboes da caccia. Other composers who wrote for the instrument include J.F. Fasch in Zerbst and Graupner in Darmstadt; in Munich G.B. Ferrandini wrote three symphonies for a pair of oboes da caccia with strings and continuo. Although the instrument had a distinctive sound, it was still considered a tenor oboe and as such was also used to play parts marked 'taille'.

(iv) English horn (Fr. *cor anglais*; Ger. *englisches Horn*, *Englisch-Horn*, *Englischhorn*; It. *corno inglese*; in the 18th century the instrument was also known as: Fr. *hautbois anglois*, *corne d'anglois*, *cor de chasse anglais*; Ger. *englische Wald[h]oboe*, *englisches Waldhorn*). The tenor oboe in F, a 5th below the oboe, in use from the early 18th century to the present. Its keywork corresponds to that of the oboe of its day and the reed is mounted on a short crook. It was created when a bulb bell was added to an oboe da caccia body shortly after 1720, possibly by J.T. Weigel of Breslau. Late 18th-century english horns were more gently curved than Baroque models, and by about 1790 some were being made in angular form, resembling contemporary basset-horns. Both curved and angular forms were made into the 19th century (fig.25*e* and fig.26).

The open-belled straight tenor oboe and particularly the flare-belled oboe da caccia reminded people of the angels' horns depicted in medieval and later religious imagery, especially in German-speaking central Europe. In Middle (High) German, the word *engellisch* meant 'angelic' (as *engelgleich* in modern Hochdeutsch). With the Middle German word for 'England' being *Engellant*, the word *engellisch* also meant 'English'. These dual meanings naturally became conflated, and 'angel's horn' thus became 'English horn'. This unlikely epithet remained with the curved, bulb-belled tenor oboe even after the oboe da caccia had faded (*c*1760) and in the absence of any better denominations.

Music for the english horn has been notated in a variety of ways. In Italy, during the late 18th century and the first half of the 19th, the parts were notated in the bass clef an octave below sounding pitch, because the instrument was often played by bassoonists. Elsewhere parts were notated at pitch in the alto clef (the method also preferred by Bach for the oboe da caccia parts). In France they were notated in the mezzo-soprano clef, to be read as if in the treble clef in order to effect the correct transposition. In modern notation the player reads from the treble clef, fingering the notes as on the oboe; the instrument sounds a perfect 5th below. In modern scores, however, the part is often notated at sounding pitch.

During its early years the english horn was used interchangeably with other tenor oboes, and few works were written specifically for it; most of those known came from Poland or Saxony, near the birthplace of the instrument. It began to be specified more frequently by the late 1740s; the Viennese version of Jommelli's *Ezio* (1749) called for a pair. One of the first composers to



26. F.-C. Berthélemy (1829–68), professor of oboe at the Paris Conservatoire, 1867–8: engraving by A. Collette from Sigismond Stern's 'Manuel général de musique' (Paris: Brandus, 1850); the english horn being played and the oboe on the table are by Triébert

exploit the instrument was Gluck, who began to use it in 1755, scoring for a pair in *La danza*. In *Orfeo ed Euridice* (1762) a pair of english horns appears in Orfeo's aria 'Piange, il mio ben così', an operatic lament; this foreshadows the use of the instrument in the works of many of Gluck's followers, particularly Berlioz. Joseph Haydn had a pair of english horns available to him at the Esterházy court and he used the instrument in a number of works, including Symphony no.22 ('The Philosopher', 1764), in which two english horns replace the usual oboes. Others who scored for the instrument in the mid- to late 18th century included Bonno, Hasse and Starzer in Vienna, Michael Haydn in Salzburg, who treated the instrument as a soloist in several works, and the player-composers Joseph Fiala, Joseph Lacher, Ignaz Malzat, Josef Triebensee and Johann Went.

In the German-speaking parts of Europe, the most significant english horn player of the late 18th century was Philipp Teimer (Filip Matyas Tajmar, 1761–*c*1817), the youngest of three oboe-playing brothers. He served, with his brothers and father, in the musical establishment of Prince Johann Joseph Schwarzenburg (who maintained a *Harmonie* with pairs of oboes, english horns, horns and bassoons), and also appeared frequently as a soloist. A number of trios for oboes and english horn, including possibly Beethoven's op.87, were written for the three brothers. Other works written with Teimer in mind include the Singspiel *Babylons Pyramiden* (1797) by Johann Mederitsch and Peter Winter, in which the english horn plays a role analogous to that of the flute in *Die Zauberflöte*, Salieri's Requiem of 1804 and Hummel's cantata *Lob der Freundschaft* (1807), which includes an extraordinarily difficult obbligato part rising to written *g'''*. Another well-known english horn player of the late 18th century was the oboist-composer Giuseppe Ferlendis (1755–1810), who was so closely associated with the instrument that he was credited in several sources with its invention. His success as a performer was probably due at least in part to the excellent curved instruments made for him by the Venetian maker Andrea Fornari (1753–1841).

The english horn was usually associated with Italian opera in the late 18th century, and the majority of instruments were made in cities that supported Italian opera houses, among them Vienna, Dresden, Milan, Venice and Lisbon. Towards the end of the century Venice became an important centre for english horn writing; perhaps not coincidentally, Ferlendis was employed there between 1778 and 1801. Among the composers who wrote operatic scores with english horn for performance there were Bianchi, Cimarosa, Simon Mayr, Traetta, Sarti and Zingarelli. While in some of these works the english horn rivals the voice in virtuosity, the obbligato parts by Bianchi and Sarti, although occasionally florid, are essentially lyrical. The singing style would soon become accepted as the most effective for the instrument.

The english horn did not become established in France until the early 19th century. The first important player of the instrument there was Gustave Vogt (1781–1870), soloist at the Opéra and the leading French oboist of his day. Vogt's english horn playing was highly praised by critics such as Castil-Blaze and F.-J. Fétis, and many solos were written for him, including that by Rossini in the Overture to *Guillaume Tell* (1829). From 1810 Vogt worked with the firm of Guillaume Triébert to improve the instrument. Triébert's english horns were initially patterned after the curved, two-keyed models made in Italy at the end of the 18th century. The firm soon began to add its own keywork and other refinements, and its instruments gained a high reputation. Later instruments have a straight lower joint and a curved upper joint, and those made by Frédéric Triébert from about 1860 are entirely straight.

Vogt's playing was greatly admired by Berlioz, who exploited the special character of the instrument from his earliest works; in his *Huit scènes de Faust* op.1 (1828–9) the english horn was associated with absence and melancholy, an idea continued in the *Symphonie fantastique* (1830), which also linked the instrument with pastoral scenes. More than any other composer, Berlioz helped to form the character of the english horn as an instrument creating 'feelings of absence, of forgetfulness, of sorrowful loneliness' (*Grand traité d'instrumentation*).

Henri Brod (1799–1839), Vogt's successor at the Opéra, became dissatisfied with the muffled sound and unwieldy shape of the contemporary english horn and by 1823 had begun to collaborate with the Triéberts in an attempt to modernize it. By 1830 he was making instruments himself, developing a straight tenor oboe, the 'hautbois-alto', which was easier to hold and more resonant than the old instrument. He later renamed this

instrument the 'cor anglais moderne' (see fig.15). François Lorée, who had been Triébert's chief of staff, opened his own workshop in 1881 and began to make english horns based on Brod's straight-form model. In the hands of this maker, the instrument reached its modern form.

The english horn was little known in Germany and Austria in the early to mid-19th century. German orchestration texts of the first half of the century scarcely mention the instrument, composers did not use it, and Mendelssohn was unable to find a pair for his Berlin revival of the *St Matthew Passion* in 1829. Wagner, who had heard the english horn in Paris, was the first German composer of the era to make extensive use of it. As Kapellmeister at Dresden he had in his orchestra Rudolf Hiebendahl (*c*1818–90), one of the first German oboists of the period to develop an interest in the instrument. Wagner's first score to include it was *Der fliegende Holländer* (1843), in which it was employed in the overture. In both *Tannhäuser* (1845) and *Tristan und Isolde* (1865) it imitates a shepherd's pipe. *Lohengrin* (1850) had the first 'symphonic' part for the english horn; the instrument was used as a full member of the orchestra, not only for special effects. Other composers who wrote for the instrument included Schumann (*Manfred*, 1848–9) and Liszt, especially *Der nächtliche Zug* from the two episodes from Lenau's *Faust* (1856–61) and *Christus* (1866–72).

The english horn continued to be heard regularly in Italian opera all over Europe, including in areas where it otherwise had no exposure. Rossini made much use of the instrument, particularly in the operas he wrote for Venice, including *La scala di seta* (1812), *Tancredi* (1813), *Il signor Bruschino* (1813) and *Sigismondo* (1814). Significant obbligatos also appear in two of his scores for Naples, the *Messa da gloria* (1821) and *Zelmira* (1822). Rossini's younger colleague Bellini requested the instrument in *Il pirata* (1827) and *Bianca e Fernando* (revised version, 1828). The former uses the corno inglese to enhance the tragic mood in the heroine's mad scene and prayer. Later composers used the instrument to advantage in similar settings. In Donizetti, for example, the unique voice of the english horn is heard to excellent effect in *Gabriella di Vergy* (composed 1826, rev. *c*1838), *L'esule di Roma* (1828), *Anna Bolena* (1830), *La fille du régiment* (1840), *Maria Padilla* (1841) and *Maria di Rohan* (1843). Verdi was certainly familiar with most of these works, and he began scoring for the instrument early in his career, notably in *Nabucco* (1842). Other outstanding uses of the corno inglese in his output occur in *Giovanna d'Arco* (1845), *Attila* (1846), *Un ballo in maschera* (1859), *Don Carlos* (1867) and particularly in *Otello* (1887). Mercadante's *Il giuramento* (1837) is another work in which, as in most of the Italian Romantic repertory, the instrument is used to underscore a tragic situation. The instrument was used similarly in French opera (Halévy, *La Juive*, 1835). In Russia Glinka laid the groundwork for use of the instrument there in his *A Life for the Tsar* (1836).

Concert works of this era to include the instrument used it, as in opera, as a pastoral or sentimental instrument. Mercadante included it in at least four symphonies from the 1850s and 60s, and Saint-Saëns also scored for it in two of his early symmphonies. Franck's Symphony in D minor (1886–8) has a continuous symphonic part as well as an elegiac solo in the second movement. Dvořák wrote frequent solos for the english horn; that in his Symphony no.9 ('From the New World', 1893) well exploits the nostalgic and elegiac character of the instrument. In Richard Strauss's colourful scoring the english horn was treated as an essential member of the orchestra. The Scandinavian nationalists were also attracted to it. In *The Swan of Tuonela* (1893) Sibelius used the english horn as the voice of the swan, singing over a sombrely coloured orchestra. The english horn was also used to create an exotic mood, imitating the reed pipes of the Middle East and Asia (Saint-Saëns, *Samson et Dalila*, 1877, and Borodin, *In Central Asia*, 1880).

By the beginning of the 20th century the english horn was established as a solo voice within the orchestra. Most of the orchestral works of the first half of the century continued to exploit the Romantic sentiments associated with the instrument. A mysterious mood is created in C.M. Loeffler's *A Pagan Poem* (1906), scored for large orchestra with english horn, piano and offstage solo trumpets; Janáček's *Taras Bulba* (1915–18) and Rodrigo's *Concierto de Aranjuez* (1939) exemplify the nostalgic, Vaughan Williams's *Pastoral Symphony* (1921) the pastoral, and Rachmaninoff's *The Bells* (1913) the tragic. The most substantial solo works of the period are Carter's *Pastoral* (1940) and Hindemith's Sonata (1941), both with piano.

During the second half of the century the english horn was often included in chamber and orchestral music, and many concertos were written for it. While the traditional character of the instrument was often set aside in concert music, it was retained in many film scores; those of Virgil Thomson, Hugo Friedhofer, David Raksin, Miklós Rózsa and Victor Young contain some outstanding parts. The Concertino op.4 (1982) for english horn and strings by Arne Running is particularly well written for the instrument, and the Australian oboist-composer Graham Powning has written an effective and interesting quartet for four english horns, among his many ensemble works for double reeds.

Important players of the 20th century included Hans Hadamowsky (1906–96) of the Vienna PO, Leo van der Lek (1908–99) in Amsterdam, James McDonagh (*d* 1933) and his son Terence (1908–86) in London, Paul Brun and Paul Taillefer (*b* 1912) in Paris, Peter Henkelman (1882–1949), John Minsker (*b* 1912) and Louis Rosenblatt (*b* 1928) in Philadelphia, Louis Speyer (1890–1980), to whom many works were dedicated, in Boston, and Thomas Stacy (*b* 1938), who has commissioned and given first performances of many works for the instrument in New York.

(v) Alt[h]oboe. A tenor oboe in F, with an english horn body and a clarinet-like bell. Some time between 1872 and mid-1875 Wagner had the Bayreuth woodwind instrument maker J.S. Stengel (1803–85) build this new oboe to his specifications. It was meant to provide a more penetrating sound than the english horn, in effect extending the oboe section into the tenor register. In the first edition of *Siegfried* (1875), Wagner specified that the new *Altoboe* was to replace the english horn in all future performances of his scores. However, the instrument is specifically called for only in *Parsifal* (1882). It was used at Bayreuth with some regularity, especially between 1882 and 1894, but it seems to have fallen out of use by 1896. A single specimen from Stengel's workshop survives (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna) and there are several

by other makers, including two by Joseph Pöschl (1866–1947) with both *Altoboe* and english horn bells (Musikinstrumentenmuseum im Münchner Stadtmuseum; private collection). During the last quarter of the 19th century and the first quarter of the 20th 'Altoboe' was sometimes used in Germany as an alternative term for the english horn.

5. Bass oboes and larger forms.

(i) Bass oboe. A large oboe pitched an octave below the treble. The instrument has also been known as the baritone oboe, after Triébert's bass oboe of 1825, which he called 'hautbois baryton' by analogy with the baritone voice. The modern bass oboe is an enlarged english horn equipped with a bulb bell and a bassoon-like crook, on which the reed is placed. Music for the instrument is notated in the treble clef, sounding an octave below written pitch. A few instruments in this range survive from the 18th century, including a specimen from about 1700 by J.C. Denner of Nuremberg in the form of an enlarged treble oboe (Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg). Two instruments made by Charles Bizey in Paris about 1749 have a bassoon-like boot and wings with obliquely drilled tone holes, and an open oboe-like bell (see fig.25*f*). About 1825 Triébert began to make bass oboes patterned, apparently, after Bizey's instruments, but with added keys and bulb bells (fig.25*g*). Brod received a medal for a straight bass oboe at the Paris Exposition of 1839. No period music for this instrument survives. It is not known how it was used; it may, perhaps, have been played in wind ensembles.

The first modern bass oboe was built by François Lorée about 1889. Lorée's instrument was straight-formed, like the model designed by Brod 50 years before, and equipped with the latest keywork. The first composer to interest himself in the new instrument was Delius, who became familiar with the instrument during his years in Paris (1888–96). Through him the instrument became known in England, where it was used by a number of composers, including Holst, Brian and Tippett. It has been used in chamber music and film scores in Europe and America. The first solo concerto for the instrument, *East Coast* by Gavin Bryars, was written in 1994.

(ii) Sub-bass and contrabass oboes. Only a few experimental oboes have been made to play in this register, for which there was already a successful instrument, the bassoon. Several 18th-century sources, including Majer and Walther, mention an oboe in this register, and according to Garsault (1761) it was known in its day as the *basse de cromorne* (*see* Cromorne (i)). An enormous contrabass 203 cm in height, with a sounding length of 267 cm, a huge brass crook and nine keys, was made by Christophe Delusse before 1781 (Musée Instrumental du Conservatoire, Paris). According to the *Almanach musical* of 1781, the instrument was used in place of the bassoon at the Opéra for six months. Pierre wrote that Lorée had proposed to complete the oboe family with an instrument two octaves below the treble, but that plan was never realized.

6. Smaller oboes. In the mid-19th century S.X. Verroust, who had taught at the Gymnase Musical Militaire, advocated the use of a range of hautbois pastoraux, small oboes with a penetrating tone, in military music. These instruments, pitched in A♭, G, E♭ or D♭, were suited to tonalities preferred by the clarinets and the brass instruments. They are often used to play the difficult high oboe part in the third of Canteloube's *Chants d'Auvergne*. Similar instruments were made in Germany and the USA (where they were called Oboettes). At Heinz Holliger's behest, Marigaux created a full Conservatoire-system 'musette' in F for use in contemporary music. The instrument is required in Maderna's *Grande aulodia* for the flute and oboe (1970), in which the oboist is also required to play the oboe, oboe d'amore and english horn.

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For further bibliography *see* BAND, INSTRUMENTATION and ORCHESTRATION, and articles on individual makers and performers.

JANET K. PAGE (I), GEOFFREY BURGESS (II, 1, 3; III, 6–4), BRUCE HAYNES (II, 2), MICHAEL FINKELMAN (III, 1–5)

Oboe basso (It.). Term formerly used for the oboe grande, a mezzo-soprano oboe in A or B♭ with an open bell. *See* OBOE, §III, 3(i).

Oboe da caccia (It.). A curved, leather-covered tenor oboe with a flaring bell, in use from about 1720 to about 1760. *See* OBOE, §III, 4(iii).

Oboe d'amore [oboe luongo] (It.). A mezzo-soprano oboe in A with a bulb bell. *See* OBOE, §III, 3(ii).

Oboe grande (It.). A mezzo-soprano oboe in A or B♭ with an open bell. *See* OBOE, §III, 3(i).

Oboezug (Ger.). *See* LUTE STOP.

Oborin, Lev (Nikolayevich) (*b* Moscow, 28 Aug/11 Sept 1907; *d* Moscow, 5 Jan 1974). Russian pianist and teacher. He studied with Yelena Gnesina until 1921 and then graduated from Igumnov's piano class at the Moscow Conservatory in 1926, having also studied composition with Myaskovsky, Konyus and Catoire. In 1927, aged 19, and whilst still a postgraduate pupil of Igumnov, he won first prize at the inaugural Chopin Competition in Warsaw. His playing was noted for its maturity and lack of idiosyncrasy. Oborin began teaching piano at the conservatory in 1928, and seven years later was appointed professor, a post he held for nearly 40 years. The celebrated duo partnership with the violinist David Oistrakh dated from 1943 and during the same period they formed a trio, with Knushevitsky as cellist. The three played together until the latter's death in 1963.

Oborin, like Igumnov, was a staunch advocate of Russian music, particularly Tchaikovsky's, though his recordings of the complete Beethoven violin sonatas with Oistrakh have won universal acclaim. Impeccable in technique, his very balanced style was essentially modern. He held the strong belief that an artist should concern himself with contemporary music, and consequently he gave many first performances, including the Khachaturian Piano Concerto, which he recorded with the composer. A popular and successful teacher, Oborin's catholic approach to the repertory is mirrored in that of his pupils, the most famous of whom is Vladimir Ashkenazy.

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JAMES METHUEN-CAMPBELL

Obouhow, Nicolas [Obukhov, Nikolay] (*b* Ol'shanka, Kursk province, 10/22 April 1892; *d* St Cloud, nr Paris,

13 June 1954). Russian composer. He studied for a while at the Moscow Conservatory from 1911 (counterpoint with Il′insky and the piano with Strakhov) before entering the St Petersburg Conservatory in 1913, where he studied with Kalafati, Maksimilian Steinberg and Nikolay Tcherepnin. His first acknowledged works date from 1913: these include the songs published as *Quatre mélodies* by Rouart et Lerolle in Paris in 1921. In 1915 he developed his own form of notation in which the need for accidentals is obviated by the use of noteheads in the shape of crosses; this system, similar to that invented by Golïshev during the same period, was used by Obouhow in all of his works written after the middle of 1915 and gave rise to a great deal of journalistic polemic. The only performance his works received in Russia during his lifetime took place at an evening sponsored by the journal *Muzïkal′nïy Sovremennik* in 1916. Boris de Schloezer, a close friend of Skryabin's who later knew Obouhow in Paris, was present at the concert and described the composer as 'a pale young man, with gazing eyes' who 'confused the audience' (de Schloezer, 1972).

In 1918 Obouhow left St Petersburg with his wife and two children; they eventually settled near Paris a year later. There he encountered financial difficulties which were only alleviated by the intervention of Ravel, who found him a publisher (who in the end printed only a small number of his works) and introduced him to people who gave him 'the possibility to devote himself to his work in peace' (de Schloezer). The 1920s saw a handful of performances, most notably that of the *Predisloviye knigi zhizni* ('Introduction to the Book of Life') under Koussevitzsky. During this and the next decade Obouhow put into practice ideas for electronic instruments he had conceived as early as 1917: the *efir* and *kristal* ('ether' and 'crystal') he had described in Russia eventually gave rise to the croix sonore, and even though he built and wrote for the ether, it was with the croix sonore that he gained most attention. He found an exponent of the instrument in his pupil Marie-Antoinette Aussenac-Broglie who had also performed some of his piano music; she demonstrated the instrument around France and Belgium. Similar to both the theremin and the ondes martenot in that pitch production is reliant upon the distance of the performer's arm from the instrument, the croix sonore was the subject of a film of 1934. During the mid-1940s his notation again provoked heated discussion, this time in Paris; a book containing works from the 18th to the 20th centuries in Obouhow's notation was published by Durand. In 1947, his *Traité d'harmonie tonale, atonale et totale*, which had already interested Honegger, was published, while a year later he lectured on this subject in the Russian Conservatory in Paris. Obouhow spent his last years incapacitated by a mugging that occurred in 1949, after which he composed only a few works.

Obouhow's total output is dominated by vast works of which the most notorious – notwithstanding the gargantuan *Troisième et dernier testament* and *La toute puissance* – is the *Kniga zhizni* ('The Book of Life') on which he worked from around the time he left Russia until at least the mid-1920s. Described by the composer as 'l'action sacrée du pasteur tout-puissant regnant' it was intended to be performed (or 'accomplished') uninterruptedly every year on the night of the first and on the day of the second resurrection of Christ. Obouhow did not consider himself the composer of this work; instead, he saw himself as the person permitted, by divine forces, to 'show' it. Parts of the score, one version of which is nearly 2000 pages in length, are marked in the composer's blood. The music is preceded by a lengthy exposition in archaic Russian, while the work concludes with one section the score of which unfolds into the form of a cross and another, taking the shape of a circle, which is fixed onto a golden and silver box decorated with rubies and red silk. (Nicholas Slonimsky, in his memoir *Perfect Pitch*, relates that the composer's wife, driven to despair by Obouhow's obsessive behaviour regarding this piece, attempted to burn – or 'immolate', in the composer's terminology – the manuscript but was interrupted in her crime.) Much of the instrumental writing is characterized by the alternation of chorale-like material (often ornamented by filigree arpeggiation) with tolling patterns, building to textures of considerable rhythmic and contrapuntal complexity. The vocal parts – as with his writing for the voice in most of his other works – have huge tessituras and are scattered with glissandi and instructions for screaming or whispering. The style which consistently characterizes this magnum opus is prevalent in all of his mature works and has its roots in the songs and piano miniatures he wrote in Russia. Taking as a starting point the language employed by Skryabin in his middle and late-period works, Obouhow evolved a harmonic technique based on the systematic configuration and manipulation of 12-note chords or harmonic areas. The sonorities resulting from this 'total harmony' are often broadly octatonic and frequently have a quasi-dominant character due to the prevalence of diminished fifths in their lower registers. Although longer structures appear to unfold in a schematized yet organic manner, the detail of musical procedure is curiously static. Obouhow saw his work as a musical articulation of his strongly-held religious beliefs and would sometimes sign his manuscripts 'Nicolas l'illuminé' or 'Nicolas l'extasié'. Possibly inspired by Vladimir Solov′yov's idea of *sobornost′* (collective spiritual or artistic experience), Obouhow sought to abolish the distinction between performers and audience, giving both groups instead the status of equal participants. Obouhow mostly used his own texts which are frequently inspired by the book of Revelation or the Apocrypha. It is thus no coincidence that the only poets whose work appealed to him spiritually and compositionally were Solov′yov and Bal′mont, since it was the former's orthodox mysticism that significantly informed the apocalyptic vision of the latter. In addition to these sources, mention should be made of Obouhow's use of two verses by Musorgsky; it is between his work and that of Messiaen that Obouhow's visionary language can be placed.

WORKS

texts by the composer unless otherwise stated

VOCAL

With orch: Kniga Zhizni/Le livre de la vie, solo vv, 2 pf, elec insts, orch, 1918–mid 1920s, also red. solo vv, 2 pf: Chemin, Préinduction, Induction, Liturgie, Extase, Avènement, La source et la calice; Izstupleniye, poem, chorus, orch, before 1924, also red. pf; Predisloviye knigi zhizni [Introduction to the Book of Life] (K. Bal′mont, N. Obouhow), female v, male v, orch, ?1925, also arr. 2 solo vv, pf 4 hands with material from Nichego ne zhdi [see VOCAL (1v, pf)]; Prezhde vsego lyubov′ yest′ voda zhizni [Above All Love is the Water of Life], S, pf, orch, 1927; L'énonciation du jugement dernier, 3rd version [see VOCAL (with 2–5 insts)], solo female vv, chorus, ether, orch, early 1930s, ?inc.; La toute-puissance (Le

miracle s'impose, deuxième étude), chorus, 3 pf, org, orch, mid-1930s, also version for female solo vv, male chorus, 2 pf; Le troisième et dernier testament (Victoire par l'amour: l'avant propos du Livre de la vie), 5 solo vv, 2 pf, croix sonore, org, orch, 1946, also versions for (5 solo vv, 2 pf, bells)/(4 solo vv, pf) with 2–5 insts: Le Pasteur tout puissant règne, female v, miracle, pf, 1930: Ton royaume du ciel est sur la terre, Ton nom est sanctifiée; L'énonciation du jugement dernier: La confession; La communion, female v, other solo vv, croix sonore, ether, pf 4 hands, early 1930s, rev. with chorus in 7 final bars [incl. movt Vous me voyez]; Chant des sphères, 4vv, croix sonore, pf, 1934 [incid music for radio play by C. Larronde]; Hymne mondiale, female v, croix sonore, pf 4 hands, mid-1930s, rev. for female v, chorus, croix sonore, org, orch; Le tout puissant bénit la paix, female v, croix sonore/vc, pf, mid-1930s, also version without female v; Pour le salut du monde un seul roi, female v, croix sonore, pf, mid-1930s, Troisième étude rev. in 7 movts as La toute puissance, also version for female v, chorus, croix sonore, 2 pf/pf 4 hands; Salut et victoire par la paix, male v, ether, pf, before 1934; Pour le tabernacle, pour le marriage: 1, L'agneau est immolé, 2, Vous êtes les feuilles, les fruits d'un arbre seul, female v, croix sonore/vc, pf, ?1935; L'agneau et le pasteur, croix sonore/vn, female v, pf, 1948, also version without female v; Immortel espoir – l'union avec Dieu, female v, croix sonore/vc, pf, ?1948; Eternal souvenir (Tous sauvées par l'Agneau immolé), croix sonore/vc, female v, pf 4 hands, after 1948, 3 versions

1v, pf: Bayushki bayu (Bal'mont), 1913, also orchd; Kolïbel'naya [Berceuse] (Bal'mont), 1913; Kolïbel'naya Blazhennago – u uzgoloviya myortvoy (Bal'mont), poème liturgique, ?1913 (1921); Na vershine gornoy (Bal'mont), op.1, 1913, also orchd; 2 stikhotvoreniya (Bal'mont), 1913 (1921), also orchd: Ya budu zhdat' tebya [I will Await Thee], Nichego ne zhdi [Await No-One]; 3 stikhi [3 Verses] (Bal'mont, V. Solov'yov), 1914; V molchan'i zabïvsheysya nochi [In the Silence of Forgotten Nights] (Bal'mont), 1915; Chanson tsigane d'après la mélodie de S. Steinmann (M. Musorgsky), ?1918, rev. as Chanson d'après une mélodie tsigane, rev. again as Variations d'après une mélodie tsigane; Pastïr nashe utesheniye, 1918 (1921); Liturgicheskaya poema/Poème liturgique, 1918 (nos.1 and 2 pubd 1921): Agnets nashe ugrïzeniye [The Lamb is Our Salvation], Pastïr nash ugrïzeniya [The Shepherd is Our Conscience], Zvezdolikiy [The Starry-Faced-One] (Bal'mont), Zvezdolikiy rev. for female v, 2 male vv, female chorus, pf, rev. again for same forces with ether, cristal; Lyubov' yest' voda zhizni [Love is the Water of Life] (Musorgsky, Obouhow); Prezhde vsego lyubov' yest' voda zhizni [Above All Love is the Water of Life], S, pf 4 hands/2 pf, 1927, also orchd

INSTRUMENTAL

Chbr: Bog zhivoy [God is Alive], vn, pf, 1915; La couronne universelle et victorieuse, croix sonore, pf, before 1930; L'absolu, ondes martenot, pf 4 hands, version for ether, pf 4 hands, also orchd; Par la peine de la tristesse surgit le ravissement de la joie, ondes martenot, pf, early 1930s; Pouvoir majique de la Trinité triomphante, croix sonore, pf, early 1930s; Nous sommes ton corps collectif, Tu es notre sang uni (Le tout puissant), ether, pf, ?1932 [to be perf. with Pour le tabernacle and Réconcilions nous]; Réconcilions nous, ether, pf, 1932, rev. for croix sonore/vn, pf, 1947, also inc. version with female v and further version with male v, incl. En quoi il est fautif; La tout puissant est dans la justice pour l'amour, pour l'avènement du roi du monde (Le miracle s'impose, étude no.1), croix sonore, pf, mid-1930s; Le tout puissant bénit la paix, croix sonore, pf, mid-1930s, also version with female v; Pour tous: amour propreté, ordre, travail: unic chemin de bonheur, ether, pf, 1933; Hymne des vivants: notre salut est en lui, croix sonore, pf, before 1934; Les quatre pâles divins, croix sonore, pf, before 1934, 3 versions of 2nd movt; Pour le salut du monde un seul roi (Le miracle s'impose), croix sonore, pf 4 hands, before 1937, also version with chorus; Le roi du monde viendra et vous sauvera par l'amour, croix sonore, late 1930s [possibly frag. of lost work]

Pf: 6 préludes, 1914–15; Conversion, 1915: Crime, Remords, Larmes de sang, Inspiration sublime; Eternel, 5 movts, 1915: Clarté profonde, Lumière noire, Rayons divins, Statue, Cendres; Ikona [Icons], 1915: Sozertsaniye [Contemplation], Skorb [Grief], Upokoyeniye [Repose]; 2 pièces, 1915: Les astres parlent, Reflet sinistre; Prières, 1915; Révelation, 3 pieces, 1915; 6 tableaux psychologiques, 1915; 10 tableaux psychologiques, 1915; Création d'or, 2 pieces, 1916; Invocations I–II, 1916; Prichta Gospodnya: vïshyol seyatel' seyat' [A Parable of the Lord: The Sower Went Out to Sow], 1917; Raspyatiye – Blazhenstva (Crucification de la Béatitude), 1917; Tsel' svyashchyonno – dveystviya votsarivshagosya pastïra vsederzhatelya (Le but de l'action sacrée du pasteur tout-puissant), 2 pf, 1v opt., mid-1920s; La source de la vie c'est la paix, before 1931; Intronisation, 2 pf/pf 4 hands, 1931, also arr. solo vv, chorus, orch; Hostie, before 1933; Couronnement, 2 pf/pf 4 hands, before 1934 [to be played with Intronisation]; La toute puissance, 2 pf/pf 4 hands mid-1930s, also versions for 2 solo vv, chorus, croix sonore, pf 4 hands (movts 1–4), for same forces with org, orch and for this ens with 3 pf; Aimons-nous les uns les autres, fragment du Livre de la vie, 1942 (1943), also extended version of section entitled L'heure est proche, réveillons-nous; Adorons Christ, fragment du troisième et dernier testament, 1945, 5 versions; La paix des reconciliés: vers la source avec la calice (1948); Le temple est mesuré, l'esprit est incarné, 1952 (1953)

Other: Douze gammes [explaining Obouhow's theory of total harmony], 3 versions

MSS in *F-Pn*

Principal publisher: Durand

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I. Glebov [B. Asaf'yev]: 'Petrogradskiye kurantï' [Petrograd trends], *Muzïka*, mccxlix (1916), 167

V. Belyayev: 'Mekanika ili logika', *K novïm beregam*, xii (1923), 25–7

B. de Schloezer: 'Le livre de la vie', *ReM*, viii (1928), 263–5

A. Honegger: 'Preface au "Traité d'harmonie tonale, atonale et totale"', *ReM*, no.203 (1946), 15–16

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L. Sitsky: *Music of the Repressed Russian Avant Garde* (Westport, CT, 1994)

Ye. Pol'dayeva: 'Nikolay Obukhov: biograficheskiye nabroski' [Biographical sketches], *Muzïka: issledovatel'skiy sbornik '94* (Moscow, 1995), 137–165

JONATHAN POWELL

Oboussier, Robert (*b* Antwerp, 9 July 1900; *d* Zürich, 9 June 1957). Swiss composer and critic. He studied at the Zürich Conservatory with Vogler, Jarnach and Andreae, and with Jarnach in Berlin, where he also attended the conducting class at the Hochschule für Musik. After a few years of independent activity as a composer in Florence and Munich he turned to music criticism in Paris. In 1930 he was made Berlin music critic of the *Frankfurter Zeitung* and in 1933 music editor of the *Deutsche allgemeine Zeitung*. From 1939 he lived in Zürich as a critic, becoming director of the newly founded Zentralarchiv Schweizerischer Tonkunst in 1942; in 1948 he was appointed vice-director of SUISA, the Swiss performing rights society. As a composer Oboussier was greatly influenced by Busoni's 'junge Klassizität', gradually freeing himself from Regerian late Romanticism. The conservatism of Swiss society forced Oboussier to conceal his homosexuality from even his closest friends. He was murdered by a casual sexual acquaintance.

WORKS
(*selective list*)

Vocal: Trilogia sacra (R.M. Rilke), solo vv, chorus, orch, 1925–9; Antigone (recit, aria and elegy, Sophocles), A, orch, 1938–9; 3 psaumes, solo vv, chorus, orch, 1946–7; Amphitryon (op, after Molière, H. von Kleist), 1948–50; 4 Old English Songs, chorus, 1953

Orch: Pf Conc., 1932–3, rev. 1944; Sym., 1935–6; Chant de deuil, 1942–3; Introitus, str, 1946; Vn Conc., 1952–3

Chbr music, pf pieces, arias, songs etc.

MSS in *CH-Bu*, *Zz*

WRITINGS

with others: *Der Sänger* (Berlin, 1934, rev. 2/1959)

Die Sinfonien von Beethoven (Berlin, 1937)

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F. Hamel: 'Der Komponist Oboussier', *Deutsche allgemeine Zeitung* (24 April 1939)
F. Wohlfahrt: 'Das Werk Robert Oboussiers', *SMz*, xcix (1959), 308–11
C. Walton, ed.: *Adolf Brunner: Erinnerungen eines Schweizer Komponisten aus der Schule Philipp Jarnachs und Franz Schrekers* (Zürich, 1997)

FRITZ MUGGLER/CHRIS WALTON

Obra (Sp.). A general term for a musical work, as in Antonio de Cabezón's *Obras de música* (1578). In various Spanish and Portuguese manuscripts of around 1700 it was applied more specifically to a TIENTO, for example the *Obra de lleno 1° tono* by Antonio Martín y Coll (*E-Mn*).

Obradović, Aleksandar (*b* Bled, 22 Aug 1927). Serbian composer. He studied composition with Mihovil Logar at the Belgrade Academy until 1952. After being a professor at the Stanković Music School in Belgrade (1953–4), he became an assistant (1954), a lecturer (1961) and in 1969 a professor at the Belgrade Academy. He was general secretary of the Yugoslav Union of Composers (1962–6). He pursued further studies in 1959–60 in London with Berkeley and in 1966–7 at the Columbia-Princeton Electronic Music Center. He was rector of the University of Arts in Belgrade from 1979 to 1983, and held other administrative posts.

Obradović's music has always shown a bold harmonic quality and a concentration on tightly-knit formal structures. His earlier works show his use of extended tonality, rich orchestration and motivic linking of parts, notably in the Symphony no.1. After his studies with Berkeley he frequently used 12-note methods. The Symphony no.2 reconciles these with tonal elements, while the apocalyptic *Epitaf H* combines 12-note working with quotations from Beethoven's Ninth Symphony; his later symphonies have continued these trends within modified symphonic structures. During his studies at Columbia he developed his electronic music techniques (already used in *Epitaf H*), and used them to good effect in the *Elektronska tokata i fuga* and the dramatic but terse *Mikrosimfonija* for orchestra and tape.

WORKS
(*selective list*)

Orch: Simfonijsko kolo, 1940; Komitska igra, 1950; Sym. no.1, 1952; Preludijum i fuga, str, 1954; Simfonijski scherzo, D, 1955; Concertino, pf, str, 1957; Conc., cl, str, 1958; Scherzo-uvertira, 1959; Sym. no.2, 1959–61; Kroz svemir [Through the Universe], suite, 1961; Scherzo in modo dodecaphonico, 1962; Epitaf H, orch, tape, 1965; Sym. no.3 (Mikrosimfonija), orch, tape, 1967; Dramatična fuga, wind band, 1972; Sym. no.4, 1972; Sym. no.5, 1973; Sym. no.6, 1977; Vc Conc.,1979

Choral: Mala horska svita [Little Choral Suite], unacc., 1948; Marika, unacc., 1948; Simfonijski epitaf, reciter, chorus, orch, 1959; Kolo iz brigade, unacc., 1961; Sutjeska, reciter, chorus, orch, 1968; Spomenik Sutjesci [Memorial to Sutjeska], reciter, chorus, orch, 1968; Đačko doba Šumarica, solo vv, chorus, orch, 1972

Solo vocal: Plameni vjetar [The Wind of Flame] (M. Krleža), B, orch, 1955; Preludijum i fuga, 1v, str, 1963; Mezomed Muzi, 1v, 3 insts, 1972

Chbr: Intermezzo, str qt, 1950; Scherzo, wind qnt, 1950; Qnt, fl, cl, str trio, 1950; Platani, ens, 1964; Mikrosonata no.1, cl, 1969; Mikrosonata no.2, bn, 1971

Pf: Male varijacije, 1949; Prolećni uranak [Spring Morning Picnic] (ballet), pf, 1949; other pieces

Tape: Elektronska tokata i fuga, 1967

Film scores, incid music, orchestrations of works by Liszt, Marinković, Pasčan, Skalovski and Vučković

Principal publisher: Udruženje Kompozitora Srbije

WRITINGS

Uvod u orkestraciju [Introduction to orchestration] (Belgrade, 1978)
Elektronska muzika i elektronski instrumenti (Belgrade, 1978)

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D. Skovran: '*Simfonijski epitaf* Aleksandra Obradovića', *Zvuk*, nos.37–8 (1960), 357–64
B. Dragutinović: 'Aleksandar Obradović *Kroz svemir*', *Politika*, lx (25 April 1963)
J. Šotra: '*Epitaf H* Aleksandra Obradovića', *Zvuk*, no.67 (1966), 235–40
V. Peričić: *Muzički stvaraoci u Srbiji* [Musical creators in Serbia] (Belgrade, 1969), 351–63
T. Reich: *Susreti sa suvremenim kompozitorima Jugoslavije* (Zagreb, 1972), 222–6
A. Koci and others: *Jugoslovanska glasbena dela* (Ljubljana, 1980), 355–60

NIALL O'LOUGHLIN

Obraztsova, Yelena (Vasil'yevna) (*b* Leningrad [now St Petersburg], 7 July 1937). Russian mezzo-soprano. While still a student at the Leningrad Conservatory, she appeared with success at the Bol'shoy as Marina; in 1964 she became a soloist there. Her voice, of beautiful, full timbre, was controlled with unusual flexibility and lightness; she was an effective and spontaneous actress, notably in such roles as Marfa (*Khovanshchina*), Konchakovna (*Prince Igor*), Amneris, Eboli, Carmen and Lyubasha (*The Tsar's Bride*). She was also successful in contemporary opera, particularly as Hélène (*War and Peace*) and Oberon (Britten's *A Midsummer Night's Dream*). Her international appearances included those at San Francisco, the Metropolitan (during the Bol'shoy company's visit in 1975) and La Scala (as Massenet's Charlotte in 1976). She sang Azucena at Covent Garden in 1985, and made her début as a producer in the Bol'shoy's 1986–7 season with *Werther*. In 1973 she was made a National Artist of the RSFSR, and in 1976 was awarded the Lenin Prize.

I.M. YAMPOL'SKY

Obrecht [Hobrecht], **Jacob** (*b* Ghent, 1457/8; *d* Ferrara, shortly before 1 Aug 1505). South Netherlandish composer. In the 1480s and 1490s he was Europe's leading composer of cyclic masses, of which he wrote nearly three dozen. In addition he left a sizeable oeuvre of motets and songs, many of which continued to circulate widely, along with his most famous masses, during the first half of the 16th century. In the last years of his life Obrecht was frequently mentioned in one breath with Josquin des Prez. The latter was to outlive him by 16 years, however, and has come to be seen as the more significant representative of his generation.

1. LIFE AND EARLY REPUTATION. The text of Obrecht's motet *Mille quingentis* reveals that he was the son of a Guillermus Hobrecht who died on St Cecilia's Day (22 November) 1488. The father has been identified as the trumpeter Willem Obrecht who was permanently employed by the city of Ghent from 1452 until his death in 1488, and whose intermittent service in Burgundian court circles can be documented from 1454 to 1470. The composer appears to have been the only child of Willem's first marriage. His mother Lijsbette Gheeraerts died around the age of 20 in July 1460; his stepmother, by 1464, was Beatrijse Jacops. Obrecht's portrait gives his age as 38 in 1496, suggesting a date of birth in 1457/8.

Nothing is known about the composer's education, although it must have been suitable to prepare him for

the priesthood. He is mentioned with the academic title of master – a degree normally obtained at or above the age of 20 – by 1480. (The Jacob Obrecht who was enrolled at Leuven University in 1470 is not identifiable with the composer, since his father was a Jacob Obrecht, not Willem.) There is no direct information about Obrecht's musical education, although it is likely that he was initially trained to become a professional trumpeter like his father. This would have involved a thorough grounding in the practice of contrapuntal improvisation over memorized tunes. Willem Obrecht's connections with the Burgundian court may well have brought Jacob in early contact with Antoine Busnoys, who had worked in the ducal chapel since 1467. Busnoys' influence may be apparent not only in Obrecht's selection of mass cantus firmi (most famously from such songs as *Je ne demande* and – if it is by Busnoys – *Fortuna desperata*), but also in the style of what may well be his earliest mass, *Petrus apostolus*.

There is no documentary support for the assumption that Obrecht worked at Utrecht in the late 1470s. (This was suggested by 19th-century music historians on the basis of Glarean's credible report that Obrecht had been the teacher of Erasmus, and Beatus Rhenanus's claim that Erasmus had served as a choirboy at 'Trajectum', probably Utrecht or Maastricht.) However, the composer was active as choirmaster at the St Gertrudiskerk in Bergen op Zoom in 1480–84, as documented by the annual accounts of the Guild of Our Lady based in that church. An unnamed mass by Obrecht, composed probably during these years, is known to have reached the court of Duke Ercole d'Este of Ferrara by 1484. During the same years, Tinctoris apparently mentioned Obrecht in his *Complexus effectuum musices* among the most renowned musicians of the century: 'For who has not heard of Johannes Dunstaple, Guillelmus Dufay ... Johannes Okeghem, Anthonius Busnois ... Jacobus Obrechts?' (Some scholars have wondered whether Obrecht's name might have been inserted by a later scribe, especially since the only surviving source for this passage was copied in the composer's birthplace in 1504.)

In September 1484 Obrecht accepted a position as master of the choirboys at Cambrai Cathedral. Within several months after his arrival there, however, he sought to obtain the succentorship at the collegiate church of St Donatian in Bruges. Once the latter position had been secured, he postponed his departure for several months, meanwhile discharging his responsibilities at Cambrai to the evident dissatisfaction of the cathedral chapter (in July 1485 he was formally reprimanded by the canons for an outbreak of scabies among the choirboys). Obrecht was finally installed at Bruges on 13 October 1485, and summarily dismissed at Cambrai upon his return there. An audit of his account books revealed a deficit that could not be accounted for. The chapter agreed to settle by purchasing music manuscripts copied by the composer, at a price reduced by the sum he owed the cathedral.

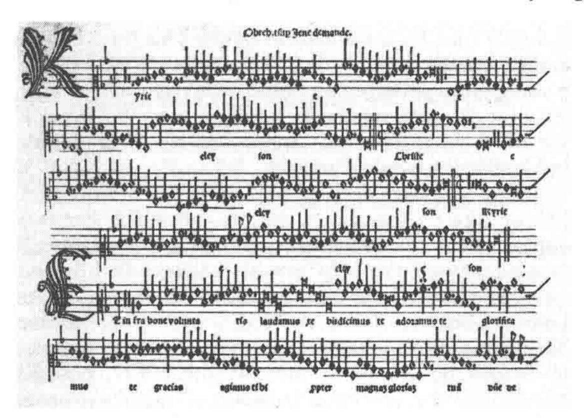
During his early years in Bruges, Obrecht is known to have composed the masses *De Sancto Martino* and *De Sancto Donatiano* (for endowments that took effect in 1486 and 1487 respectively), and very probably the *Missa 'Salve diva parens'*, whose earliest surviving source has been dated 1487. In August 1487, the chapter of St Donatian granted the composer six months' leave of absence to travel to Ferrara at the invitation of Duke Ercole d'Este. He must have overstayed his leave considerably, for ten months later, in June 1488, we find him passing through Bergen op Zoom on his return from Italy. Obrecht did not come back to Bruges until 15 August of the same year. This was approximately three months before the death of his father.

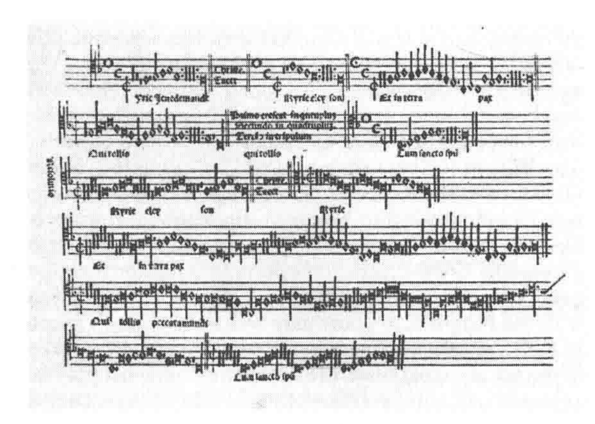
After a summary decision to dismiss him in May 1490 (whose direct reasons are unclear, and which does not appear to have been implemented), Obrecht was finally granted remission from his post in January 1491. By June 1492 he was active as choirmaster at the church of Our Lady at Antwerp, filling the vacancy left after Jacobus Barbireau's death in the previous year. Obrecht returned to Bergen op Zoom in June or July 1497, possibly attracted by the increasingly generous musical patronage in that city. However, 18 months later, in December 1498, he took up his old post of succentor at St Donatian, Bruges. He continued to occupy this position until serious illness forced him to submit his resignation in September 1500. The chapter granted his request, but shortly afterwards rewarded him with three benefices in acknowledgement not only of his valuable services to the church but also of his fame as a composer.

By June 1501 Obrecht was back again at Antwerp, where he served as a choirmaster at the church of Our Lady until June 1503. A payment recorded by the treasury of the Emperor Maximilian I reveals that he was in Innsbruck in October 1503. Apart from this isolated record, however, nothing is known of the composer's whereabouts between his departure from Antwerp in June 1503 and his final appointment as *maestro di cappella* at Ferrara in September 1504. At Ferrara he served Duke Ercole d'Este, one of his most enthusiastic admirers, until the latter's death in January 1505 left him once again without a position. After an unsuccessful attempt to obtain a post at Mantua, Obrecht died of the plague at Ferrara in late June or July 1505.

20th-century historians have often commented on the restlessness of Obrecht's musical career. The composer appears to have been perpetually in pursuit of a position commensurate with his artistic talents and international reputation. The erratic pattern of his career movements may not be unrelated to the lack of professional responsibility he could exhibit (at Cambrai, for instance) when tempted by new career prospects. Although Obrecht was hardly the only musician of his time to be neglectful of routine duties or to treat his employers badly, there is no other 15th-century composer of comparable stature whose career seems to have been so persistently dogged by problems like these.

Any assessment of Obrecht's personality ought to take into account his relationship with his father, which appears to have been of special significance. *Mille quingentis*, the musical prayer of commemoration for Willem Obrecht, is an extraordinary gesture – even for a period when all Christians, following the fifth commandment, were expected to pray for their deceased parents. The 'public' nature of the motet, as well as its ambitious literary and musical style, suggest a concern to immortalize Willem's name, and thereby perhaps to redeem an emotional debt of some kind. The work may well repay closer analysis in the light of the composer's biography. Another aspect that deserves mention is the apparent speed at which Obrecht composed, and his readiness to part from works immediately after finishing them. He





Beginning of the superius (above) and tenor (facing page) parts of 'Je ne demande' from 'Misse Obrechte' (Venice: Petrucci, 1503)

was alleged to have written a mass in one night, a feat 'at which learned men were astonished'. Glarean, on whose testimony we rely for this report, contrasted this with the creative habits of Josquin, who was said to keep polishing and revising his compositions for years before allowing them to circulate publicly. This comparison may underline an element of generosity in Obrecht's musicianship, and in any case suggests an impressive confidence in his artistic abilities. Whereas Josquin has often been perceived, even by his contemporaries, in terms of the personality-type of the 'melancholic', obsessively preoccupied with his art, the more outgoing, 'sanguine' temperament of Obrecht seems to be reflected in the musical vigour and exuberance of his best-known masses, and is expressed in his own comment (in the motet *Inter preclarissimas virtutes*) that '[I am] jubilating always in my songs'. Modern psychology does not endorse the humoral personality-types that were current in Obrecht's time, but such categorization played an important part in shaping the early images of composers, if only by determining what contemporaries chose to remember (or fabricate) about them and what they chose to neglect. The point here is that Obrecht and Josquin were seen, from an early date onwards, to have fundamentally different creative temperaments.

There were other perceived differences between the two composers as well. Towards the end of Obrecht's life, critical reflection on music became increasingly preoccupied with issues of excess versus moderation, to a degree unknown before the 1480s. These issues played a major part in early comparisons between Josquin and Obrecht. It was high praise indeed when Tinctoris, in the early 1480s, ranked Obrecht among the masters 'whose compositions, distributed throughout the whole world, fill God's churches, the palaces of kings, and the houses of private individuals, with the utmost sweetness'. This comment is typical of mid-15th-century attitudes, for which there could seldom be enough 'sweetness' in musical composition and performance. Scarcely 30 years later, however, 'the utmost' in sweetness could easily be felt to be too much – as it evidently was for the humanist writer Paolo Cortese, who noted in 1510 that Obrecht 'has sown more of the keenest sweetness in music, with skilful harmony, than would have sufficed to please the ear'. A comment like this implies a responsibility on the part of composers to avoid excessive use of musical ingredients which are pleasing and beneficial only when used in moderation – just as listeners (including the most powerful princes) could at this time be publicly taken to task for excessive and decadent indulgence in music. Against this light, Glarean surely meant to pay Obrecht a compliment when he commented, in 1542, that 'all the works this man has left have a certain wondrous grandeur and an intrinsic quality of moderation'. The Swiss theorist once again implied a contrast with Josquin, to whom he ascribed excessive and ostentatious pursuit of *raritates* – an eccentric taste for the unusual, the farfetched, and the bizarre. (For Cortese, on the other hand, it was Josquin who had put more *doctrina* in his music than any other composer.) Glarean held up Obrecht as 'one who displayed his talent, but without pretence, as if he preferred to await the judgement of the listener rather than to preen himself'.

As these quotations indicate, it may well have been through comparisons with Josquin that Obrecht's early image (and to some extent Josquin's in turn) acquired its distinctive profile. It is worth adding that such comparisons were not always decided in Josquin's favour. Contemporaries praised Obrecht as 'nulli secundus' almost as habitually as modern historians have ranked him 'second only to Josquin'. Not in every case can we dismiss such early testimony as mere commonplace. A good example is provided by the Bruges singer Jean Cordier, who declared to the chapter of St Donatian in 1487 that Duke Ercole I of Ferrara 'takes much delight in the art of music, and favours the musical composition of [Obrecht] above other compositions'. It is hard to assume that Cordier, who had just returned from northern Italy, would have knowingly testified to a falsehood, or that Ercole was completely unaware of Josquin's music at this time.

Ercole was to hire Josquin as the highest-paid musician in the history of his chapel, in 1503, but allowed him to go within twelve months (even though it was at his discretion to decide otherwise, and to have the composer seized if he left without his permission), only to appoint Obrecht in the same position five months later. There is no record of any meeting between Obrecht and Josquin, though it is clear that they responded to each other's music (as in their respective masses on *Fortuna desperata* and *Malheur me bat*, or in the openings of *Inviolata* and *Salve sancta facies/Homo quidam*). However, even such apparent gestures of respect cannot conceal the fact that the two composers were seen to have little in common. It may be no coincidence that none of the compositions

by Obrecht is found with a misattribution to Josquin in any surviving source.

2. The modern image. In the modern period a new image of Jacob Obrecht has emerged, albeit one that has undergone significant changes over the past 125 years or so. To some extent these changes may reflect the shifting intellectual preoccupations of Renaissance musicology during that period. Yet this cannot explain everything: after all, there has been a deep underlying continuity in the modern images of such composers as Ockeghem or Josquin. Obviously the stability of any image depends on the degree of coherence it can provide when the evidence itself is contradictory, ambiguous, or incomplete. In Obrecht's case, apparently, no image has succeeded in doing this; it is important to understand why this should have been the case.

Like many Netherlandish masters, Obrecht first emerged as a distinctive musical personality from the pages of Ambros's *Geschichte der Musik* (iii, 182–7). Ambros, as is well known, adopted the language and values of Romantic music criticism in his discussion of Renaissance music history. Most revealing in this regard (certainly in comparison with later histories of music) was his tendency to typify composers and works in terms of their perceived individualistic qualities. Ambros sought to develop an intimate personal understanding of each composer and his music, even when concrete historical evidence to support such understanding was lacking. He communicated his perceptions in richly evocative poetic language, thereby shaping the image of masters and masterpieces for decades to come.

Interestingly, Ambros characterized Obrecht in terms similar to those he used for Ockeghem. Obrecht, in his judgement, was 'a great, profound, serious and manly master, whose works show, almost throughout, a strain of stern loftiness'. The works on which he based this opinion were the ones he found in prints issued by Petrucci and various German publishers – a small but probably representative sample of the oeuvre available to 16th-century audiences. In these pieces he discerned a musical sensibility that encompassed, among others, the 'deeply serious, somewhat dark' but 'on the whole magnificent' writing of the *Missa 'Grecorum'*, the 'uncommonly intimate' expression of the *Missa 'Salve diva parens'* (a work that sounded to him as if it breathed 'a gentle melancholy'), and the 'powerful grandeur' and 'robust joy' of the *Missa 'Fortuna desperata'*. The overriding impression, for Ambros, was one of majestic grandeur. This perception may well have been influenced by Glarean's judgment that the works of Obrecht 'have a certain wondrous grandeur and an intrinsic quality of moderation'. Curiously, however, what Ambros passed on to the 20th century was, above all, his impression of Obrecht's spiritual depth. Reference books and music histories noted this as a prominent quality in his music up to and even beyond the Second World War.

Yet the image of Obrecht as a Renaissance *Tondichter*, as a Romantic musical poet *avant la lettre*, was short-lived. The Ockeghem-like qualities that Ambros and others ascribed to him gave way, in the postwar decades, to a perception of Obrecht as primarily a musical architect, as a formalist to be admired more for his abstract musical thinking than for significant depth of feeling. It is hard to establish how and why this change should have taken place. Quite possibly, however, the publication of the complete works under the editorship of Johannes Wolf in 1908–21 played an important part. This made Obrecht, by some margin, the first 15th-century composer whose oeuvre could be studied as a unified corpus. Apart from anything else, the *Werken* provided a scholarly basis for questioning Romantic perceptions based merely on samples of pieces, thus allowing scholars to revise Ambros's image at a comparatively early date. It did not take long for such a revision to appear. In his Leipzig dissertation of 1925, Otto Gombosi adopted a notably more objectivist, scholarly tone than previous commentators had done. His remarkable study offered penetrating insights into selected pieces by Obrecht and his contemporaries, but it did so at the expense of the individualism perceived by Ambros. Gombosi's new insights did not blend into a distinctive, coherent image of the composer – certainly not one that possessed the poetic qualities so admired in the 19th century.

The impression of spiritual profundity was in any case hard to reconcile with the discovery, published by André Pirro in 1927, that Obrecht had been neglectful of routine duties at Cambrai Cathedral, and in fact had embezzled money from the cathedral. History books have told and retold this episode many times (which has often been thought to reflect a character flaw), with the inevitable effect, certainly in the long run, of calling into question the sincerity of Obrecht's musical expression. It became less easy now to infer the composer's personality simply from the aesthetic qualities of his music in the way Ambros had done, and as historians would continue to do until the present day in the cases of Ockeghem and Josquin. One way to vindicate Obrecht as a composer, however, was to give new emphasis to his accomplishments on the 'purely musical' level. It may be no coincidence that scholars in the postwar decades began to draw attention to aspects of Obrecht's music that had previously attracted little notice: the element of calculation and clever contrivance in his cantus-firmus layouts, for example, or the apparent facility and (at times) almost naïve simplicity of his part-writing. Neither of these aspects is conspicuous in all or even most of Obrecht's compositions, and several of his most significant works (e.g. the *Missa 'Sicut spina rosam'* or the six-voice *Salve regina*) do not attest them at all. Even so, a new image of Obrecht began to take shape: that of a cold constructivist and *Vielschreiber*, whose prominence in music history owes more to the clever ingenuity of his tenor manipulations and to the sheer bulk of his output than to genuinely inspired or truly innovative masterpieces. This would now set him apart from the other composers of his generation. Obrecht came to be seen as the loner of the Josquin generation, as a curiously single-minded individual who doggedly stuck to old-fashioned practices, to the point of having little or no influence on subsequent composers. (As early as 1929, Heinrich Besseler had characterized him as the 'genialer Außenseiter' of the Renaissance; to some extent that is what he has remained ever since.)

Not surprisingly, perhaps, the postwar decades have left a substantial body of research on the formal layouts and cantus-firmus procedures in Obrecht's masses and motets. This research seems to have been motivated, at least in part, by perceived parallels between the *Kanonkünste* of the Franco-Flemish composers and the avant-garde serialism of the 1950s. It may also have been promoted by the rigorously empiricist orientation of

Anglo-American musicology during the Cold War decades, an orientation which typically privileged aspects that are susceptible to empirical verification. On these latter terms a composer like Ockeghem was bound to remain an elusive figure – and this, if anything, intensified the romanticized image of a 'mystic' already conferred on him by pre-war musicologists. Obrecht's works, on the other hand (at least those of his works that scholars chose to study), seemed to give all their secrets away in rational designs of one kind or another – ingenious tenor manipulations, symmetrical formal layouts, tonal structures and numerological schemes. Postwar musicology found its methodological preoccupations richly rewarded in Obrecht's music, and repaid him by canonizing the new image of the composer, one in which his music seemed to offer little else of historical (or even musical) interest besides the much-analysed rational designs. Significantly, the Obrecht mass that has been most often recorded since the 1950s is *Sub tuum presidium*, the very model of a complex mathematical design in 15th-century music.

All this is not to deny that Obrecht's music was still appreciated, especially for the flair and direct appeal of his melodic invention. Yet in most cases such appreciation was expressed merely as a qualification of the predominant image. In his *Music of the Renaissance*, for instance, Gustave Reese concluded his discussion of the composer with the afterthought: 'in addition to the technical proficiency shown in his music, its sheer loveliness makes him one of the greatest figures in a great generation'. And it is perhaps significant that the only attempt to analyse Obrecht's contrapuntal writing in any detail, Manfred Bukofzer's brilliant study of the *Missa Caput*, did not inspire similar attempts in other pieces so much as helped to solidify the postwar image of the composer. Bukofzer compared Obrecht's setting with the *Caput* masses of the English anonymous (then thought to be Du Fay) and Ockeghem. For obvious reasons he was concerned especially to bring out the stylistic differences between the three works. Given this objective, the deep kinship between Obrecht and Ockeghem once perceived by Ambros was bound to give way to a stark polarity – between the perceived inwardness and spirituality of Ockeghem, and the outward show and flamboyance of Obrecht. Bukofzer's impression of 'boundless exuberance and inexhaustible vigor', 'lusty virility', 'ceaseless rhythmic drive', and much else, has found its way into numerous postwar accounts of Renaissance music history, usually in connection with the composer's perceived facility (and rarely without reference to Glarean's 'mass in one night' anecdote).

The image that has remained, fairly or unfairly, is that of a man with a curiously singleminded tendency to play with outmoded ideas, whose music may show a great contrapuntal facility, but lacks the spiritual depth of an Ockeghem, let alone the innovative vision of a Josquin. The 1980 Grove article on Obrecht, written by Edgar Sparks, could be viewed in this light. The article presented virtually the opposite of the image sketched by Ambros more than a century previously. In some respects it was a reworking of the chapter on Obrecht in the author's magisterial study *Cantus Firmus in Mass and Motet, 1420–1520*. The composer is portrayed as a man whose significance to the history of music lies chiefly in the realm of tenor manipulation, and whose historical position must be assessed largely on those terms. Just as in the case of Reese, the acknowledgement of the aesthetic value of Obrecht's music appears as an afterthought, qualifying the image rather than defining it.

Much has happened in the twenty years since: the appearance of the third complete works edition, under the editorship of Chris Maas (published in 1981–99), the availability of more and more of his music in recorded performances, fresh archival research in all the major musical centres in which Obrecht is known to have worked, new datings for several of his works (on the basis of both archival and manuscript evidence), and research into the local chant traditions from which the composer may have selected his cantus firmi. If anything, the trend in Obrecht studies has been to contextualize our knowledge of the composer and his music – to deepen our understanding of the surroundings in which he lived and worked, and to ground new interpretations of his music more firmly in a knowledge of medieval liturgy, devotional practices, preaching and exegesis, social history, scholastic and humanist learning, biographical evidence, and much more. A wealth of historical material has been brought to bear on Obrecht's music, prompting fresh readings and interpretations of such works as the masses *Sub tuum presidium*, *Sicut spina rosam*, *De Sancto Donatiano* and *De Sancto Martino*, and such motets as *Mille quingentis*, *Factor orbis*, *Salve crux*, *Inter preclarissimas virtutes*, *Beata es Maria* and others. As a result of all this, Obrecht has begun to shed the one-dimensional image of a rigid constructivist and has come to be seen rather as a man of his time, a thoroughly medieval mind whose music embodies and articulates the values of the society in which he lived. In many ways, it is the fundamental 'otherness' of the medieval experience to which his works are now seen to offer uniquely revealing windows. (In this regard, the trend in Obrecht studies seems to parallel a similar trend in Du Fay research.) This contextualized image of Obrecht may as yet lack the coherence of previous images, yet a compelling visual counterpart has become available with the breathtaking portrait of the composer, which emerged unexpectedly in 1991.

The revival of many of Obrecht's compositions on sound recordings, especially by English *a cappella* ensembles in the 1990s, has opened up yet other dimensions to the composer's musicianship. When his works are heard in performance, the technically superlative part-writing reveals, in addition, an unparalleled ear for sonority and vocal timbre. Motets such as the five-part *Salve crux* and especially the six-part *Salve regina* have emerged as awesome edifices of sound, and may do much to explain Ambros's perception of Obrecht as 'a great, profound, serious and manly master, whose works show, almost throughout, a strain of stern loftiness'. Even the four-part music, including many of the cantus-firmus masses, turns out to be far more effective in performance than its often unassuming appearance on paper might suggest. In sound, Obrecht's use of the musical idiom of his time seems so inexhaustibly imaginative and inspired as to reduce the notorious tenor manipulations to virtual aesthetic irrelevance. The effect of all this on the modern image of Obrecht cannot be calculated as yet.

Over the past century, the music history of Obrecht's generation has usually tended to be construed in terms of the lives and oeuvres of the most important masters, or of the major genres and styles current at the time. However,

one could with equal justification conceive that history as the complex of mentalities, sensibilities and attitudes towards music that prevailed in European society, and which conditioned the reception of composers' works. The trend in recent Obrecht research has been to incorporate more and more of the latter within the framework of the former – to the point where the very privileging of such categories as 'author', 'work', 'style' and 'genre' has begun to seem problematic in light of what we know about musical experience in the period itself. To contextualize Obrecht and his works is inevitably to acknowledge that musical meaning and value may have been context-dependent rather than immanent in the artwork itself. To give an example, if the four-voice *Salve regina* is a prayer to the Virgin, *Quis numerare queat* a sermon, *Mille quingentis* an epitaph and *Inter preclarissimas virtutes* a 'letter of application', then obviously it is problematic to appraise one work as intrinsically better or more successful than another without regard to its purpose or function. Each of these motets was conceived for a different audience – the Virgin, a congregation, posterity, an unknown music patron – and these differences are likely to have borne on Obrecht's choices of musical style and construction. As this example illustrates, then, evaluative comparisons – not only between works but also between composers such as Obrecht and Josquin – must take into account such qualifying distinctions as between, say, urban and courtly, humanist and scholastic, private and public, votive and communal, sacred and secular, Flemish and Italian, 1490s and 1510s. The trend in Renaissance music research over the last decade or so has been to do exactly this. Ultimately that trend may cause the dissolution of the received images for Obrecht and Josquin. But for now the potential gains in historical understanding seem to outweigh the losses.

3. MUSIC: THE EARLY YEARS. One of the most significant developments in Obrecht studies over the last twenty years has been the discovery of new datings and *termini ante quem* for several of the composer's works. This has involved some unexpected surprises, notably in the case of *Missa 'Fortuna desperata'*. This work had always been thought to be among Obrecht's latest works, and is indeed remarkable for the breathtaking novelty of its conception (ex.1). Watermark evidence reveals that this piece must have circulated in Germany as early as 1489–93, along with several other masses that are closely related to it in style: *Rose playsante*, *Je ne demande* and the anonymous *N'aray-je jamais*. These masses, and several others like them, represent the core of Obrecht's mass oeuvre, and share a contrapuntal idiom that was identified as the 'mature style' by Wegman (1994). Watermark evidence confirms that this style must have been fully developed by the early 1490s, around the midpoint of Obrecht's professional career. It does not appear to have undergone significant changes until the very last years of his life. There are no direct models for the style in the works of other composers, nor does it seem to be anticipated in those Obrecht masses that can be securely dated in the late 1480s (*De Sancto Donatiano*, *De Sancto Martino* and *Salve diva parens*). As far as the masses are concerned, it is the most distinctively Obrechtian style, and the one for which he became internationally famous in the 1490s. It can be seen in some of the motets as well, most clearly in *Inter preclarissimas virtutes*.

That Obrecht's mature style should have developed, and been brought to perfection in masses like *Fortuna desperata* and *Rose playsante*, at such an early stage in his career is indeed a remarkable discovery. It is one of two recent developments which have prompted a major reassessment of Obrecht's historical position vis-à-vis Josquin – the other being the discovery that Josquin's career started much later than previously thought, in the late 1470s rather than the late 1450s. Several significant Josquin pieces that had been dated before about 1480 to accommodate the two decades he was believed to be active in Milan (1459–79) must now be assumed to be much later. With few exceptions, their copying dates and *termini ante quem* do not predate the mid-1490s, that is, at least half a decade after Obrecht's mature masses were already circulating in eastern Germany. In view of this, the emergence of Obrecht's mature style in these masses, which include such masterpieces as *Fortuna desperata*, *Rose playsante*, *Malheur me bat* and *Libenter gloriabor*, must be regarded as one of the most important developments in the music history of the 1480s and 1490s.

Quite how Obrecht arrived at his mature style is hard to determine, since so few of his remaining works can be dated on external grounds. It is possible to suggest datings based on internal, stylistic evidence, but these are inevitably open to the danger of circularity: although our perception of Obrecht's compositional development should ideally be based on a secure chronology of his works, we may never be able to arrive at a chronology without some hypothetical idea of how he developed as a composer. Then there is the additional problem (which may affect the motets more than the masses) that Obrecht's stylistic choices at any point may have been dictated by context and function rather than by purely compositional considerations. Despite these caveats, however, there are several works for which it can be plausibly suggested that they must be early – mainly because they rely on compositional conventions that were current in the 1470s and disappeared in the next decade. A good example is the *Missa 'Petrus apostolus'*. Despite the late date of its main source, a German print of 1539, the style of this setting is a faithful imitation of Busnoys' masses *L'homme armé* and *O crux lignum triumphale* (both of which began to circulate in the 1470s). Like these latter works, its contrapuntal idiom is exceedingly smooth and polished, yet has a quality of urgency and drive that derives from the persistent tendency (so typical of Busnoys) to create and resolve suspended dissonances between pairs of voices in quasi-cadential fashion. (This quality had been notably absent in Ockeghem's masses from the 1460s and 1470s, such as *De plus en plus* or *Ecce ancilla Domini*, whose dense layers of sound typically moved at glacial pace.) Given the likelihood that Obrecht was personally acquainted with Busnoys by the late 1460s, it stands to reason that he would have modelled his first efforts after the masses for which the latter had become most famous. Of course, it cannot be ruled out that the *Missa 'Petrus apostolus'* might have been composed at a later date, though in that case it would have represented a consciously historicizing gesture, or at least an attempt to emulate an identifiable older style.

This latter possibility must be assumed in the case of another early mass, *De Sancto Donatiano*, which was written for a Bruges endowment in 1487. The style of this work is a faithful imitation of Ockeghem's *Missa 'Ecce*

Ex.1 Obrecht: *Missa 'Fortuna desperata'*, Kyrie I



ancilla Domini' (1470s) and in fact the music makes several explicit allusions to that work. Significantly, Obrecht made no effort to transform Ockeghem's style or to assimilate it to his own idiom. The result is a setting that, had it survived anonymously, might well have been mistaken for a work by the older composer – in the same way that the *Missa 'Petrus apostolus'* is a stylistic twin of Busnoys' *Missa 'O crux lignum'*.

It seems significant that Obrecht, at the beginning of his career, should have been concerned to pay musical tributes of this kind. In the case of the *Missa de Sancto Donatiano*, however, the gesture is likely to reflect not so much a sense of artistic loyalty arising from personal acquaintance (as was probably true in the case of Busnoys), but rather an awareness of the historical status of past masterpieces – a status that Obrecht's emulation helped solidify. Another work that seems to pay tribute to Ockeghem is the *Missa de Sancto Martino*, written at Bruges in 1486: the first Kyrie quotes the head-motif of the latter's *Missa 'Mi-mi'*. However, one can still discern the influence of Busnoys as well: just as in the *Missa 'Petrus apostolus'* Obrecht tended to state and restate his cantus firmi in schematic fashion, occasionally by means of mensural transformation.

Ex.1 *continued*



The clues provided by these three datable masses may allow us to suggest early dates for several other settings. The *Missa 'Sicut spina rosam'* makes even more sustained allusions to Ockeghem's *Missa 'Mi-mi'* than *De Sancto Martino*: the head-motif of the older mass is once again quoted in the first Kyrie, and the bass of the Kyrie is quoted literally in the Agnus Dei of Obrecht's setting. *Sicut spina rosam* has several other features in common with *De Sancto Martino*, most notably the tendency to incorporate extended literal quotations of the cantus firmus in the introductory duos of individual movements. This tendency can be observed already in the *Missa 'Petrus apostolus'*, but it is expanded here to a degree unprecedented in Obrecht's (or any other composer's) oeuvre. Similar examples can be found in the masses *Beata viscera*, *O lumen ecclesie* and *Ave regina celorum*, all of which are likely to date from the 1480s.

If any trend can be witnessed in these early works, it is one towards increasing expansiveness – the very opposite of the measured concision of the later, mature masses. The sense of urgency and drive that was characteristic of Busnoys' idiom seems to have disappeared soon after the *Missa 'Petrus apostolus'*, giving way to a sense of tranquillity and poise more typical of Ockeghem's cantus-firmus masses. Some Busnoys-inspired devices still retain a token presence, particularly the literal imitation or restatement of cantus-firmus material in different voice-parts (migration is especially prominent in *O lumen*

ecclesie and *Sicut spina rosam*), but Obrecht tended to expand the scale on which these are applied – to the point where the devices are more easily detected on paper than heard in performance. The extreme in this regard is the *Missa 'Sicut spina rosam'*, a sombre, dense piece in the style of Ockeghem, organized by extended migrations and imitations of the cantus firmus on various hierarchical levels.

A similarly expansive composition, but one in which the influence of Busnoys' contrapuntal idiom can be discerned much more clearly, is the six-part *Salve regina*, a work of awesome power and depth. One might well hesitate to date a setting for six voices in the mid-1480s, yet there is little else about this work to justify such hesitation. The stylistic trend in the late 1480s and 1490s (exemplified by Obrecht's mature masses) was to be towards leaner, more lightly-textured polyphony. As if to make up for the loss of rich vocal sonority, composers increasingly invested their works with a purposeful compositional logic – witness, for instance, the more sensitive treatment of openings and endings, the increasing reliance on motivic imitation, and the careful positioning and handling of climactic points in the course of the musical argument. None of this can be observed as yet in the six-part *Salve regina*. By later standards this work seems almost self-indulgent in the degree to which it revels in slowly drifting layers of consonant sonority – 'more of the keenest sweetness', as Cortese was to put it, 'than would have sufficed to please the ear'. More than any other work in Obrecht's oeuvre, the *Salve regina* exemplifies an older aesthetic that might be called the 'wall of sound'. (This aesthetic was not abandoned in England, as one can tell from the motets in the Eton Choirbook. On the continent, the predilection for unrelentingly dense counterpoint was to return again after the 1510s, especially in the works of Gombert and Willaert. Significantly, the German theorist Hermann Finck, writing in praise of Gombert in 1556, described Josquin's music as 'thinner' (*nudior*) than modern taste approved, whereas Gombert 'avoids pauses, and his work is rich with full harmonies and imitative counterpoint'.)

The change towards the newer aesthetic can be observed in several motets by Obrecht that are likely to date from the later 1480s. If one considers, for instance, *Factor orbis* or *Salve crux*, one is struck immediately by the degree to which Obrecht has endowed the extended passages in reduced scoring with significant compositional interest of their own. It is true that one can still hear those passages as preludes or interludes between the cantus-firmus based stretches in full scoring. Yet while the latter are admittedly magnificent examples of sonorous part-writing, and show Obrecht at his best, they are typically less expansive, and dissolve so smoothly into the passages in reduced scoring as to discourage the impression that they constitute the core of the musical argument. From here one can see the direct path to still later tenor motets such as *Laudemus nunc Dominum*, *Mater patris* and *O preciosissime sanguis*, none of which is likely to predate the 1490s.

By the late 1480s, when Italian musical sources had barely begun to register the presence of Josquin (aside from a handful of songs only his *Ave Maria ... virgo serena*, *Domine non secundum* and the four-part *Salve regina*), Obrecht had a justifiable claim to being the most versatile and prolific composer in Europe. As far as the masses are concerned, the masterpiece of these years was *Salve diva parens*, a virtuoso display piece of breathtaking complexity and contrapuntal resourcefulness. This setting is the nearest Obrecht ever came to writing a freely-composed mass: although one can recognize passing resemblances between the tenors of the various movements, if these reflect a pre-existing melody it was clearly ornamented to such a degree as to obscure it beyond ready identification. The *Missa 'Salve diva parens'* seems to have found its way to Italian sources by 1487; its early transmission to the peninsula may do much to explain the invitation to the composer extended by Duke Ercole d'Este later that year. There is a string of other masses that can be or have been dated in the late 1480s with varying degrees of plausibility: *Adieu mes amours*, *Ave regina celorum*, *De Sancto Johanne Baptista*, *Caput*, *L'homme armé*, to mention only a few. One is not surprised to learn from the fabric accounts of St Donatian that the rate at which masses were copied in the choirbooks increased sharply after Obrecht's appointment in 1485 and declined almost as sharply after his departure in 1491. It is true that the accounts seldom specify titles or composers, and hence not every mass was necessarily composed by Obrecht. Still, even if one allows for possible contributions by other composers, the sheer quantity of mass cycles copied in 1485–91, 22 (of which eight were specifically designated as 'new'), suggests the likelihood that these years were among the most prolific in Obrecht's career.

Several motets may be associated with this period as well. *Mille quingentis*, the musical prayer commemorating Willem Obrecht, is likely to date from 1489 or shortly thereafter, since it refers to the year of Willem's death, 1488, in the past tense. It is a tenor motet in the old style, based on a threefold statement of the Introit for the Requiem mass, *Requiem eternam*, identically notated though rhythmically varied by means of mensuration changes. Just as in Josquin's later *Nymphes des bois* (commemorating Ockeghem), the plainchant has been transposed down a step, to accommodate the plaintive Phrygian modality of the setting. The contrapuntal idiom of the Corpus Christi motet *Discubuit Jesus* is reminiscent of *Mille quingentis* (compare, for example, bars 15–16 of the former with bars 20–21 of the latter, the frequent octave leaps in the top part, as well as the almost mannered use of suspensions in dotted rhythm), though the treatment of the plainchant itself is quite different: it is freely elaborated in the various voices and, with the exception of the first 14 bars, there is no literal imitation or migration of cantus-firmus material anywhere in this piece. (Similar freedom of treatment is evident in the three-part settings of *Salve regina* and *Alma redemptoris mater*.) If *Discubuit Jesus* was written in the 1480s, as seems likely, its apparent stylistic relationship to *Mille quingentis* underlines an important point: given the variety of functions and occasions for which Obrecht wrote his motets, it is hard to generalize about his stylistic profile in these works. For that reason it may often be more useful to evaluate his motets in terms of their probable ritual or devotional function and context rather than their position in a hypothetical compositional development. Many motets might equally well have been written for Bergen op Zoom, Cambrai or Bruges, and undoubtedly entered the repertory in all these places during the 1480s: the three-part and four-part *Salve regina* settings, *Ave regina celorum* (one of several late 15th-century motets based

on the famous setting by Walter Frye), and the four-part Marian prayer *Cuius sacrata viscera*. The three-part *Salve regina* is written in an unrelentingly exuberant style reminiscent of some of Obrecht's songs (especially *Tandernaken*, with which it shares the opening bar).

There is a strong case, on the other hand, for suggesting that other motets originated specifically in Bruges. *Omnis spiritus*, a cento of various prayers and acclamations, includes a supplication 'for our king'. For the Brabant towns of Antwerp and Bergen op Zoom this might have implied a date in the period 1486–93, when Maximilian I was King of the Romans, but it would seem to point more plausibly to Cambrai or Bruges, both of which were under French royal rule. The musical style is unambitious, yet it was undoubtedly dictated by the nature of a specific occasion, probably a public procession of thanksgiving. The contrapuntal idiom of the St Basil motet *O beate Basili/O beate Pater* frequently reminds one of *Missa de Sancto Donatiano*, with which it shares a plainchant melody *O beate pater Basili* (texted *O beate pater Donatiane* in the mass). The two inner voices of the first part elaborate this melody in strict canon (a procedure found already in the first section of the six-part *Salve regina*), whereas the outer voices carry the text of the Magnificat antiphon *O beate Basili*. Reinhard Strohm has convincingly associated this piece with the veneration of St Basil in Bruges; its style seems consistent with a date in the late 1480s. The Holy Blood motet *O preciosissime sanguis* must likewise originate from Bruges, where it would almost certainly have been written for the Basilica of the Holy Blood, or perhaps for the annual Holy Blood procession on 3 May. However, this is clearly a later work: although based on a plainchant cantus firmus (stated three times in long note-values in the tenor), the vigorous idiom characteristic of the mature style, the prominence of chordal, declamatory passages, as well as the mensural layout (¢ throughout, with no opening section in perfect tempus), suggest a date in Obrecht's second Bruges period, 1498–1500.

The overall picture is one of stylistic variety. As choirmaster in Bruges and other towns in the southern Netherlands, Obrecht was a composer who responded sensitively to what the nature of the occasion required. For this reason, the style of his Middle-Dutch songs may point to a specific type of occasion as well. Most of them are lively, animated pieces in a style that is almost reminiscent of the later Parisian chanson: frequent homophonic declamatory passages, modest use of imitation, and a generally simple harmonic style with regular cadences apparently articulating the phrase structure of the text. Although few of these pieces survive with any text beyond the incipit (and several may well have been conceived for instruments), the lighthearted nature of the opening words confirms that we may be in the realm of popular urban entertainment: 'When all the world lives in joy', 'The hail and the cold snow', 'I wear my cap awry', 'I heard the bells toll', 'Let yourself be pleased, dear John', 'Where are you, John? Who is calling us?' and others. Such pieces could well have been written for the morality plays that the singers of St Donatian were permitted to stage every year. Other songs strike a more serious note. *Lacen adieu* ('Alas, farewell, sweet company') seems to have circulated in Germany by the late 1470s, and may well be the earliest surviving work by Obrecht. The varied repetition of bars 13–35 in bars 37–55 may reflect the structure of the original poem, which has not come down to us. Like *Moet my lacen* and probably *Tmeiskin was jonck*, it seems to reflect the more selfconsciously serious environment of the chambers of rhetoric which flourished in Bruges, Ghent, Antwerp and other towns in the southern Netherlands. Still other secular pieces may have been conceived as *Spielmusik* for city minstrels, as Strohm has suggested, though in many cases we cannot tell whether that conception would have been authorial or scribal. Several of Obrecht's textless pieces could easily have been lifted from otherwise lost cantus-firmus Masses, where they might have originated as the Christe, Pleni, Benedictus, or second Agnus Dei. (The 'Qui cum patre' of the *Missa 'Salve diva parens'* circulated for decades as such a work.) No such explanation can be advanced for *Nec michi nec tibi*, however, which is the nearest in Obrecht's oeuvre to a work that seems inherently instrumental in idiom.

4. MUSIC: THE MATURE STYLE. The advent of the mature style, in masses composed around 1490 or shortly before, represents the central turning-point in Obrecht's career. It is at this point that he fundamentally reconceived the parameters of his style, developing what can only be described as a new artistic vision (typified in ex.1 by the first Kyrie of the *Missa 'Fortuna desperata'*). The older aesthetic of the 'wall of sound' disappears completely: cantus-firmus based passages in full scoring tend to move at varying rates of rhythmic and harmonic activity, ranging from drawn-out homophonic passages, usually at key phrases of the mass text, to stretches of almost frenzied contrapuntal activity. The allocation of these different passages typically reflects a purposeful musical design – though one, significantly, that is seldom dictated by the shape of the predetermined cantus firmus, and indeed may encompass long stretches in which the tenor is not heard at all. Instead of a conventional alternation between sharply contrasted passages in full and reduced scoring, standing side by side as monolithic stretches of relatively undifferentiated counterpoint, Obrecht now tended to treat the beginning or ending of a tenor statement as one of several steps in a continuing musical development. To achieve a cumulative effect, for example, he might pre-empt the first phrase of the cantus firmus in a series of imitations, of which the tenor entry then constitutes the concluding statement (see, for instance, ex.1, bars 1–17). Typically, however, the tenor entry is not treated as the culmination of such a development, as it usually was in the previous generation: that point now tends to be deferred until later in the cantus-firmus statement (ex.1, bars 29–31), sometimes even over a tenor passage that may not obviously invite it. It might be too much to say that Obrecht had become wholly indifferent to the structure of the cantus firmus, but he does seem to have sought the challenge of creating musical designs which, although accommodating the structural voice-part, owed little or nothing to its predetermined shape and layout.

As if to step up that challenge (or perhaps to display his sheer resourcefulness), Obrecht now preferred to treat pre-existing melodies in the most rigidly schematic fashion – employing techniques of mensural transformation, augmentation, inversion, retrograde, sampling and segmentation, and thereby forcing himself to operate within the constraints of the utterly arbitrary end results. This new preference represents a significant break from his

earlier practices. After the *Missa 'Petrus apostolus'* Obrecht had moved away from schematic procedures, prominently applying free elaboration in masses such as *Beata viscera*, *Sicut spina rosam*, *De Sancto Donatiano*, *Salve diva parens*, and (if it is early) *Adieu mes amours*. Now, however, the procedures returned, though with the musical stakes greatly increased. To create a 'wall of sound' around a predetermined cantus firmus (as in the masses *Petrus apostolus* or *De Sancto Martino*) would have posed no particular challenge to a composer of Obrecht's skill. (In his earliest works, the principal artistic challenge for him had been to maximize the variety of consonant sonority within an unchanging polyphonic texture.) To invent a purposeful and coherent musical design, on the other hand, was a task to which few composers beside himself would have been equal. Obrecht was not to be outdone in this regard until the publication of Josquin's *Missa 'Hercules dux Ferrarie'* in 1505. By then, he himself had all but completed the corpus of his mature masses, which included such cycles as *Plurimorum carminum* I and II, *De tous biens playne*, *Fors seulement*, *Grecorum*, *Pfauenschwanz* and *Je ne demande*, and which had culminated in such masterpieces as *Fortuna desperata*, *Libenter gloriabor*, *Malheur me bat* and *Rose playsante*.

Although there are important differences between these works, their common stylistic profile can be recognized by a number of distinguishing traits: (1) the markedly increased emphasis on cadences, often effected by restatements of the same cadence in regular succession (ex.1, bars 1–13), or, at climactic points, by stretching out a cadential progression over a longer passage (bars 15–17 and 28–31); (2) the articulation of the musical discourse in self-contained phrase units, arranged in chains and often linked through literal restatements of the same material (bars 1–17 and 31–49); (3) the use of textural changes and cadences to underscore that articulation; (4) the almost unrelentingly exuberant melodic style, in which individual lines keep outlining triadic figures with formulaic rhythmic patterns, and frequently initiate motivic sequences or repetitions; (5) the sensitivity to tonal relationships across larger formal periods.

However, the mature style is more than the sum of its distinguishing traits. The key-word is *design*, and the traits themselves acquire their significance only in the context of Obrecht's new sense of formal musical design. He has decisively moved away from the mid-century aesthetic in which (to exaggerate slightly) the sonority of each moment had to speak for itself, and carried no implications beyond the inevitability of its having to give way to the next sonority. (If formal expectations played any role at all in that aesthetic, they usually had to do with one of three things: the periodic shifts between full and reduced scoring, the structure of the text, or such short-term organizational devices as imitation and sequence.) In Obrecht's mature style, on the other hand, it is the position of each moment within an overarching musical design that determines how it will be treated, and (one assumes) how listeners were encouraged to hear it. Thus, what was important about the ending of a piece is not that it marked the moment at which the performance discontinues, but rather that it established closure in terms of the work as a whole. That is why the final cadences of individual movements tend to receive extraordinary emphasis in Obrecht's mature masses, and in some cases get a separate coda section all to themselves. (This latter tendency can be observed already in the Gloria and Credo of the *Missa 'Ave regina celorum'*.) Similar sensitivity is apparent in the opening sections, however, which Obrecht was likewise careful to treat in a fashion appropriate to the overall compositional design (as in ex.1, bars 1–17).

The historical and musical significance of all this could hardly be overestimated. Apart from anything else, Obrecht's mature style embodied a fundamentally new conception of the nature of the musical work. To appreciate this, it may be useful to make a comparison with mid-century styles of composition in the cantus-firmus mass, as exemplified, for instance, by the influential English *Caput* mass. Compositions that dwell on kaleidoscopic successions of consonant sonorities do not encourage being construed as works (though modern analysis habitually attempts to do so), but rather as performative events. In performance their style might not have been distinguishable in many cases from that of polyphonic improvisations – and the latter, of course, are by definition not works. Listeners did not seek to discern 'the composer's voice', but rather heard and valued the actual voices of singers – and it is these, invariably, to which they drew attention in their eyewitness reports, to the virtual exclusion of works and authors' names. Obrecht's mature masses, on the other hand, seek to communicate at every turn their status as works by making transparently audible the compositional logic devised by the author. Listeners were thus encouraged to discern that logic 'beyond' the consonant sonorities in whose particular arrangement it is expressed.

In this sense the mature masses could be said to invite 'understanding' on the part of their listeners – a novel concept first articulated by Tinctoris in his *Complexus effectuum musices* (early 1480s):

> For the more one has attained perfection in [music], the more one is delighted by it, since one apprehends its nature both inwardly and outwardly: inwardly through the intellective faculty, through which one understands proper composition and performance, and outwardly through the auditive power, through which one perceives the sweetness of consonances.

As this comment implies, there was nothing to be 'understood' about consonant sonority *per se* – except (for those who had read Boethius) its basis in arithmetical proportion, though even this revealed God's creative purpose rather than that of any human composer. Obrecht's mature style, on the other hand, foregrounded the composer's creative purpose by shifting the aesthetic focus onto intelligible compositional design. In this design one might discern the composer's voice resounding, as it were, through the singers' voices. And it was this design that would now come to be regarded as the defining dimension of the musical work *qua* work, and the touchstone of its intrinsic quality – reducing consonant sonority to a mere surface quality, satisfying only to the undiscriminating ears of inexperienced listeners. Once again the underlying ideology had already been articulated by Tinctoris in his *Complexus effectuum musices*: 'However, music brings less joy to those who perceive in it nothing but sound, and who indeed are delighted only through the outer sense'. In Obrecht's mature masses, too, consonant sonority is no longer its own justification: it can be too much of a good thing, and hence it must be handled with discretion, lest it might distract from the musical argument. The masses are notably leaner and thinner-textured than previous settings (in ex.1, for instance, only a third of the section is fully scored), and

the individual lines tend to be differentiated more sharply – making an early work like the six-part *Salve regina* seem almost excessively luxurious by comparison. (It was undoubtedly a piece of the latter kind that Cortese had in mind when he expressed reservations about Obrecht's motet style.)

The point here is not that Obrecht was somehow implementing a programme for stylistic renewal advanced by Tinctoris, but rather that both were responding in different ways to fundamental changes in aesthetic sensibility affecting European musical culture at large. The conceptualization of the musical work as object (*res facta*) and the increasing valuation of musical authorship, involving notions of personal style, authorial intention and creative freedom, are phenomena that can be traced back to the 1470s if not earlier. Moreover, the mature style was not without precedents in either Obrecht's own works or those of others. Even an older figure like Ockeghem – the prime representative of the 'wall of sound' aesthetic in the 1460s and 1470s – experimented with leaner textures and a more purposeful sense of musical design in his late *Missa 'Au travail suis'*. And the concern with musical closure had already been anticipated in the well-known phenomenon of the 'drive to the cadence': as illustrated, for example, by Ockeghem's *Missa 'Ecce ancilla Domini'* (and by Obrecht's emulation of that work, the mass *De Sancto Donatiano*), this was the stepping up of rhythmic and melodic energy before its release in the final cadence. Early sensitivity about musical closure is suggested also by a closely related device: the 'sounding out' of individual voice-parts within the final sonority (as, for example, in the Naples *L'homme armé* masses), as if to mitigate the harsh abruptness of the cadence. These two devices, the drive to the cadence and the sounding out of voice-parts, were typical of the Ockeghem-Busnoys generation and disappeared gradually thereafter. (Spectacular late examples can still be found in Obrecht's masses *Caput* and *L'homme armé*, and some works by Isaac.)

However, not even these precedents can obscure the fact that Obrecht's contribution in the years around 1490 represented a fundamentally new artistic vision, and was unparalleled in its originality. This is not to imply a negative view of the older aesthetic, which we have typified here, for the sake of comparison, in terms of the idea of the 'wall of sound'. The point is that the very paradigms of musical composition, perception and judgement changed profoundly during the 1470s and 1480s, rendering any direct comparison across this major shift problematic. In terms of the new aesthetic sensibilities, however, Obrecht's mature style represented a strikingly imaginative response. For that reason it must count as one of the most significant developments in the history of late-15th-century musical style.

5. LATER COMPOSITIONS. The picture of stylistic consistency and homogeneity presented by the mature style gives way to one of greater diversity in the later motets. Among these, the four-part *Inter preclarissimas virtutes* seems to offer the closest parallel to the mature masses. It is based on a chant fragment (*Estote fortes in bello*, from the Common of Apostles and Evangelists) which is notated and treated exactly as in such segmentation masses as *Je ne demande*, *Rose playsante* or *Malheur me bat*: five successive statements in each of the first two sections, sixfold augmentation in the first statements followed by successive reduction until the notes have the same durations as the other voices. *Inter preclarissimas virtutes* was conceived a musical 'letter of application' addressed to an unnamed ecclesiastic, presumably a pope, evidently with a view to securing his patronage.

The five-part *Laudemus nunc Dominum*, written for the dedication of a church, must have existed by 1496, when it was singled out for its prominent declamatory writing by the theorist Johannes Herbenus of Maastricht. It is a characteristically joyful and exuberant work which, although based on a conventional scaffold tenor, sounds remarkably modern in its regular alternation between rapid text delivery in the homophonic declamations, and the breathtaking energy of the more contrapuntally involved passages. The cantus firmus drops in and out with little apparent effect on the musical argument as a whole. The five-part *Mater patris* is very similar in musical conception. Although one of its voices is no longer extant, the work is similarly based on a cantus firmus in long note-values, around which the other parts enunciate the text of the Marian hymn *Mater patris* with unrelenting energy and drive. Like many later works by Obrecht (including *Inter preclarissimas virtutes* and several of the mature masses) this piece is conceived in C almost throughout, with no opening section in perfect tempus as had been customary up to the 1490s. The same is true of *O preciosissime sanguis*, which provides perhaps the best illustration of Obrecht's mature tendency to create musical designs that owe little or nothing to the structure of the cantus firmus: the two plainchant melodies in the tenor pursue their predetermined course within a musical context that seems to follow a logic entirely of its own.

If the four-part *Salve sancta facies/Homo quidam* was composed for an endowment in Bruges, as Strohm has suggested, it must surely date from Obrecht's second period of activity there in 1498–1500. Just as in the *Missa 'Malheur me bat'*, which existed by 1497, the pre-existing melody (the responsory *Homo quidam* for Corpus Christi) is stated in the top voice. The contrapuntal context in which it is embedded is strikingly similar to that in the mass. (Compare, for instance, bars 142–5 of the Credo with bars 22–5 of the motet.) The setting begins with a point of imitation that apparently provided the inspiration for the almost identical opening of Josquin's *Inviolata, integra et casta es* (1510s), which in turn was to be imitated by several other composers.

New stylistic directions are apparent in two other late motets by Obrecht, both printed by Petrucci in 1505. The four-part *Quis numerare queat* is conceived as a musical sermon (addressed to 'you Frenchmen' in the most authoritative source), and was evidently written for a service of thanksgiving after the cessation of war – possibly the withdrawal of an invader or the ending of a civil war. The poem was set to music also by the French court composer Loyset Compère, who turned it into a conventional tenor motet based on a canonically treated cantus firmus. Obrecht's setting, on the other hand, was freely composed, and cast in a style that can only be described as rhetorical. Syntactical units of the text are articulated by firm cadences or half-cadences, simultaneous rests or changes of musical procedure. Key phrases are projected by homophonic, declamatory writing or underlined by striking musical gestures: imitations, triple rhythms and changes in texture. The occasion for the piece may have been the Peace of Etaples (November

1492), which ended a shortlived invasion into France by Henry VII of England. Obrecht is known to have travelled through France in 1492.

The four-part *Laudes Christo redemptori*, a freely-composed setting of the text of a sequence for Easter, could well be among Obrecht's latest works. The motet is almost prophetic in its consistent application of the technique of pervading imitation, with individual points of imitation articulating phrases of the text. Highly significant (and in Obrecht's oeuvre unique) is the wider spacing of the voice-parts, and the tendency to avoid crossings between them. The motet was apparently conceived in the so-called *a voce piena* texture, in which each of the voices occupies a distinct modal range, which was to become universal in the 16th century.

As this brief survey suggests, Obrecht seems to have shifted the focus of his creative ambitions in later years to the motet. It was in this genre that he developed new ideas and approaches, and partook in later trends. (It is perhaps significant that Cortese was to single out Obrecht as one of the major motet composers of his time, a view that has often puzzled modern observers.) In the masses, on the other hand, it would appear that the composer had made his mark by the early 1490s, and was content thereafter to continue operating within the framework of the mature style. The only major exception may have been the *Missa 'Sub tuum presidium'*, a work of immense structural complexity, apparently written for the feast of the Assumption. It is based on a recurring plainchant cantus firmus, laid out in the top voice with almost uncompromising strictness, along which other plainchants are added in the course of the setting, gradually thickening the initial three-part texture until the culmination in the seven-part Agnus Dei. As Marcus van Crevel discovered several decades ago, Obrecht introduced two minor modifications into the otherwise rigid cantus-firmus groundplan, thereby fixing the overall length of the work at exactly 888 semibreves (with Kyrie and Gloria taking up 333 semibreves, and Credo, Sanctus, and Agnus Dei 555).

If any masses could be said to date from Obrecht's final years, they are likely to include such settings as *Si dedero*, *Cela sans plus* and especially *Maria zart*. While they still exemplify Obrecht's predilection for scaffold tenors, his musical engagement with pre-existing models now extended far beyond questions of cantus-firmus treatment and layout alone. In all three settings, material from the models infuses the other voices to such a degree (whether freely elaborated or quoted literally) that one is almost tempted to speak of parody in the cases of *Si dedero* and *Cela sans plus*. To the extent that Obrecht now departed from the idiom of the mature style, he seems to have done so mainly in response to the style of the pre-existing models. *Maria zart* is a special case in this regard, since the model, a German devotional song, was monophonic. The mass is likely to date from 1503 or 1504, when the composer is known to have passed through the very region where the devotional song *Maria zart* originated, the Tyrol, and where several other settings of the melody, including an anonymous three-part mass, turn up in the 1500s. The immoderate length of the work (it takes up more than an hour in modern performance) is dictated by the cantus-firmus layout, arranged by means of Obrecht's favourite device of segmentation. Contrary to his mature masses, however, the composer made no attempt to compose large-scale formal designs around the tenor, for instance by breaking up the counterpoint in self-contained phrase units or by introducing extended literal imitations and migrations. While the contrapuntal voices still take little notice of the presence or absence of the cantus firmus, they do so with no other apparent aim than that of extending melodic lines, or motivic imitations and sequences, almost indefinitely. In one sense this brings him closer to the 'wall of sound' aesthetic of earlier years – save that the voice-parts do not actually combine to create a wall so much as engage in a ceaseless interplay of sharply individualized melodic lines. A curious work, with no obvious precedent or later influence, it leaves one with the impression, as do most of his other late works, that Obrecht still had a great deal to offer when he died in his late 40s.

6. Conclusion. In 1980 it was still possible for Edgar Sparks to observe that Obrecht's 'influence on later music was slight' (*Grove6*). This view is premissed on several assumptions that can no longer be sustained without qualification. One of these was that Obrecht was a member of 'the Josquin generation', and consequently that the 'later music' in which his influence should supposedly be apparent must include the works of Gombert, Willaert and Clemens non Papa. However, it is a simple matter of fact that Obrecht died in 1505, 16 years before Josquin, and that more than half of Josquin's oeuvre does not actually begin to turn up in sources surviving today until after that date. Another assumption was that Josquin's career began in 1459, and hence that several of his most significant works might have been written as early as the 1460s. However, it has now been established beyond question that no document before the mid-1470s mentions Josquin as a professional musician (or indeed at all). Moreover, less than a fourth of Josquin's works actually survive in sources copied before about 1500. The evidence of the sources thus confirms what is already apparent from other evidence, especially the virtual absence before 1500 of contemporary comments mentioning Josquin as a composer of any eminence. Simply put, his breakthrough as a composer is likely to have come only in the very last years of the century, about 10 years after Obrecht's breakthrough in the late 1480s. And the corollary is inevitable: that the 'later music' in which Obrecht's influence could have been apparent must include about half of Josquin's oeuvre even if the influence was only posthumous.

There is in fact a compelling case for suggesting that Obrecht was a major influence on Josquin. The style of the *Missa 'Hercules dux Ferrarie'*, surely not written before the early years of the 16th century, would have been inconceivable without the precedent of Obrecht's mature masses. Josquin borrowed and transformed the fundamental conception of the mature style, as outlined above, in a setting whose artistic merit is not diminished by its debt to Obrecht. Likewise, one can still discern in the opening of a late motet such as *Benedicta es* (whose transmission begins in the late 1510s, and which is likely to date from that decade) the influence of very similar openings in the masses *Fortuna desperata* (see ex.1) and *Libenter gloriabor*. Of course, the possibility of Obrecht's influence on Josquin can only be a working hypothesis, one that cannot be fully tested until several major problems of chronology and authenticity in Josquin's oeuvre have been resolved. For now it has the merit of being consistent with the evidence, despite the obvious

conflict it poses to the long-held assumption that Josquin should be credited with every major innovation that occurred during his lifetime. On the other hand, it is unlikely that we shall ever be able to appreciate the exact nature and scope of Josquin's contribution until we have identified the influences he underwent.

No such obstacles exist in Obrecht scholarship. His debts to Busnoys and Ockeghem are transparently audible in his early works, and the *Missa 'Adieu mes amours'* may well reflect a similar debt to Weerbecke and Josquin. It is precisely because of these well-established influences that we may expect to move towards a better appreciation of Obrecht's own voice – not only in these early compositions, but especially in his mature and late works, which did so much to raise the cultural prominence of 'the composer's voice' in 15th-century music.

WORKS

Editions: *New Obrecht Edition*, ed. C. Maas and others (Utrecht, 1983–99) [M]
Werken van Jacob Obrecht, ed. J. Wolf (Amsterdam and Leipzig, 1908–21/*R*) [W]

Misse Obreht (Venice, 1503)
Concentus harmonici quattuor missarum … Jacobi Obrecht (Basle, [*c*1510])

MASSES

Incipit or Title	*No. of parts*	*Edition*	*Remarks*
Missa 'Adieu mes amours'	4	M i, 1	c.f. monophonic chanson, or possibly Josquin's setting
Missa 'Ave regina celorum'	4	M i, 31	c.f. T of Walter Frye's motet
Missa 'Beata viscera'	4	M ii, 1	c.f. plainchant comm for BVM; 'Cum sancto' inc.
Missa 'Caput'	4	M ii, 33	c.f. final melisma of plainchant ant Venit ad Petrum for Maundy Thursday; modelled on anon. English mass; alternative Agnus Dei probably by Obrecht as well
Missa 'Cela sans plus'	4	M xiii, 1	on Lannoy's chanson
Missa de Sancto Donatiano	4	M iii, 1	c.f. various chants, mostly associated with St Donatian; several references to Ockeghem's Missa 'Ecce ancilla Domini'; may have been composed together with a Missa de Sancto Adriano (apparently lost, but perhaps = conjecturally attrib. Missa sine nomine)
Missa de Sancto Martino	4	M iii, 35	c.f. various plainchant ants from the office of St Martin of Tours
Missa 'De tous biens playne'	3	M iv, 1	c.f. T of Hayne van Ghizeghem's chanson
Missa 'Fors seulement'	3	M iv, 25	c.f. T (top v) of Ockeghem's chanson
Missa 'Fortuna desperata'	4	M iv, 49	c.f. T of ?Busnoys's song
Missa 'Grecorum'	4	M v, 1	c.f. unidentified, possibly a 14th-century monophonic chanson in the style of Machaut; sequence 'Victimae paschali laudes' quoted in 'Osanna'
Missa 'Hercules Dux Ferrarie'	4	—	lost; mentioned by Glarean (1547[1]), 296; see Wegman (1994), pp.189–90
Missa 'Je ne demande'	4	M v, 35	c.f. T of Busnoys's chanson; segmented c.f. treatment
Missa 'L'homme armé'	4	M ii, 1	c.f. T of Busnoys's mass on monophonic chanson
Missa 'Libenter gloriabor'	4	M ii, 35	c.f. plainchant ant for St Paul, with verse (Psalm tone 8) in 'Christe', 'Qui tollis' and 'Pleni'; Agnus Dei inc.
Missa 'Malheur me bat'	4	M vii, 1	c.f. Dc of Malcort's chanson; segmented c.f. treatment; also attrib. Agricola
Missa 'Maria zart'	4	M vii, 39	c.f. monophonic devotional lied; segmented c.f. treatment
Missa 'O lumen ecclesie' ['O quam suavis']	4	M viii, 1	c.f. probably plainchant Corpus Christi ant 'O quam suavis', retexted as Dominican ant 'O lumen ecclesie' in *I-Rvat* S.M.M.26
Missa 'Petrus apostolus'	4	M viii, 43	c.f. plainchant Magnificat ant for SS Peter and Paul
Missa 'Pfauenschwanz'	4	M ix, 1	c.f. T of instrumental piece by Barbingant
Missa plurimorum carminum (i)	4	M x, 1	c.f. T (and 1 Dc) of 22 chansons by Barbireau, Basin, Binchois/Du Fay, Bosfrin, Busnoys, Compère/Pietrequin, Ghizeghem, Josquin, Ockeghem and anon.
Missa plurimorum carminum (ii)	4	M x, 47	c.f. Dc of five chansons by Barbireau, Compère, Martini and Rubinus
Missa 'Regina celi'	4	—	lost; mentioned as having been composed for the court of Maximilian I at Innsbruck in 1503
Missa 'Rose playsante'	4	M ix, 47	c.f. T of chanson by Dusart or Caron; segmented c.f. treatment
Missa 'Salve diva parens'	4	M xi, 1	c.f. unidentified but related, both metrically and melodically, to c.f. of Févin's Missa 'O quam glorifica' (see Strohm, 1985)
Missa 'Scaramella'	4	M xi, 51	c.f. monophonic Italian song; T and Dc missing, but c.f. layout and treatment reconstructed by Wegman (1994), p.280n
Missa 'Sicut spina rosam'	4	M xi, 91	c.f. 2nd section of plainchant resp Ad nutum Domini for BVM; B of Kyrie of Ockeghem's Missa 'Mi-mi' quoted in Agnus Dei
Missa 'Si dedero'	4	M xii, 1	c.f. T of Agricola's motet; segmented c.f. treatment
Missa 'Sub tuum presidium'	3–7	M xii, 51	c.f. plainchant ant for BVM, with parts of six further chants mostly from the Assumption
Missa 'Veci la danse Barbari'	4	M xii, 89	c.f. T of anon. chanson; all movements except Credo inc.; Credo possibly by Adam Rener

CONJECTURALLY ATTRIBUTED MASSES

Missa de Sancto Johanne Baptista	4	CMM, xcv/1 (1982), 1	anon. in *I-Rvat* C.S.160, attrib. Obrecht by Wegman (1989, 1994); c.f. chants associated with St John the Baptist; rhythmic layout adopted from Busnoys' Missa 'L'homme armé' in a manner similar to Obrecht's own Missa 'L'homme armé'
Missa 'Gracioulx et biaulx'	4	M xiii, 45	ascription removed in only source, *I-MOe* α.M.1.2, attrib. Obrecht by Staehelin (1973, 1975) on grounds of style and presence in a series of Obrecht masses; c.f. T of Barbireau's chanson
Missa 'Je ne seray plus'	3	M xiv, 1	anon. in all sources, attrib. Obrecht by Ward (1977) on grounds of close structural and stylistic similarity with Missa 'Fors seulement'; c.f. Dc of Phillipet des Pres' chanson
Missa 'N'aray-je jamais'	4	M xiv, 23	anon. in all sources, attrib. Obrecht by Staehelin (1975) and Just (1975) on grounds of close structural and stylistic similarities with Missae 'Malheur me bat', 'Maria zart', 'Rose playsante', 'Si dedero' and conjecturally attrib. 'Je ne seray plus'; c.f. T of Morton's chanson; segmented c.f. treatment
Missa [sine nomine]	4	—	anon. in *I-Sc* K.1.2, ff.148*v*–156*r*, attrib. Obrecht by Wegman (1994), p.166n, on the basis of close parallels in c.f. layout and treatment with Missa de Sancto Martino, as well as transmission next to Missa 'Beata viscera'

RITUAL WORKS

Magnificat	4	M xv, 94	uses 5th-tone and 8th-tone melodies; questioned by Finscher (*MGG1*)
Ave maris stella	3	M xv, 9	1st stanza of Marian hymn
Cuius sacrata viscera	3	M xv, 25	2nd stanza of Marian hymn Assunt festa jubilea
Cuius sacrata viscera	4	M xv, 27	2nd stanza of Marian hymn Assunt festa jubilea
Hec Deum celi	5	M xv, 51	2nd stanza of Purification hymn Quod chorus vatum
Omnis spiritus	2–4	M xvi, 43	Office preces and responses
Benedicamus in laude	4	M xv, 23	troped Benedicamus Domino

MOTETS

Alma redemptoris mater	3	M xv, 1	
Ave regina celorum	4	M xv, 11	c.f. T of Frye's motet, combined with extensive allusions to plainchant Marian ant in Dc
Beata es Maria	4	M xv, 17	
Discubuit Jesus	4	M xv, 28	A lacking; questioned by Finscher (*MGG1*)
Ego sum Dominus			contrafactum of Alma redemptoris in 1542[8]
Factor orbis/Canite tuba	5	M xv, 34	c.f. plainsong Advent ant; also quotes numerous other chants, mostly associated with Advent and Nativity
Inter preclarissimas virtutes/Estote fortes in bello	4	M xv, 55	c.f. beginning of plainchant ant for Common of Apostles and Evangelists
Largire nunc mitissime			contrafactum of Lacen adieu in *CZ-HKm* II A 7
Laudemus nunc Dominum/Non est hic aliud	5	M xv, 69	c.f. three plainchant ants from Matins of Dedication of a Church
Laudes Christo	4	M xv, 84	
Mater patris/Sancta Dei genitrix	5	M xv, 104	c.f. unidentified; Quintus lacking
Mille quingentis/Requiem eternam	4	M xvi, 1	commemoration of Obrecht's father; c.f. plainchant int from Mass for the Dead
O beate Basili/O beate Pater	4	M xvi, 12	c.f. plainchant ant for St Basil; also quotes other chants from this office
O preciosissime sanguis/Guberna tuos famulos	5	M xvi, 23	c.f. from plainchant hymns Christe qui lux es and Te Deum laudamus; Quintus lacking
Parce Domine	3/4	M xvi, 48	
Parvulus nobis nascitur			contrafactum of Rompeltier in late German sources; attrib. Johann or Nikolaus Herman
Precantibus diva virgo			contrafactum of Wat willen wij in *CZ-HKm* II A 7
Quis numerare queat	4	M xvi, 50	poem of thanksgiving after conclusion of peace; also set to music by Compère
Regina celi	2	M xvi, 63	mensuration exercise
Requiem			c.f. of Mille quingentis, as sole incipit in 1504[1], *I-Fc* Basevi 2439
Salve crux arbor vitae/O crux lignum triumphale	5	M xvi, 65	c.f. from plainchant Holy Cross seq Laudes crucis attollamus
Salve regina	3	M xvi, 85	
Salve regina	4	M xvi, 97	alternatim setting
Salve regina	6	M xvi, 104	alternatim setting
Salve sancta facies/Homo quidam	4	M xvi, 119	c.f. plainchant resp for Corpus Christi
Si sumpsero	3	M xvi, 134	also attrib. Agricola
Vita dulcedo			incipit of polyphony in 4-v and 6-v Salve regina

SECULAR WORKS

Adiu, adiu			alternative incipit of Meiskin es u in *I-Fn* Magl.XIX.178
Als al de weerelt in vruechden leeft	4	M xvii, 1	text incipit only
Den haghel ende die calde snee	4	M xvii, 5	text incipit only
Fors seulement	4	M xvii, 66	c.f. T (top v) of Ockeghem's chanson
Fuga	4	M xvii, 100	probably instrumental; canon 3 in 1 + semibreves only in sixfold augmentation
Helas			alternative incipit for Nec michi nec tibi in *I-PEc* 431
Helas mon bien	3	M xvii, 71	text incipit only
Ic draghe de mutse clutse	4	M xvii, 8	text incipit only
Ic hoerde de clocskins luden	4	M xvii, 12	text incipit only
Ic ret my uut spacieren	4	M xvii, 17	text incipit only; ? on monophonic song
Ic weinsche alle scoene vrauwen eere	4	M xvii, 20	also attrib. Stoltzer
In hebbe gheen ghelt in mijn bewelt	4	M xvii, 23	
J'ay pris amours	4	M xvii, 73	on Dc and T of anon. chanson
Lacen adieu, wel zoete partye	4	M xvii, 27	text incipit only; melodic texture untypical
Laet u ghenoughen liever Johan	4	M xvii, 30	text incipit only; c.f. also used in Weerbecke's 'O salutaris hostia'
La tortorella è semplice uccelletto	4	M xvii, 94	? on monophonic song
Ma bouche rit	4	M xvii, 84	c.f. T of 1st part of Ockeghem's chanson; possibly a mass section
Marion la doulce	3	M xvii, 86	
Meiskin es u cutkin ru	4	M xvii, 35	
Moet my lacen u vriendelic schijn	3	M xvii, 36	questioned in M: melodic treatment untypical
Nec michi nec tibi	2/3	M xvii, 97	probably instrumental; Ct added; text (?title) from 1 Kings iii: 26; also attrib. 'Virgilius'
Rompeltier	4	M xvii, 38	on monophonic tune preserved with various German texts; questioned in M: attrib. weak, textural monotony untypical
Se bien fait	4	M xvii, 89	text incipit only
Sullen wij langhe in drucke moeten leven	3/4	M xvii, 40	text incipit only; A possibly added
Tandernaken	3	M xvii, 42	text incipit only; on monophonic dance or instrumental tune
Tant que nostre argent dura	4	M xvii, 92	text incipit only; on ?monophonic chanson
Tmeiskin was jonck wel van passe	3/4	M xvii, 45	Ct added; also attrib. Isaac, Japart
Tsat een cleyn meiskin	4	M xvii, 48	text incipit only
Waer sij di Han?	4	M xvii, 53	text incipit only
Wat willen wij metten budel spelen	4	M xvii, 57	text incipit only
Weet ghij wat mijnder jonghen hert deert	4	M xvii, 62	text incipit only; questioned in M: dissonance treatment and form untypical
[textless] (i)	3	M xvii, 102	instrumental piece, possibly mass section
[textless] (ii)	3	M xvii, 104	c.f. not identified; instrumental piece, possibly mass section
[textless] (iii)	3	M xvii, 108	c.f. not identified; instrumental piece, possibly mass section
[textless] (iv)	3	M xvii, 111	probably conceived as a song
[textless] (v)	?3	M xvii, 114	only B extant

DOUBTFUL AND MISATTRIBUTED WORKS

Incipit or Title	*No. of Parts*	*Edition*	*Sources of attribution to Obrecht*	*Remarks*
Benedictus	2	M xviii, 31	G. de Baena: *Arte novamente inventada* (Lisbon, 1540)	intabulation of duo from unidentified mass; unique source suspect
Judea et Jerusalem	4	M xviii, 1	*D-Dl* 1*D*/*505*	chant treatment, form untypical; possibly by Issac
Passio Domini nostri Jesu Christi	4	M xviii, 9	1538[1] and dependent MSS	probably by Longueval; also attrib. 'Jo. ala Venture', La Rue
Pater noster	4	W vi, 131	*D-LEu* Thomaskirche 49, 51	by Willaert; ed. in CMM, iii/2 (1950), 10
Si dedero (i)	3	M xii, p.xvii	1536[13], 1538[9] (*D-Bhm* copy)	by Agricola; also attrib. Isaac, Verbonnet; see Picker (1965), pp.161–2
Si dedero (ii)	3	M xviii, 48	G. de Baena: *Arte novamente inventada* (Lisbon, 1540)	intabulation of work based on Agricola's motet; parody in motet untypical of Obrecht, and he is unlikely to have composed two masses on Si dedero
Si oblitus fuero	4	W vi, 97	*D-Dl* 1/*D*/*505*	by Ninot le Petit; see Smijers (1935)
Een vraulic wesen	3/4	W vii, 61	*CH-SGs* 462, 463	3 original vv probably by Isaac; also attrib. Barbireau; added A possibly by Obrecht (alternative added Ct not ascribed to him)
La stangetta	3	W vii, 45	*D-Z* LXXVIII, 3	probably by Weerbecke; also attrib. Isaac
Mijn hert heeft altijt verlanghen	4	W vii, 64	*CH-SGs* 463	by La Rue; see Picker (1965), p.122
O vos omnes	4	W vi, 173	*CH-SGs* 463	by Compère (with primary text O devotz cueurs or Tant ay d'ennuy); see Picker (1965), p.143'

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ROB C. WEGMAN

O'Brien, Dan. *See* BRYANT, DAN.

Obrovská, Jana (*b* Prague, 13 Sept 1930; *d* Prague, 4 April 1987). Czech composer. Born into an artistic family, she had a short but significant musical career. She studied the piano with Berta Kabeláčová, music theory with Jaroslav Řídký and composition with Emil Hlobil at the Prague Conservatory (1949–55), where her graduation composition, an acclaimed Piano Concerto, revealed her talent for concertante forms. She worked as an editor for the Supraphon music publishing house in Prague. She was married to the guitar player Milan Zelenka. Her guitar pieces show a delicate stylization: *Passacaglia-Toccata* won the prize at the international guitar competition in Paris in 1972, and *Hommage à Béla Bartók* was the compulsory piece for the 1975 competition.

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ANNA ŠERÝCH

Obscoenus, Paulus. *See* WÜST, PAUL.

Obst, Michael (*b* Frankfurt, 1955). German composer. After his musical studies in Mainz, he studied piano with Alfons and Aloys Kontarsky in Cologne (1977–82). As a pianist he was one of the founder members of the Frankfurt-based Ensemble Modern, one of the leading groups in contemporary European musical life; he played with them between 1981 and 1986. At the same time he embarked on a career as a composer specializing in electronic music. He worked in the electronic music studio of the Cologne Hochschule für Musik, and then obtained commissions from and spent periods of residence with electronic studios in Stockholm (Electronic Music Studio), Cologne (WDR), Bourges (Groupe de Musique Expérimentale), Freiburg (Strobel Foundation, SWF) and Paris (IRCAM). From 1986 to 1989 he was also one of Stockhausen's preferred interpreters, and played the electronic keyboard in Stockhausen's operatic cycle *Licht*. Several of his electro-acoustic works have won prizes, allowing him to embark on more extensive collaborations, in particular with IRCAM: the institute commissioned him to write the music for acoustic instruments and electronic sound to accompany the second part of Fritz Lang's silent film of 1922, *Dr. Mabuse, der Spieler*, and IRCAM also took part in the electronic realization of his chamber opera *Solaris*, to a libretto by Stanislav Lem, which had its première at the Munich Biennale in 1996. In 1997 he took up a teaching appointment (professor of composition) at the Musikhochschule in Weimar.

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ERIC DE VISSCHER

Obterre. *See* HOTTETERRE family.

Obukhov, Nikolay. *See* OBOUHOW, NICOLAS.

Očadlík, Mirko (*b* Holešov, 1 March 1904; *d* Prague, 26 June 1964). Czech musicologist. He studied music in Vienna with Albert Pozděna and Ferdinand Löwe and musicology, aesthetics and history at Prague University (graduated 1932), where he took the doctorate in 1946 with a dissertation on Smetana's opera *Libuše*. He worked first for Czechoslovak Radio in Prague (1928–50) as editor, head of music broadcasting and director of programmes, and edited the music supplements of the periodicals *Národní osvobození* (1928–9), *Radioamatér* (1933–5), *Volné směry* (1940–43) and *Rozhlasová práce* (1947). He was an editor in the music department of the publishing firm Melantrich (1939–45), and also founded and edited the musical periodical *Klíč* (1930–34), which played an important part in Czech musical life by defending the musical avant garde between the wars (Stravinsky, Milhaud, Berg, Schoenberg, Hindemith, Janáček, Martinů, Hába etc). In this connection Očadlík worked in the Society for Modern Music based in Prague (1927–34). He founded (1956) and edited the scholarly journal *Miscellanea musicologica*.

Očadlík taught from 1948 at the Prague Academy, becoming head of the music theory department in 1951. In the same year he began lecturing at Prague University, where he became professor (1952), head of the department of musicology (1952–9), dean of the arts faculty (1954–8) and director of the Institute for Czech Music History (from 1959). He received the DSc in 1956.

Očadlík was one of the leading figures in Czech musicology of his time. His orientation and methodology were similar to Nejedlý's, but with more attention to stylistic analysis. His attention to detail and his interest in documentary matters, moreover, has meant that many of his works have retained their usefulness. Such works include his edition of Smetana's correspondence with Krásnohorská, his critical editions of four of Smetana's librettos (*The Kiss*, 1942; *The Devil's Wall*, 1946; *The Bartered Bride*, 1951; *The Two Widows*, 1962) and his valuable lists of Czech librettos and of Smetana's letters. Although Smetana dominated his output he never wrote a comprehensive account and instead concentrated in pursuing a career as a many-sided popularizer, writing

many thousands of articles, radio programmes and lectures. His much-used concert guide, *Svět orchestru*, is typical of his accessible style.

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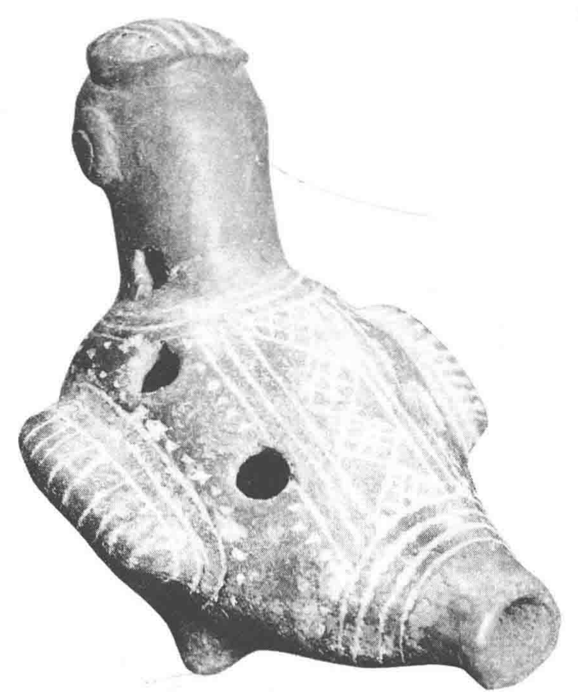
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OLDŘICH PUKL/R

Ocarina (It.: 'little goose'). A VESSEL FLUTE with a hollow body, originally in the shape of a large elongated egg. The standard Western ocarina was invented and named in about 1853 by Giuseppe Luigi Donati (*b* Budrio, 2 Dec 1836; *d* Milan, 14 Feb 1925). The term 'ocarina' has since been applied to other vessel flutes; this article will discuss the history of the vessel flute worldwide.

Ocarinas are usually made with ducts; that on Donati's model is contained within a spout which protrudes part way along the main body of the instrument. The player's breath is directed through this extended mouthpiece to a sharp edge, causing the mass of air in the instrument to vibrate. On other shapes of ocarina, the mouthpiece may be found at any convenient point on the body and may also be incorporated into the design (e.g. in the form of a bird's tail). Ocarinas without ducts are played by directing breath over a hole. The sound of the ocarina is largely free of upper harmonics, and it cannot normally be overblown to play an upper octave. Ocarinas may be made with or without finger-holes, which may be placed anywhere on the body since the size of the hole, rather than its position, determines the tuning. The pitch of the lowest note is established mainly by the ocarina's internal volume and, to a lesser extent, by the dimensions of the mouth-hole and by the angle and strength of the player's breath. When all the finger-holes are closed, the ocarina





1. Four-hole vessel flute in the shape of a bird, Chorotega culture, Nicoya Peninsula (now Costa Rica), 300 BCE–300 CE (Liggins Collection)

acts as a STOPPED PIPE, thus sounding about an octave lower than an open-ended flute of similar size. Vessel flutes with very few or no finger-holes are classed as whistles when used purely for bird calls or as signalling devices (e.g. cuckoo whistle, sports whistle); when used for musical purposes they are classed as flutes. The most versatile ocarinas have four or more finger-holes for playing up to 20 chromatic notes. They may be made with a single chamber or with multiple chambers for playing more than one note simultaneously.

The earliest predecessors of the ocarina were made of natural materials such as stone, wood, bone, shell and gourd. By 4000 BCE the Chinese were making clay whistles and early versions of the XUN. Throughout Latin America, pre-Columbian clay vessel flutes were made in large numbers and various forms, including those of animals, birds (fig.1) and people. In Africa, vessel flutes are made mainly from gourds and fruit shells. The *rhonge* is a vessel flute of the Tsonga people, made of a ripe dry sala fruit, played mostly by herd-boys (*see* SOUTH AFRICA, §I, 4(i)). Kenyan bushmen blow into animal shells or cupped hands to imitate the call of the honey-guide bird. Whirling aerophones in the form of gourds tied to lengths of twine and swung through the air to make a sound as they travel (a distinctive note is produced internally by a hole cut in the side) have been found in the rainforests of the Amazon and Papua New Guinea.

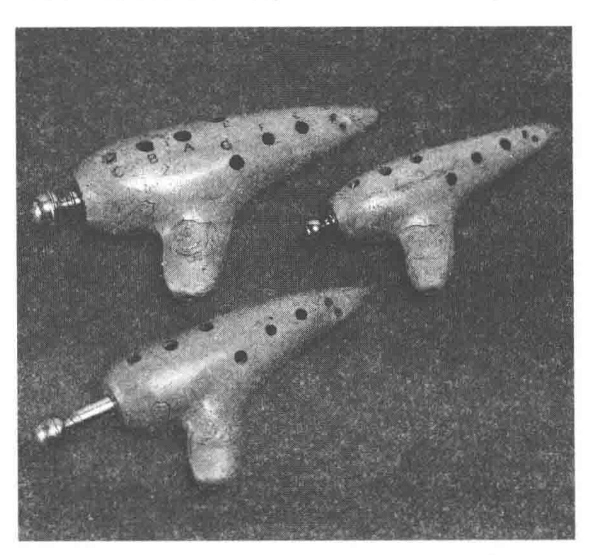
In Europe, by the mid-19th century, clay bird-whistles had become popular as children's toys, and were sold at markets and fairs. Donati's ocarina was a transformation of the simple clay whistle, having up to 10 finger-and thumb-holes and tuned to a full Western scale. By 1863 Donati had joined with others to perform five-part harmony on different-sized ocarinas. They played traditional tunes from their home region and arrangements of popular themes from Italian opera. Donati continued to make ocarinas in Budrio, while his fellow performers toured concert halls across Europe from 1870 onwards. They amazed audiences with their wonderful sound, skilful execution and unusual appearance dressed as the 'Mountaineers of the Apennines' (fig.2). Some of these performers became makers themselves, returning to Budrio, where the tradition of ocarina making and playing continues to the present day. Others went on to establish manufacturing and sales in other parts of Europe, including Paris and London. Donati's success led him to move to larger premises in Bologna; he eventually settled in Milan, where he continued making ocarinas into his old age.

The basic form of the Italian ('submarine') ocarina has remained largely unchanged, although its length can vary from as little as 6 cm to 48 cm. In Eastern Europe, a simplified seven-hole version has been made. Further adaptations in other parts of Europe and Japan include the addition of tuning-slides (fig.3), keys to cover the larger holes, and the splitting of the smaller holes for playing semitones. In the USA, Bing Crosby was one of many who played the ocarina ('sweet potato pipe') as a novelty instrument in the era of jazz and swing. Its portability made it a favourite instrument with generations of children. American servicemen brought bakelite ocarinas to Europe during World War II; plastic versions eventually took their place alongside those made of clay, porcelain and metal.

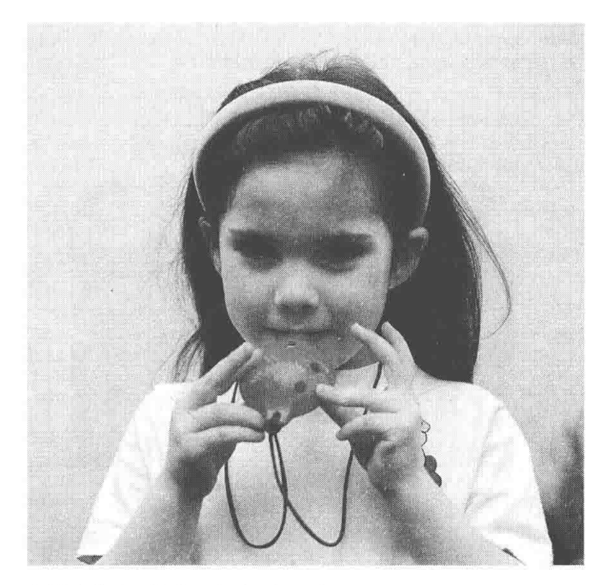
The 'English' ocarina, along with the 'four-hole system' of tuning, was first developed in the early 1960s by the ethnomusicologist and musical inventor John Taylor (*b* Wolverhampton, 12 Sept 1940). In 1963 he discovered that a diatonic octave could be played by cross-fingering four holes of different sizes; the resultant four-hole system became a standard method of tuning and by the 1970s had spread to many parts of the English-speaking world through Taylor's students and friends. The system comprises one small, one medium and two large finger-holes. A pentatonic scale is sounded by opening one hole at a time; cross-fingering and half-covering holes produces a full chromatic octave. Like its Italian predecessor, the English ocarina has been developed in a number of ways. Its range has been extended by the addition of extra holes, and different sizes of body have been made to produce



2. The 'Mountaineers of the Apennines', 1874



3. Ocarinas with tuning-slide by Ercole Mezzetti, Paris, 1880s



4. *Girl playing 'Poly-oc' school ocarina*

consorts ranging over five octaves. The four-hole system has been adapted for one hand by placing three holes on top and one underneath, resulting in the development of sophisticated double-chambered instruments. Although other tuning methods are known, the Italian and English systems are the most widely used, as is reflected in the range of published music, teaching methods and recordings available. During the 1980s the 'Poly-oc' plastic four-hole ocarina (fig.4) was developed by John North Langley (*b* Adelaide, 26 Nov 1944) specifically for use in schools along with ocarina tablature.

Ocarinas have been used to play most types of music. The most distinguished exponent, Mosè Tapiero, made more than 30 recordings before World War I and demonstrated a virtuosity usually associated with more complex instruments.

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DAVID LIGGINS

O'Carolan, Turlough. *See* CAROLAN, TURLOUGH.

Occhio (It.: 'eye'). *See* SOUNDHOLE.

Oceania. *See* MELANESIA, MICRONESIA and POLYNESIA.

Očenáš, Andrej (*b* Selce, central Slovakia, 8 Jan 1911; *d* Bratislava, 8 April 1995). Slovak composer and teacher. After graduating from the teachers' institute in Banská Bystrica he studied composition with Alexander Moyzes and conducting with Josef Vincourek at the Academy of Music and Dramatic Art in Bratislava (1932–7); thereafter he took part in Novák's master classes at the Prague Conservatory. Appointments followed in the music department of Bratislava radio (1939–50) and at the Bratislava Conservatory (1943–73), which he directed between 1950 and 1954. From 1956 to 1962 he was head of music at Bratislava radio, and was teacher of composition at the Academy of Music thereafter. He received several state awards, including the title National Artist (1978).

After a period of experimentation culminating in the neo-classical Piano Suite no.2, Očenáš drew his inspiration from folklore, which, in a refined form, became one of the permanent aspects of his compositional style. In comparison with Moyzes and composers of his own generation, the use of folk material in Očenáš's music is more straightforward, his musical imagination being decisively affected by the archaic modality of folksong and by the mysterious world of folktales and myths. While Janáček-like compactness is typical of his less extensive pieces (eg. *Nová jar*, 'A New Spring', and *Fresky*, 'Frescoes'), his programmatic compositions tend to be monumental and assertive, which, after 1948, was in tandem with the requirements of socialist realism. His works from the latter half of the 1950s and from the 60s, namely chamber pieces, show a trend towards introversion (i.e. *Poéman o srdci*, 'Poem of the Heart') and a typically direct confrontation between material derived from folk music (including harmonic and melodic elements as well as figures typical of folk instruments) and a textural sound world (i.e. *Ruralia slovaca*). The last period of his career saw a return to large, monumental forms and variations of tried and tested procedures.

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(selective list)

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VLADIMÍR ZVARA

Ocharte [Ochart], **Pedro** (*b* Rouen, 1531–2; *d* Mexico City, 1592). Mexican music printer of French origin. Of the 13 known liturgical books with music printed in Mexico City between 1556 and 1589, the earliest in the New World, six were printed by Ocharte. He lived in Rouen until 1546 or 1547, when he moved to Seville; he probably emigrated to Mexico about 1549. In 1561–2 he married María de Figueroa, daughter of the printer Juan Pablos whose press he leased for two years from 1563, following Pablos's death; later he apparently bought it. In 1563 Ocharte printed a *Psalterium Chorale* for Dominican use (unknown until 1963, when a copy was found in an Amerindian village in Guatemala). In 1568 he issued a *Manuale Sacramentorum, secundum usum almae Ecclesiae Mexicanae*, duplicating one printed by Pablos; most of the plainchant in it is for the Office for the Dead. A *Graduale Dominicale* paid for by Ocharte and printed by Antonio Espinosa was probably published before 1572; a copy found in an Amerindian village contains five pre-Tridentine sequences not in later Mexican versions.

In 1572, when he was finishing the printing of 100 passioners ordered by the Bishop of Michoacán (in a press run of 310), Ocharte was imprisoned by the Inquisition; he arranged for Espinosa to finish the printing. This passioner was unknown until a few leaves from the book were found in an Indian village in the 1930s. An *Antiphonale Dominicale* that Espinosa began printing in 1572 at Ocharte's expense was finished about 1575. Three editions of a new *Graduale Dominicale* were published in 1576, one printed by Espinosa at Ocharte's expense and two by Ocharte himself; this, issued as a result of Pius V's 1571 reform, was said to include graduals, alleluias, tracts, offertories and communions by Juan Hernández (1545–1621). In 1584 Ocharte published a *Psalterium, An[t]iphonarium Sanctorale, cum Psalmis & Hymnis*, including illustrative prints (some hand coloured), probably for use by the Jesuits. A copy of his 1589 *Antiphonarium de tempore*, probably for Franciscan and Dominican use, contains marginal notations indicating that chant was accompanied by organ in some Mexican churches. Except for Juan Navarro's passioner of 1604, this was the last collection of music printed in Mexico before the 18th century.

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JOHN KOEGEL

Ochetus (Lat.). *See* HOCKET.

Ochman, Wiesław (*b* Warsaw, 6 Feb 1937). Polish tenor. After studying in Warsaw he made his début in 1959 as Edgardo (*Lucia di Lammermoor*) in Bytom, where he was engaged until 1963, then sang at Kraków, Warsaw and Berlin. In 1967 he was engaged at the Hamburg Staatsoper and the following year made his British début at Glyndebourne as Lensky, returning as Don Ottavio and Tamino. In 1972 he sang Alfredo (*La traviata*) at Chicago and Cavaradossi at San Francisco, in 1973 Idomeneus at Salzburg and in 1974 Henri in *Les vêpres siciliennes* at the Paris Opéra. Henri was also the role of his Metropolitan début in 1975, when he also sang Alfred in the centenary performance of *Die Fledermaus* at the Theater an der Wien, Vienna. His plangent tone was particularly suited to Slavonic music, and his repertory included Grigory/Dmitry (*Boris Godunov*), Andrey Khovansky and Vasily Golitsïn (*Khovanshchina*), Lensky, Hermann (*The Queen of Spades*), the Prince (*Rusalka*) and both Laca and Števa in *Jenůfa*. He sang the Shepherd in the first performance of Szymanowski's *King Roger* on the American continent (1981, Buenos Aires), and also recorded the opera. Gradually abandoning the Mozart and lighter Italian roles he once sang so stylishly, Ochman acquired a new, heavier repertory with such roles as Erik, Florestan, Herod and Fritz in Schreker's *Der ferne Klang*. His other recordings include Hermann, the Prince, Narraboth (*Salome*), Laca, Idomeneus, Jontek (*Halka*) and Stefan (*The Haunted Manor*).

ELIZABETH FORBES

Ochs, Phil(ip David) (*b* El Paso, TX, 19 Dec 1940; *d* Far Rockaway, NY, 9 April 1976). American singer-songwriter. Born to an American father and a Scottish mother, he showed early musical promise as a clarinettist and was introduced to pop music by his brother, inaugurating a passion for Presley. Ochs studied journalism at Ohio State University where he learnt radical politics and began playing the guitar in a folksinging duo, the Sundowners. His first song, *The Ballad of the Cuban Invasion*, was written in the wake of the Bay of Pigs affair. By the early 1960s he had joined the burgeoning folk music scene in Greenwich Village and was involved in *Broadside* magazine with Bob Dylan. Journalism informed his songwriting and, like Woody Guthrie, Ochs's work both celebrated and criticized America, the latter bringing him into conflict with the Nixon administration.

Inevitably compared to Dylan – his album *All the News that's Fit to Sing* (Elektra, 1964) was reviewed favourably alongside *Freewheelin'* – Ochs was left behind as Dylan's popularity rose and musical fashions changed in the late 1960s. Perhaps his best-known song is *There but for Fortune*, a hit for Joan Baez in 1965. He never ceased to champion causes, organizing a benefit for Chile in 1974 and a concert to mark the end of the Vietnam War the following year. However, he increasingly misused alcohol and drugs and, in a fit of depression, hanged himself.

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LIZ THOMSON

Ochs, Siegfried (*b* Frankfurt, 19 April 1858; *d* Berlin, 5 Feb 1929). German chorus master and composer. While studying chemistry in Heidelberg he learnt the piano and

was a part-time répétiteur at the theatre. In 1877 he moved to Berlin for further study at the Hochschule für Musik, where his teachers included Friedrich Kiel (theory), Joachim (ensemble playing) and Adolf Schulze (choral singing). Following his dismissal he studied privately with Kiel and Heinrich Urban. In 1882 he founded a choral society with 11 members, which became known as the Philharmonischer Chor during the 1887–8 season; its membership eventually grew to over 400. Bülow was an admirer of Ochs's work, and conducted the choir in several concerts between 1889 and 1892. In 1920 it dissolved because of financial difficulties but was largely absorbed by the choir of the Hochschule, where Ochs had become director of the oratorio department. His compositions include a three-act comic opera, *Im Namen des Gesetzes*, produced at Hamburg in 1888 (vs, Berlin, 1888), choral works and many songs; only his humorous piano variations on *'s kommt ein Vogerl geflogen* have survived.

In his concerts Ochs concentrated on the works of Schütz, Bach, Handel, Beethoven, Schubert and Brahms; he gave the first Berlin performances of Bruckner's *Te Deum* and works by Wolf, and was particularly celebrated for his performances of the *St Matthew Passion*. Noted for his extreme care in rehearsing, fine musicianship and natural sense of style (especially in early music), in 1928 he conducted the first Schütz work ever recorded (*Saul, Saul, was verfolgst du mich?*); his other recordings include works by Bach, Handel, Mozart and Mendelssohn. He had a special interest in Bach, as can be seen in his editions of the *St Matthew Passion* and the cantatas *Christ lag in Todesbanden* BWV4 and *Du Hirte Israel, höre* BWV104. The arioso *Dank sei Dir, Herr*, allegedly from an unspecified cantata by Handel and published in 1905, seems to be a composition by Ochs and not just an arrangement by him (as Ochs claimed). His writings include a four-volume treatise on choral singing and an autobiography.

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MARTIN ELSTE

Ochsenkun [Ochsenkhun], **Sebastian** (*b* Nuremberg, 6 Feb 1521; *d* Heidelberg, 20 Aug 1574). German lutenist. His father Jörg was a trumpet maker and barber in Nuremberg. Wolf Ochsenkun, a lutenist who was married in Nuremberg in 1530, presumably belonged to the same family. Ochsenkun's teacher was Hans Vogel, who died before 1558 and may have been a lutenist at the court at Munich. In 1543–4 Ochsenkun was in the service of the Count Palatine, Ottheinrich, at Neuburg an der Donau, where he probably remained in service. He is again mentioned in the retinue of Ottheinrich at Heidelberg in 1552, where the latter had resided from 1544 to 1552 after the loss of his Neuburg principality. Ochsenkun's *Tabulaturbuch* of 1558 was published in Heidelberg, where Ottheinrich had returned in 1556 as elector and where he remained until his death in 1559. In his introduction Ochsenkun referred to the elector as his lord and the initiator of the publication.

The *Tabulaturbuch* contains no original compositions for the lute; its intabulations include 29 motets, 38 sacred and secular German songs, five madrigals and four chansons. The book includes an interesting cross-section of the repertory of the musicians of the Hofkapelle, with compositions by the court organist Gregor Peschin, the court secretary, printer and musician Johann Kilian, composers of the Heidelberg circle (Stephan Zirler, Jobst vom Brandt and Caspar Othmayr), and Wilhelm Breitengraser of Nuremberg. Of the major composers in the collection, Ludwig Senfl predominates, represented by 14 pieces; nine motets of Josquin are intabulated, including *Praeter rerum seriem*, *Pater noster* and *Stabat mater*. Other composers represented are Sermisy, Mouton and Crecquillon. Texts are supplied for all the pieces: Isaac's *Innsbruck* appears with the text *Herr Gott, lass dich erbarmen*; its tenor part is used as the bass in *Sih lieb ich muss dich lassen* by Kilian. Ochsenkun's intabulations reproduce the original vocal lines exactly in score; lively ornamentation is tastefully added. The book contains an interesting portrait of Ochsenkun, which shows his right hand placed almost at right angles to the strings, suggesting a technique well suited to the difficulties of polyphonic playing.

For a page from *Tabulaturbuch*, *see* SOURCES OF LUTE MUSIC, fig.2.

WORKS

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KURT DORFMÜLLER

Ochswald, Henrique. *See* OSWALD, HENRIQUE.

Ockeghem [Okeghem, Hocquegam, Okegus etc.], **Jean de** [Johannes, Jehan] (*b* Saint Ghislain, nr Mons, *c*1410; *d* ?Tours, 6 Feb 1497). Franco-Flemish composer. A native of Hainaut, he spent most of his active career in the service of the French royal court. Alongside Binchois, Du Fay, Busnoys and Josquin, with whom his name is linked

in documents of the time, he is considered one of the greatest composers of the 15th century. Of the many forms in which his name appears, 'Ockeghem' has been given modern preference on the basis of a supposed facsimile of his signature published by Giraudet (1885) from a document now apparently lost. However, 'Okeghem' is the spelling most often found in the payment registers and other documents stemming from the French court and in the sources most central to the area in which he lived.

1. Early life and career. 2. Service at the French court. 3. Reputation. 4. Masses. 5. Motets. 6. Secular works.

1. Early life and career. A recently discovered reference to Ockeghem in the payment records of the parish church of St Martin in Saint Ghislain, near Mons, identifies him as a 'natif' of that place and records the establishment of an obit that was celebrated continuously from the 16th century until the end of the *ancien régime* (van Overstraeten, 1992). As the name suggests, the family may have originated in the town of Okegem on the Dendre, less than 50 km to the north in East Flanders. Persons so named can be traced to nearby Ninove as early as 1165, and to Termonde [now Dendermonde], about 25 km to the north of Okegem, from 1381. These include a certain Jan van Ockeghem who is cited in documents of Termonde from 1385 until 1416 (Bovyn, 1970). It is yet to be determined, however, whether any of them is directly related to the composer. The documents in Saint Ghislain confirm, instead, the assertion made in 1511 by the poet and historiographer Jean Lemaire de Belges, himself a proudly self-proclaimed 'natif de Haynault', that Ockeghem was his neighbour ('voisin') and countryman ('de nostre mesme nation'). Latin verses by Pierre Paul Vieillot (Senilis), secretary at the court of Louis XI, also stress the composer's origins in Hainaut (Strohm, 1997).

Given his place of birth, it is possible that Ockeghem began his musical training in Saint Ghislain itself, conceivably as a choirboy in the parish church where he founded the obit. It seems more probable, however, that he received most of his early education in nearby Mons at one of the churches with a musical establishment capable of providing such instruction. These include – significantly, in view of the circumstances linking Ockeghem to Binchois – those of St Germain and Ste Waudru, which were probably both served by the same group of choristers.

The date of Ockeghem's birth has yet to be established, and in the absence of unequivocal documentation estimates have ranged from 1410 (or earlier) to 1430. A clear preference for about 1420 seems to have emerged in the biographical literature (Plamenac; *RiemannL12*; van den Borren, 1948–51; Picker, 1988), but Ockeghem could have been born as much as a decade earlier. A personal and affectionate relationship with Binchois, attested by Ockeghem's *déploration* on Binchois's death in 1460 and his compositional reference to a Binchois chanson (Gallagher, 1995), may go back to a period when both were still resident in Hainaut. If so, the two may have become acquainted even before Binchois, who served as organist at Ste Waudru from 1419, left Mons for Lille in 1423. That would suggest, in turn, that Ockeghem, if a choirboy at the time (hence between 7 and 15 years of age), could have been born as early as 1405 and hardly later than *c*1415.

The earliest documentation of Ockeghem's activity as a musician is for the year beginning 24 June 1443, when he was numbered among the *vicaires-chanteurs* at the church of Our Lady, Antwerp. The nature of that appointment indicates that his training was by then fully completed. At the same time, his irregularity in attending the services in which the choir was involved and the lack of evidence for subsequent contact with the city or any of its churches suggest that his ties to Antwerp were neither close nor lasting.

His next known appointment was at the court of Charles I, Duke of Bourbon, whose principal residence was in Moulins. In the accounts for 1446–8 Ockeghem is listed first among the seven singers of the ducal chapel, preceded only by the *premier chapelain* and three priests (Vayssière, 1891), indicating that he was by then an accomplished musician whose skills and gifts were fully recognized. Because the payment records of the court are fragmentary, it is unclear whether, as seems likely, he entered the duke's service directly after his stay in Antwerp, in the summer of 1444, or somewhat later. Similarly, there is no way to determine from the documents currently known, whether he continued as a member of the ducal chapel until he joined the musical establishment of Charles VII at the French royal court some time in 1451, as seems most plausible, or had an interim appointment elsewhere. Since Binchois was employed at the ducal court of Burgundy from the 1420s until he retired to Soignies in 1453, it is perhaps worth noting that the Duchess of Bourbon was Agnes of Burgundy, the sister of Duke Philip the Good; Ockeghem's appointment to the Bourbon chapel may therefore have been facilitated in some way by that connection.

2. Service at the French court. Ockeghem is first mentioned by name among the chapel singers of the French court in the payment records for the fiscal year ending 30 September 1453, implying that he had been there at least since the previous October. The accounts for 1452 do not list the chapel singers individually, but the total number of chaplains was unchanged, and an 18th-century copy of the original documents specifies that Ockeghem was 'new in 1451'. When his name first appears on the chapel rolls, he is already listed first among the singer-chaplains who were not priests, a clear indication that his reputation as both singer and composer was by then already solidly established. Moreover, during the years of royal service that followed (nearly half a century), his situation only improved. In January 1454 Ockeghem presented his royal patron with a book of music as a New Year's gift and received in return four ells of scarlet cloth worth 44 livres. The account in which the exchange is recorded refers to the composer as *premier chapelain* of the royal chapel, the first known use of that title. The fiscal summary drawn up the following September indicates that later in the year he had also been awarded a special gift of 180 livres, the equivalent of his annual salary, and a similar supplement was apparently granted regularly in subsequent years (Perkins, *JAMS*, 1984).

Ockeghem again offered Charles VII a New Year's gift in 1459, this time a chanson 'most richly illuminated', and the king reciprocated with the sum of 44 livres (33 écus). However, the single most generous mark of Charles VII's evident esteem for his first chaplain came, it would seem, between November 1458 and July 1459. As nominal abbot of the wealthy collegiate church of St Martin, Tours, where Ockeghem had already been installed as

prévôt de la Varenne some time prior to 21 March 1458 (Higgins, 1987), the king named Ockeghem to the high and richly remunerated office of treasurer of the church – perhaps prompting the composer's gift. As was usual in such cases, there was initial resistance from the canons in Tours. But hearings on the matter before the *Parlement* of Paris seem to have simply petered out some time in 1462, possibly due to the influence of the crown (by then Louis XI), and there is no further indication of a challenge to Ockeghem's possession of the dignity from any side. Charles died in July 1461, having just previously decreed Ockeghem's release from the usual requirement of residence in Tours in connection with his new dignity, and Ockeghem was among the officers of the royal household for whom black robes and hoods were made for the king's obsequies.

During the long reign of Louis XI, Ockeghem's service in the royal chapel continued without interruption, and his favour at court seems only to have increased. As the king was increasingly in residence at his favorite hunting lodge at Plessis-lez-Tours, Ockeghem must have been able to reconcile more easily his functions in the royal chapel with his duties as treasurer of St Martin. In addition he was named to a canonry at the cathedral of Notre Dame, Paris, in 1463, a benefice that remained in dispute in the courts for more than four years. As Ockeghem was apparently never present for deliberations of the chapter nor involved in any meaningful way with either the musical or the administrative life of the cathedral, it has been suggested that his nomination was largely a ploy of Louis XI's ecclesiastical politics (Wexler, 1997). Whatever Ockeghem's purpose in the matter, he relinquished his claim to the canonry at Notre Dame in 1470 in a three-way permutation that gave him instead a chaplaincy at the collegiate church of St Benoît, Paris, a prebend he also appears to have held *in absentia*.

Relatively good relations between Louis XI and Philip the Good of Burgundy at the beginning of Louis's reign, apparently made it possible for Ockeghem to visit his homeland. The records of Cambrai Cathedral indicate that while in the area he paid a visit to Du Fay, whom he may have known since his youth and met on earlier occasions (1452 and 1455) during formal meetings between the royal court of France and the ducal court of Savoy while Du Fay was still in the service of Duke Louis. Ockeghem is known to have been in Cambrai on 2 June 1462, when the cathedral's *Office du Four et du Vin* recorded a gift to him of six loaves of bread, but there is nothing to suggest how long he might have stayed. In 1464 he was again in Cambrai, having travelled north with the court of Louis XI, and between 20 February and 5 March he was a guest in Du Fay's house (Wright, 1975).

It was presumably in Cambrai, and perhaps on this occasion, that Ockeghem, who was identified as a sub-deacon as late as 1463, was ordained a priest; Vatican registers dating from 1472 refer to him as *presbyter Cameracensis diocesis* (a priest of the diocese of Cambrai), indicating that he had been ordained during the intervening years (Roth, 1994). Since Cambrai was his home diocese, it is not surprising that he would have gone there for the ordination, but his reasons for waiting until so late in his life before postulating for the higher office remain unclear. It has been suggested that he did so, finally, to assure the peaceful possession of his dignity as treasurer of St Martin (Roth, 1994), but this seems unlikely so long after all resistance had apparently evaporated. It is also possible that he sought the ordination in order to be able to assume the office of *maître de chapelle*, which was usually reserved for an ecclesiastic of elevated rank, and thus enter the inner circle of the king's council; significantly, he is first identified by this title in court records in 1465 (Perkins, 1997). Interestingly, Ockeghem's ongoing attachment to his home diocese is apparent in his support for the Collège de Cambrai in Paris; he is listed 11th in a printed necrology (undated, but probably 18th-century) among the three founders and 14 benefactors for whom students there were instructed to pray daily.

Through this same period, from 1460 at the latest until at least 1465, Ockeghem must also have had frequent contact with Antoine Busnoys. An entry in a papal register for 28 February 1461 refers to Busnoys as holding a chaplaincy in the cathedral of St Gatien, Tours, in circumstances indicating that he had already been there for some time (Starr, 1992). By 1465 he was a choir clerk and *heurier* at St Martin, where he was made a sub-deacon on 13 April (Higgins, 1986). Given Busnoys' long stay in the city of Tours and his association with the church where Ockeghem held one of the principal dignities, it is virtually certain that the two musicians were well acquainted. Moreover, in light of Busnoys' encomium to Ockeghem in the motet, *In hydraulis* (text and commentary in Perkins, *JM*, 1984), which was probably completed between 1465 and 1467, it appears likely that Ockeghem played a significant role in the musical development of his younger colleague.

In January 1470 the king's treasury paid Ockeghem 275 livres tournois to cover expenses for a trip to Spain. It seems likely that this disbursement was authorized in connection with one or both of the diplomatic embassies sent by Louis XI to the court of Henry IV of Castille under the direction of Cardinal Jean Jouffroy, Bishop of Albi. The mission of the first, which reached Córdoba in late May or early June 1469, was to dissuade the Castilians from joining an alliance with England and Burgundy against France. Friendly relations were to be cemented by means of a marriage between Louis' brother, Charles, Duke of Guyenne, and Henry's sister Isabella, who had just been declared heir to his throne. Isabella, who preferred a union with Ferdinand of Aragon, was more than reluctant. She eluded Henry's attempts to take forcible custody of her person and resisted the arguments of the eloquent Jouffroy, who sought her out for a face-to-face interview at her retreat in Madrigal before leaving Spain in August.

The news of Isabella's marriage to Ferdinand on 18 October prompted Louis XI to send the cardinal back to the court of Castile, this time to wed the Duke of Guyenne by proxy to the eight-year-old Juana la Beltraneja (the queen's daughter), who was to be declared heir to the throne of Castile in Isabella's place. The embassy reached Burgos towards the end of July 1470, and the nuptials were celebrated (with a proxy standing in for the duke) during the week of 20–26 October 1470 (Märtl, 1996). It is not clear from the lapidary entry in the account books if Ockeghem participated in both embassies or just one of them, and if only one then which of the two. It is still uncertain whether his role was primarily a musical one. It is possible that in those circumstances he was expected to function as a member of the royal council; in a document

of 1477 he is referred to as a *conseiller* to the king and he may have been entrusted with other matters as well.

Whatever Ockeghem's part in these diplomatic initiatives, the most intriguing evidence of his presumed involvement is musical: his reworking of Johannes Cornago's *canción, ¿Qu'es mi vida preguntays?*. However, even though the principal source for Ockeghem's sacred works, the Chigi Codex (*I-Rvat* Chigi C.VIII.234), was on the Iberian peninsula from some time after 1514 through to the end of the 16th century, his music seems generally not to have been well known in Spain; aside from the Cornago arrangement, Spanish sources include only his *Missa 'Au travail suis'*, the tract of his Requiem, *Sicut cervus*, and the widely travelled combinative chanson, *S'elle m'ameralPetite camusette* (Russell, 1979).

A letter in flattering terms addressed by Duke Galeazzo Maria Sforza of Milan to 'Domino Johanni Oken' on 3 November 1472, requesting assistance with the recruitment of singers for the ducal chapel, gave rise to speculation that the composer may have spent time in Italy just before his appointment at the royal French court (*VanderStraetenMPB*). Ockeghem was undoubtedly the intended recipient of Galeazzo's letter, but he would not have needed to cross the Alps in order to make the duke's acquaintance. Sforza had taken an auxiliary troop of soldiers to Louis XI's aid in 1466 (Brenet, 1911) and may have made a point, given his musical proclivities, of becoming acquainted with the king's distinguished *maître de chapelle*. Alternatively, the letter may have resulted from another diplomatic mission of Cardinal Jouffroy, whom Louis XI sent in early 1471 for private discussions in his name with Galeazzo (Märtl, 1996). There is, in any case, nothing in Ockeghem's known works to suggest that he was familiar with the indigenous musical traditions of northern Italy.

In the summer of 1484 Ockeghem visited Bruges and Dammes. Brenet (1911) suggested that the primary purpose of the journey was again to assist with the negotiations undertaken by the French court that resulted in the alliance, concluded on 25 October 1484 between Anne of France and her consort Pierre de Bourbon (as regents for the 14-year-old Charles VIII) on the one hand, and the Three Members of Flanders – Ghent, Bruges and Ypres – (acting on behalf of the 6-year-old Philip the Fair) on the other. That may well have been the case, but her main argument, that because Ockeghem was not travelling alone, he must have been on royal business, is not convincing; a person of his rank and class would not have gone any distance without a retinue. In any case, his visit to Bruges may have been for more personal reasons: Busnoys had recently been named *maître de chapelle* at the city's church of St Saviour. In addition, the banquet at St Donatian in honour of his presence suggests that Ockeghem may have had earlier contacts with its clergy. It is perhaps significant that Binchois, with whom Ockeghem may have become acquainted while still in his youth, had held a prebend there in 1430–31.

Following the death of Louis XI in 1483, Ockeghem's place and role in the royal chapel are difficult to determine; the payment registers for the chapel musicians are missing from 1476 until well after Ockeghem's death. However, he is identified as usual in the document recording his visit to Bruges as the king's *premier chapelain*, and Guillaume Crétin used the same designation in his *Déploration*. In addition, Ockeghem is identified as *prothocapellanus* of the royal chapel in one of a series of executorial letters prepared at the papal court for the signature of Innocent VIII on 28 July 1486, apparently at the request of Charles VIII (Roth, 1994). These were requests for benefices in a variety of ecclesiastical institutions made individually on behalf of 20 members of the king's chapel. Ockeghem was to be given preference for the next prebend available at Bayeux Cathedral (Perkins, *JAMS*, 1984), but there is as yet no evidence that any of these 'expectatives' was ever granted.

The only mention of the composer in court documents relating to the reign of Charles VIII simply indicates that he was among those present when the king observed the ritual of washing the feet of the poor on Maundy Thursday in April 1488. By contrast, his name continues to appear regularly in documents drawn up at St Martin, Tours, until 1494. In March 1487 he prepared his testament, bequeathing his property and revenues to the chapter of the collegiate church. His death on 6 February 1497 is known only through the king's nomination of his successor as treasurer of St Martin, Evrard de la Chapelle, who also served at the royal court.

3. Reputation. Ockeghem's passing was lamented by some of the most celebrated poets and musicians of the time: Crétin, his colleague in the court chapel, wrote a lengthy *déploration* in French; Jehan Molinet, perhaps in response to Crétin's exhortation to join in the poetic expression of grief, wrote similar poems in both the vernacular and Latin. His French lament, *Nymphes des bois*, was later given a poignant musical setting by Josquin, who may have added a descriptive verse of his own (Lowinsky, 1968). The humanist Erasmus, perhaps at the request of his patron, Henri de Berghes, Bishop of Cambrai, composed a Latin *naenia*, *Ergone conticuit*, that was subsequently set to music by Johannes Lupi (*see* Lupus) (Margolin, 1965). Ockeghem is also included among the musicians for whom supplication is made to the Virgin in Compère's famous motet, *Omnium bonorum plena*.

The man described in these various works is exceptionally engaging: honest, virtuous, kind, generous, charitable and pious. Francesco Florio, writing in Tours in the 1470s, long before Ockeghem's death, declared:

> I am sure you could not dislike this man, so pleasing is the beauty of his person, so noteworthy the sobriety of his speech and of his morals, and his graciousness. He alone of all the singers is free from vice and abounding in all virtues.

At about the same time, apparently, Pierre-Paul Vieillot (Senilis), secretary to Louis XI, penned in Latin an epigram and a curious series of epitaphs in honour of the composer in similarly laudatory terms (Strohm, 1997). Crétin, some two decades later, praised Ockeghem's wise and just administration of his dignity at St Martin, his charitable generosity and his exemplary Christian virtues.

His reputation as a singer of extraordinary skill (Milsom, 1997) and a master among composers was well established during his lifetime. Johannes Tinctoris dedicated to him (and to Busnoys) his *Liber de natura et proprietate tonorum* of 1476, and the following year, in his *Liber de arte contrapuncti*, he listed Ockeghem first among the most excellent composers of his generation, those whose works were distinguished by exceptional sweetness and beauty. In his *De inventione et usu musice* of 1481 Tinctoris also praised Ockeghem's bass voice as the finest he knew. Florio, similarly, asserted that

Ockeghem was superior to all of his colleagues in the royal chapel as both singer and composer. Molinet, who was himself both poet and musician, praised the 'subtle songs, the artful masses and the harmonious motets' of Ockeghem, Du Fay, Binchois and Busnoys, placing Ockeghem first among them.

In his elaborate lament Crétin had a personified Musique refer to Ockeghem as her son, the 'pearl of music'. He put in the mouth of Orpheus the expression 'flower of musicians', in that of Pan the epithet 'pillar of music' and he caused Tubal, 'the ancient father', to praise him for having mastered 'all the secrets of subtlety'. The poet also spoke of Ockeghem's 'elevated style, in which no imperfection is found'. Jean Lemaire de Belges, in a letter published in 1513, credited Ockeghem with having ennobled music just as Crétin himself had enriched and exalted the French language. Nicole le Vestu, in a *chant royal* written in 1523 for the Rouen *puy*, described Ockeghem as 'most learned in the mathematical arts, arithmetic, geometry, astrology and music'; he praised his motet for 36 voices, which he termed a *chef d'oeuvre* of nature, for its 'sweetness' and its 'delicate harmony'. As late as 1567 the Italian humanist Cosimo Bartoli declared, in his *Ragionamenti accademici* (published in Venice), that Ockeghem was 'almost the first in these times to rediscover music, which was nearly dead, just as Donatello rediscovered sculpture'. It is not certain that Bartoli knew any of Ockeghem's music first hand, but the composer's reputation was clearly such that the Italian author did not hesitate to place him at the *fons et origo* of the cultural reawakening that, in accordance with the common historical view of that age, has come to be called the Renaissance.

Ockeghem's reputation among the composers of his age is perhaps best illustrated neither by the encomia of poets nor the praise of theorists, but by the numerous works of the 15th and early 16th centuries either based directly on an earlier piece of his or quoting substantively from his music in ways both technically and symbolically significant (Jas, Picker, 1997). These include the masses that derive a tenor cantus firmus (and more) from one of his chansons (e.g. *Au travail suis*, *D'ung aultre amer*, *Ma bouche rit*, *Malheur me bat*) as well as the numerous reworkings of *Au travail suis* and *Fors seulement* (Picker, 1981). Of particular significance in this connection for developments in the Low Countries are the borrowings in the masses of Obrecht and La Rue.

As Ockeghem's music disappeared from the practical sources in daily use, knowledge of his existence, and of his extraordinary contrapuntal skills, came to be transmitted solely by the theorists of the 16th century. Writers from Aaron to Zacconi, and in particular German schoolmasters such as Heyden, Ornithoparcus and Wilfflingseder, commented on the exceptional achievements of the *Missa cuiusvis toni*, the *Missa prolationum* and the canonic chanson, *Prenez sur moi*. This tradition was carried into the 17th century with the publications of the Italian theorists Rossi (1619) and Liberati (1685), undoubtedly long after any of the authors had occasion to hear in performance either those works or others by the 15th-century composer.

This distorted perspective caused Ockeghem's music to be viewed rather negatively by 18th-century scholars such as Charles Burney and Nicolaus Forkel. Although they appreciated Ockeghem's contrapuntal genius, they were



Miniature illustrating Nicole le Vestu's prizewinning chant royal at the Rouen Puy in 1523 (F-Pn fr.1537, f.58v); the poem concerns Ockeghem's composition of a motet for 36 voices, the performance of which is depicted. The composer is presumably the elderly figure with glasses, though the painting postdates Ockeghem's death by more than 20 years

clearly put off by what seemed to be an excessive emphasis on contrapuntal 'artifice'; Burney opined that 'learning and labour seem to have preceded taste and invention' and Forkel characterized *Prenez sur moi* as 'unsingable'. As critics they were clearly insensitive to Ockeghem's *suavitas*, the sweetly agreeable sonorities that had so charmed Ockeghem's immediate contemporaries, fellow musicians and patrons alike.

Not until the 19th century did historians such as A.W. Ambros begin to rehabilitate Ockeghem's reputation, refuting the negative judgments of the previous age in the light of romantic aesthetics and focussing on his 'inherent musicality' and 'singing soul'. More recent assessments by Pirro (1940), Van den Borren (1948–51) and especially Plamenac (*MGG1*) have been based on a broader knowledge of Ockeghem's compositions and a more balanced appreciation of his role in the development of the musical genres and styles of the 15th century. Nevertheless, attempts to define and characterize his contributions have led to strikingly different, even contradictory views (Bernstein, 1994). Ockeghem has been variously seen as the inventor of the imitative style (Riemann, 1907–13), as an arch-cerebralist with little or no interest in musical expression, and as a profound mystic whose music supposedly reflected the religious fervour and the aesthetic attitudes of northern Europe, in particular those of the *devotio moderna* as espoused by

the Brethren of the Common Life, and expressed in the *De imitatio Christi* of Thomas à Kempis (Besseler, 1931).

Although lacking any historical foundation, this notion has led to the widely held but highly questionable view that Ockeghem's compositional procedures are 'irrational', his melodies 'unpredictable' in their rise and fall and his counterpoint without easily discernible contours and seams. Bukofzer (1950) went so far as to assert that Ockeghem 'renounces with amazing consistency all customary means of articulating a composition: cadences, profiled motives, symmetrical phrase structure, lucid interrelation of parts, imitation, sequences, prominence of one voice over others, and so forth' (Bernstein, 1997).

It is increasingly clear, Bukofzer notwithstanding, that close study of Ockeghem's music inevitably reveals the presence and carefully planned use of all of these elements, however subtly treated or – at times – carefully disguised. While certain of the features mentioned are much more in evidence in some works than in others, his composition is invariably grounded in some rational, usually ingenious conception, the most striking examples of which are the *Missa prolationum* and the *Missa cuiusvis toni*. In their execution, however, his underlying designs are usually artfully concealed in accordance with two of the principal aesthetic ideals of the period, as articulated, for example, by Tinctoris: *subtilitas* and *varietas*. Consequently, the 'unfamiliar features of Ockeghem's style' that, in the words of Bukofzer, 'baffled past generations', continue to pose problems for the present as well, and these difficulties will only be resolved by means of a deeper, fuller understanding of the conceptual matrix and the aesthetic ideals that inform this composer's music generally.

4. MASSES. Although the number of known works attributed to Ockeghem is surprisingly small in view of the length of his life and the esteem in which he was held, his masses constitute an imposing repertory. In addition to the earliest surviving polyphonic requiem and an isolated Credo, there are 13 cyclic Ordinaries, of which three appear to be partial settings. Unfortunately, it is rarely possible to date Ockeghem's compositions with any precision, either from biographical details or from the evidence of the sources. One of the two masses for three voices may, however, be among the earliest; the cyclic structure produced by similar voice ranges, modal finals and mensural patterns recurring from one section to the next is reinforced by a head-motif rather than the tenor cantus firmus that tended to dominate continental mass composition beginning in the 1440s. Also noteworthy is a surprisingly consistent use of imitation, more so than in the presumably later four-voice masses. The implication is that if Ockeghem mastered imitative techniques early in his career, he made a conscious decision to employ them less predictably in subsequent works. The other three-voice cycle, the *Missa quinti toni*, which is characterized by exclusively binary mensurations and homogeneous textures, may date instead from the early 1470s, like its putative twin in the Vatican manuscript San Pietro B 80 (now attributed to Colinet de Lannoy), and reflect a renewed interest in three-voice mass composition during that decade (Wegman, 1987; Kirkman, 1997).

The remaining masses fall into two separate categories. The first and larger group consists of cyclic Ordinaries based on pre-existent material, either sacred or secular. The smaller group – equally important historically – comprises masses that seem to have been primarily freely composed. Turning first to the cantus-firmus compositions, one of the earliest is undoubtedly the *Missa 'Caput'*, which Ockeghem modelled on the presumably English mass, once thought to be by Du Fay. With the exception of the Kyrie, the successive sections follow closely the structure of the earlier mass. But while Ockeghem adopted the rhythmicization of his model for the cantus firmus, he shifted it to the lowest voice, thus displaying his contrapuntal skills (and perhaps a special affection for his own voice register).

Perhaps his most straightforward treatment of a cantus firmus is deployed in the *Missa 'L'homme armé'*. The mensural rhythms given to the famous tune in its polyphonic setting as a combinative chanson with *Il sera pour vous* are taken over into the mass with only minor differences. The borrowed tune is thus easily recognized even when, as in the Osanna and the third Agnus Dei, the values are prolonged in comparison with the movement of the other voices. The clarity of presentation of the cantus firmus makes even more effective its abandonment at the end of each major section as all four parts join to accelerate into the closing cadence. The cantus firmus is transposed (as in the 'Caput' mass) – to the lower 5th in the Patrem and to the lower octave in the Agnus Dei – reflecting again the composer's tendency to favour the bass register. Ockeghem's choice of range also provides a relatively early indication of the downward extension of the vocal registers that is one of the notable innovations of his musical style. In addition, Ockeghem appears to have imbedded into his counterpoint, as a kind of musical gloss on the pre-existent melody, references not only to the cantus of the combinative chanson but also to his own rondeau, *L'autre d'antan*, presumably in both cases because of the military imagery of the vernacular texts (Perkins, *JM*, 1984).

In what are probably later works, Ockeghem varied the treatment of the cantus firmus, assimilating it increasingly to the rhythmic and melodic activity of the other voices and thus moving towards a homogeneity of texture among the parts that was ever more characteristic of his mature style. In the *Missa 'De plus en plus'*, for example, each movement opens with a literal quotation of the tenor of Binchois' rondeau in extended values, but the borrowed melody is then paraphrased so freely as to make it virtually indistinguishable from the surrounding voices. (In this case, interestingly, Ockeghem repeated the first phrase of his cantus firmus at the end of each statement, probably in order to retain the orientation towards mode 8 on G with which the chanson opens rather than to follow its change to mode 2 on D.)

For the *Missa 'Ecce ancilla Domini'*, the only surviving cyclic Ordinary by Ockeghem to use a plainchant melody as its tenor cantus firmus, the composer followed essentially the same pattern as in the *Missa 'De plus en plus'*. In addition, this mass makes use of two innovative compositional procedures that anticipate the practice of following generations. One is the brief but quasi-systematic sequential treatment of the rising figure for the Amen at the conclusion of the Gloria, which helps to convey a sense of closure. The other is recourse to mimetic gestures not unlike those that were to become so common in the secular music of the next century to illustrate individual words and conceits of the text. In the Credo, for example, 'et ascendit in celum' is set to a steadily

rising line, 'sedet ad dexteram Patris' to a descending one that settles into a cadence.

Ockeghem's treatment of the cantus firmus in the *Missa 'Au travail suis'* (based on the tenor of a rondeau ascribed to both Ockeghem and Barbingant) is more original still. Whereas he presented the borrowed melody completely and with reasonable fidelity in the Kyrie (even though he altered its mensuration), in the following sections reference to it is reduced to little more than a head-motif. In addition, his extensive reliance in this work on homophonic textures removes it even further from the traditional pattern for cantus-firmus masses.

The incomplete cycle for five voices (*sine nomine*), which is based on plainchants for the Kyrie, Gloria and Credo, makes even more extensive use of syllabic declamation on repeated pitches (in the manner of the chants themselves). The liturgical melody is heard most frequently in the tenor, but it permeates the polyphony through imitation in the Kyrie, and in the Credo by migrating from voice to voice.

Ockeghem's two other partial cycles, the *Missa 'Ma maistresse'* and the *Missa 'Fors seulement'*, are both based on chansons of his own and appear to be late works as well. In these masses the voices take over material from more than one part of the model simultaneously and keep the borrowed lines in their original relationship to one another as other voices weave new counterpoints against them. *Ma maistresse*, a virelai, begins with a short mensuration canon between cantus and tenor that becomes a head-motif between superius and contratenor in the mass. The Kyrie is based primarily on the tenor of the chanson, carried by its bass, while its tenor quotes short excerpts from the cantus of the model. By contrast, the Gloria (the only other surviving section) borrows from the cantus for its contratenor, while its bass draws upon the virelai's tenor. The resulting permeation of the part-writing by material derived from the chanson is greater than in any other of Ockeghem's masses except the *Missa 'Fors seulement'*. Here the tenor of the chanson has been adopted as a fundamental cantus firmus throughout, but the other voices are quoted extensively as well. Ockeghem may not have been the first to have quoted from several voices of a polyphonic model at once, but his ingenious and original use of these procedures clearly helped to prepare the way for the widespread adoption of similar procedures in the 'imitation' or 'parody' masses of the 16th century.

Ockeghem's polyphonic Requiem has special historical significance as the earliest surviving setting. Each section is based on the corresponding plainchant, and the melodies, which are carried in the superius and only lightly embellished, are treated in the manner that had become conventional early in the 15th century for liturgical polyphony such as hymns, *Magnificats* and psalm settings. The numerous subsections for two or three voices give an impression of sober simplicity, but their skilful alternation with full four-voice textures achieves the cumulative effect that is characteristic of much of Ockeghem's music. The work culminates with the offertory in which a more consistent use of full textures, together with more recondite mensural schemes and contrapuntal procedures, contributes to a sense of climax and closure.

The small group of masses that were apparently freely composed includes the compositions made famous over the centuries by the recurring discussions of fascinated theorists. Each is unique in its own way and without clear historical precedent; consequently their place in the development of the genre, individually and collectively, is difficult to determine. The *Missa cuiusvis toni* is not unduly complex in its contrapuntal style despite the practical problems involved in reading the work as notated with each of several modal finals as the determinant of scalar structure and modal orientation. The mass is designated by the composer as 'in any mode'; Glarean categorized it as a 'catholicon', meaning it 'might be sung in many modes, almost at the will of the singers'. Most discussions interpret the mass as intended to exemplify the four regular finals, *re*, *mi*, *fa* and *sol* (see Houle, 1992; Perkins, 1993), but an interpretation on three finals, *ut*, *re* and *mi*, was suggested by Glarean (see van Benthem, 1996; Dean, 1996). Since such a mass could have been used repeatedly and, if performed from changing finals, still have sounded somehow different from one time to the next, it may have been intended for ferial use. By contrast, the *Missa prolationum* may well be the most extraordinary contrapuntal achievement of the 15th century; using all four of Philippe de Vitry's prolations simultaneously, it presents a series of canons whose interval of imitation expands from the unison progressively through to the octave in accordance with a complex combination of verbal instructions, rests and mensural signs. Surprisingly, the result is a graceful, euphonious composition that gives the listener no hint of the intricate technical problems it embodies.

Ockeghem's purpose in writing such a pair of masses may have been didactic as well as musical. Taken together, they constitute a practical exemplification of the modal and mensural doctrine of 15th-century theory, a musical counterpart to treatises such as those written by Tinctoris. If the (much more modest) canonic chanson, *Prenez sur moi*, is seen in a similar light as a thorough-going exercise in solmization, the three compositions cover in a comprehensive and engaging way the fundamentals of music as taught at the time: hexachordal and modal systems, notation, mensural usage and of course composition (Perkins, 1990).

Perhaps nowhere does Ockeghem show more clearly his mastery of the cyclic mass as a polyphonic genre, nor the genius of his own style, than in the *Missa 'Mi-mi'*. Here he has reduced the head-motif to the most concise of gestures, the falling 5th (E to A, *mi* in the natural and soft hexachords, respectively) in the bassus. If that figure refers at the same time to the tenor of his virelai, *Presque transi*, as has been claimed (Miyazaki, 1985), the allusion is both brief and characteristically subtle; for most of its substance the work seems to be essentially freely composed. Ockeghem deployed a typical pattern of changing mensurations throughout, mostly involving perfect and (diminished) imperfect tempus, coupled with skilfully wrought contrasts in texture and sonority. Internal cadences are often concealed by the continuous flow of interlocking melodic lines, and the ends of major sections are approached with lively rhythms and dotted figures that generate a strong sense of climax. This mass also has a surprising number of text-related compositional devices, such as contrasting registers – low for 'suscipe deprecationem nostram' and high for 'Qui sedes ad dexteram Patris' (Gloria); superius and altus for 'Pleni sunt celi' followed by tenor and bassus for 'et terra' (Sanctus) –

strict imitation for 'Et unam sanctam catholicam' and black notes in extended values for 'mortuorum' (Credo). It exemplifies in full measure the 'varietas' and 'subtilitas' that characterize Ockeghem's artistic aesthetic. It may also give some indication of the extent to which the humanistic passion for epideictic oratory – intended more to move than to persuade – had begun to influence Ockeghem's compositional manner. A close relationship with Cardinal Jean Jouffroy, as is suggested by the shared embassy to the court of Castile and by the cardinal's central role in procuring papal benefices for Ockeghem and his companions in the royal chapel, could have acquainted Ockeghem with the growing enthusiasm for rhetorical studies in humanistic circles. Jouffroy completed his education at the University of Pavia, where he studied rhetoric with Lorenzo Valla (who became his lifelong friend), and was himself both a scholar and an accomplished orator (Perkins, 1997).

5. MOTETS. Ockeghem's motets, though few in number, display perhaps even greater inventiveness than his masses, no doubt because the genre was itself in a state of stylistic redefinition during much of the 15th century. For most of the known repertory, Ockeghem followed a growing tradition in setting Marian texts, either liturgical (in which case the plainchant melody is usually adopted as well) or devotional. The *Salve regina* that appears to be securely attributed to him presents the chant with melodic coloration, but in the bass (as in the *Missa 'Caput'*) rather than, as conventionally, in the tenor. In his *Alma Redemptoris mater* the antiphon melody is heard in an upper voice, as in a treble-dominated plainsong setting, but with the addition of a fourth part in an unusually high range above it.

By contrast, neither *Ave Maria* nor *Intemerata Dei mater* shows any trace of a borrowed melody. Nonetheless, the latter, like both the plainsong settings and the cantus-firmus motets, reflects the influence of the polyphonic masses; it is divided into sections with contrasting mensurations, and the structure is further articulated (especially in the 2nd and 3rd sections) by introductory duos or trios in changing combinations of voices. In addition, its syllabic declamation and homophonic textures are much more common in Ockeghem's masses than in his motets. Exceptional, however, even for Ockeghem, who was to become famous for his exploration of modal relationships and possibilities, is the succession of finals to the sections of *Intemerata* from D through A to E (on which all three sections begin).

Ockeghem's motet-chanson, the *déploration* on the death of Binchois, has an archaic flavour; in ballade form, it combines the treble-dominated style, polytextuality and cantus-firmus-based structure that were all characteristic of the medieval motet tradition. Though clearly not the first of its kind, the work appears to have defined in significant measure the functional and compositional conception of the genre for subsequent generations (Meconi, 1997). *Ut heremita solus* is analogous in a sense to the *Missa cuiusvis toni* and the *Missa prolationum* in its use of a complex puzzle canon to generate the tenor and regulate its manipulation, but stylistically it stands apart from the other motets of Ockeghem's known authorship (see Lindmayr, *AcM*, lx, 1988, for explanation of its resolution). It makes consistent use of short motifs sequentially elaborated in a manner most unusual for him, suggesting that it was – paradoxically for a motet – intended for instruments. It is, in addition, so idiosyncratic in style that Ockeghem's authorship has been questioned (Lindmayr-Brandl, 1997). The attribution to Ockeghem is implied in Crétin's *Déploration*; the work may have been Ockeghem's reply to Busnoys' '*In hydraulis*'.

Celeste beneficium and *Gaude Maria*, which are found only in a set of mid-16th-century part-books in the Proske Musikbibliothek, Regensburg, are now thought to be by another, later composer, despite their ascription to 'Johannes Okegus'. This is not only because of the lateness of the source and the unusual form of the name (although also used by Erasmus), but more importantly because the sub-genre of the responsory-motet with its aBcB pattern apparently did not become current until the 1530s. Nevertheless, *Celeste beneficium*, the text of which is probably a contrafactum, recalls *Ut heremita* by the treatment of its cantus firmus and, even more particularly, by the character of its melodies and counterpoint. *Gaude Maria* is perhaps less typical of Ockeghem because of its systematic use of syntactic imitation, but some of the traits of his mature style are present, most notably the customary sweep of the melodic lines, the energy of the rhythmic figures and the imaginative freedom with which the cantus firmus has been treated. By contrast, the *Salve regina* (ii), a relatively conventional plainchant setting with the liturgical melody in the superius, is surely a case of mistaken attribution due to speculation concerning the name (Basiron) that was partially trimmed from the margin of *I-Rvat* C.S.46 (Lindmayr, 1988).

6. SECULAR WORKS. Ockeghem adhered most consistently to tradition in his secular works, perhaps in part because the compositional conventions were more firmly established for the chanson than for mass or motet. Even in this well-trodden field, however, his creative imagination asserted itself. More generously represented in the surviving sources than his sacred music, and better contextualized by contemporaneous repertory, his songs can be seen as central to his own artistic development and to his contribution to the evolving styles and genres of the period (Fallows, 1997). The majority of his works on texts in the vernacular follow the *formes fixes* that had been in use for more than a century. At least 16 are rondeaux; four others, *Ma bouche rit*, *Ma maistresse*, *Presque transi* and *Tant fuz gentement resjouy*, are virelais with only a single complete stanza (as was customary at the time judging from the works of Busnoys and other contemporaries who adopted the form). Ockeghem apparently wrote in most instances for three parts, but two of his pieces were originally for four parts; they were not merely supplied later with an optional contratenor as was the case for many chansons of the period.

The predominant texture of Ockeghem's chansons derives from the treble-dominated solo song characteristic of the genre in the 15th century, but there are significant exceptions in addition to the strictly canonic *Prenez sur moi*: *L'autre d'antan* was clearly conceived as a duo between cantus and tenor and in *Fors seulement l'attente* the cantus and tenor share the same range and much of the same material. For *Petite camusette* the lower three voices are all based on the eponymous *chanson rustique*. These three works exhibit a good deal of the imitative counterpoint typical of the chanson repertory of the period, but elsewhere Ockeghem restricted imitation to the beginning of just a phrase or two, as in *Ma bouche*

rit, or avoided it entirely, as in the quasi-homophonic *Presque transi*.

Ockeghem's treatment of the vernacular poetry was also largely conventional. He set it line by line, providing for each verse a self-contained melodic phrase. When, as at the beginning of both *D'un aultre amer* and *Presque transi*, he weakens the effect of the articulating cadence, it is usually in response to the syntax or sense of the text, which bridges the verses in an enjambment. Conversely, when the verse is cast in decasyllables with a clear caesura after the fourth, he often breaks the melodic line as well, as for the fourth verse of the refrain in *Ma maistresse* and the first of the second section, or for the second and third verses of *Ma bouche rit*, where both the caesura and the enjambment are respected. Most of the time the opening rhythms of a melodic phrase allow for a syllabic declamation of the text. In a few instances, however, such as *Les desléaux* and *Quant de vous seul*, the subsequent melismatic development of the line sometimes assumes a scope and an energy more like the melodic writing in the masses and motets.

Although Ockeghem generally adhered to the musical structures traditionally derived from the poetic *formes fixes*, he repeated the first line of *L'aultre d'antan* as the last, text and music, thus imposing on the rondeau an over-riding formal order that, like the light tone of the verse and the lively tempo of the music, anticipates characteristics of the chanson in the early 16th century. His setting of *Petite camusette* represents another significant departure from the courtly tradition. All four voices carry text: the lower three have the words of the *chanson rustique* upon which they are based, and the cantus has a related poem. In both style and substance *Petite camusette* is typical of the combinative chanson that became fashionable towards the end of the 15th century (Maniates, 1970).

Ockeghem also appears to have played a role in the development of an important new secular genre: an arrangement, usually florid in character, based on one or more parts from a well-known chanson, that would lead to the instrumental *canzona*. This is suggested by his composition of a second cantus for *O rosa bella*, his reworking of Cornago's *¿Qu'es mi vida preguntays?*, and in particular by his use of the tenor of *Fors seulement l'attente* as the point of departure for the *réplique*, *Fors seulement contre ce qu'ay promis*, among the first of the 30 or so compositions to rework in some way the melodic material of that chanson (see Picker, 1981). In his rondeau *Au travail suis* (attributed to Ockeghem in *F-Pn* R 57 but to Barbingant in *F-Dm* 517) at the words 'ma maistresse', Ockeghem quoted the opening of his virelai *Ma maistresse*.

Too little is known still about Ockeghem's relationships with his immediate contemporaries, but it is evident that he was familiar with musical practices and repertories at both Cambrai Cathedral and the Burgundian court chapel. He must have owed significant aspects of his development to the example of Binchois and may have been exposed to the influence of English composers on the Continent. There was ample opportunity for meaningful contact with Du Fay from the 1450s on, and it is quite likely that Busnoys profited from Ockeghem's tutelage while both were associated with musical institutions in Tours in the early 1460s. During the more than 40 years that Ockeghem served at the French royal court, however, there was no one else in the chapel who even approached his stature as musician and composer.

Like his contemporaries, he adhered to tradition, but no other 15th-century master seems to have handled with as much freedom compositional procedures such as head-motifs, cantus firmi and canonic imitation, nor to have treated established musical genres (mass, motet and chanson) with such subtly inventive creativity. He seems to have been involved with innovatory developments in a number of significant areas: word painting, modal transmutation, the exploitation of new sonorities (especially in the lower registers) and, perhaps most importantly, the contrapuntal, and hence melodic integration and equalization of the separate voices. In every respect Ockeghem achieved a level of contrapuntal skill and artistic excellence without which the extraordinary accomplishments of the next generation of composers, including such figures as Obrecht, La Rue and Josquin, might not have been possible.

WORKS

Editions: *Johannes Ockeghem: Sämtliche Werke (Messen I–VIII)*, ed. D. Plamenac, Publikationen älterer Musik, Jg.i/2 (Leipzig, 1927); rev. 2/1959 as *Masses I–VIII*, Johannes Ockeghem: Collected Works, i; *Masses and Mass Sections IX–XVI*, ed. D. Plamenac, ibid., ii (New York, 1947, 2/1966); *Motets and Chansons*, ed. R. Wexler with D. Plamenac, ibid., iii (Philadelphia, 1992) [P]
Johannes Ockeghem: Masses and Mass Sections, ed. J. van Benthem, i– (Utrecht, 1994–) [B]

For other edns of masses, mass sections, motets and chansons, see P i–iii, Editorial Notes, and Picker (1988)

MASSES AND MASS SECTIONS

Title	*No. of voices*	*Edition*	*Remarks*
Missa	3vv	P i, 15–29	sections linked by common head-motif in Sup and T
Missa	5vv	P ii, 77–82; B i/3	only Ky, Gl, Cr; each section paraphrases a plainchant from the Ordinary
Missa 'Au travail suis'	4vv	P i, 30–41	T of chanson (attrib. Ockeghem and Barbingant) used first as T c.f. (Ky), then as head-motif
Missa 'Caput'	4vv	P ii, 37–58; B i/1	T c.f. derived from final melisma of ant for Maundy Thursday, Venit ad Patrem, as rhythmicized in anon. Eng. mass attrib. Du Fay, transposed to lower octave as sounding B; head-motif links all sections except Ky; also ed. A. Planchart (New Haven, CT, 1964)
Missa cuiusvis toni	4vv	P i, 44–56; B iii/3–4	'in any mode'; variously interpreted with 2, 3 or (most likely) 4 finals; sections linked by a changing but recognizable head-motif in Sup; also ed. D. Fallows (London, 1989); G. Houle (Bloomington, IN, 1992)
Missa 'De plus en plus'	4vv	P i, 57–77; B ii/1	T c.f. based on T of Binchois' chanson, subjected to both augmentation and paraphrase

Title	No. of voices	Edition	Remarks
Missa 'Ecce ancilla Domini'	4vv	P i, 79–98; B i/2	T c.f. from 2nd half of Marian ant Missus est angelus Gabriel; Du Fay's and Regis's homonymous masses are based on different plainchant
Missa 'Fors seulement'	5vv	P ii, 65–76	only Ky, Gl, Cr; T of Ockeghem's chanson used as migrating c.f. among inner voices in various transpositions; sometimes simultaneous borrowings from Sup and Ct
Missa 'L'homme armé'	4vv	P i, 99–116	T c.f. based on T of combinative setting Il sera pour vous/ L'homme armé, heard generally in augmentation, at pitch, but as sounding B at lower 5th (Cr) and lower octave (Ag); significant quotes from Sup of the chanson and possible references to Ockeghem's L'autre d'antan; head-motif in Sup and A links Gl and Cr, echoed in Sup of San and Ag
Missa 'Ma maistresse'	4vv	P i, 117–23	only Ky, Gl; Sup and T of Ockeghem's virelai both used as c.f., T (Ky) at lower octave in B, Sup (Gl) at lower octave in Ct; quotations from the other voice in both
Missa 'Mi-mi' [= Missa quarti toni]	4vv	P ii, 1; B iii/2	head-motif, the falling figure E–A and its continuation in following 2 bars, only in B; resemblance with Ockeghem's virelai, Presque transi noted by Miyazaki (1985) confined to opening of B
Missa prolationum	4vv	P ii, 21–36; B iii/4	series of double mensuration canons beginning at the unison (Ky) and proceeding to the octave (Osanna), but reverting to the 4th (Ag I, Benedictus) and the 5th (Ag II, Ag III). Cited by Heyden (1540), Zanger and Wilfflingseder, because of its elaborate canonic structures
Missa quarti toni [= Missa 'Mi-mi']			
Missa quinti toni	3vv	P i, 1–14	all movts linked by common head-motif in all voices; 2nd motif also links Ky II with 'Qui tollis', 'Osanna'
Requiem	3/4vv	P ii, 83–97	int, Ky, grad (Si ambulem), tr, off; based on plainchant melodies, paraphrased at times and with interpolations of varying length, carried in highest voice; also ed. G. Darvas (Zürich, 1977); B. Turner (London, 1978)
Credo	4vv	P ii, 59–64, B i/3	based on the Credo I plainchant, which migrates from voice to voice; may be the Patrem de village copied in Bruges, 1475–6

MOTETS

Title	No. of voices	Edition	Remarks
Alma Redemptoris mater	4vv	P iii, 3–5	plainchant melody, transposed up 5th, embellished and varied, used as melodic c.f. in A
Ave Maria	4vv	P iii, 6–7	no identifiable c.f.
Intemerata Dei mater	5vv	P iii, 8–12	Marian text in hexameters; no identifiable c.f. but probably intended for devotional purposes; ranges unusually low; change of final for each of the 3 *partes* is without precedent
Salve regina (i)	4vv	P iii, 13–17	Marian ant with plainchant, embellished, paraphrased and transposed to lower 4th as c.f. in B, anticipatory quotations of opening phrase at pitch in Sup and T
Ut heremita solus	4vv	P iii, 18–24	elaborate canonical and hexachordal puzzle; may be Ockeghem's reply to Busnoys' In hydraulis

MOTET-CHANSON

Title	No. of voices	Edition	Remarks
Mort, tu as navré/Miserere	4vv	P iii, 77–8; B ii/1, 34–7	déploration on death of Binchois (*d* 1460); French ballade in Sup, combined with Latin text in T that concludes with words and plainchant of final phrase of Dies irae, but see B ii/1; Ct and B are textless in sources

CHANSONS

Title	No. of voices	Edition	Remarks
Aultre Venus estes	3vv	P iii, 59	rondeau quatrain in octosyllables
Au travail suis	3vv	P iii, 93	rondeau quatrain in octosyllables attrib. Barbingant in *F-Dm* 517, Ockeghem in *Pn* R 57; taken as the starting point for Missa 'Au travail suis', but see Fallows (1984)
Baisiés moy dont fort	3vv	P iii, 60	rondeau quatrain in octosyllables; only refrain of text survives
D'un autre amer	3vv	P iii, 61	rondeau quatrain in decasyllables; attrib. Busnoys in *Pn* fr.15123 is peripheral and largely contradicted by other sources
Fors seulement contre ce	3vv	P iii, 64–5	rondeau cinquain in decasyllables, perhaps intended as a *réplique* to Fors seulement l'attente, whose T, transposed to lower 12th, functions as B
Fors seulement l'attente	3vv	P iii, 62–3	rondeau cinquain in decasyllables, used by Ockeghem in his mass and widely used as a model for reworking or recomposition; see Fors seulement contre ce
Il ne m'en chault plus	3vv	P iii, 66	rondeau cinquain in octosyllables
J'en ay dueil	?3/4vv	P iii, 67–9	rondeau quatrain in octosyllables; two versions differ in ranges of lower 3 parts and composition of Ct altus, suggesting orig. written for 3 parts: Sup, T and B
La despourveue et la bannie	3vv	P iii, 70	rondeau cinquain in octosyllables

Title	*No. of voices*	*Edition*	*Remarks*
L'autre d'antan	3vv	P iii, 71	rondeau cinquain in octosyllables, but with repetition of 1st line of refrain (text and music) as last phrase; two distinct versions of Ct and 4 different mensuration signs, one of which prompted criticism from Tinctoris in his *Proportionale*
Les desléaux ont la saison	3vv	P iii, 72	rondeau quatrain in octosyllables
Ma bouche rit	3vv	P iii, 73–4	virelai with 5-line refrain and 3-line *ouvert* and *clos* in decasyllables
Ma maistresse	3vv	P iii, 75–6	virelai with 5-line refrain and 3-line *ouvert* and *clos* in decasyllables; taken by Ockeghem as starting point for his mass
Prenez sur moi	3vv	P iii, 80	canonic chanson, 'fuga trium vocum in epidiatessaron', with one part notated and the other two entering a breve apart, each time at the lower 4th; termed a catholicon by Glarean: starting pitches are not specified by clef and could imply more than one modal final; often included in 16th-century treatises; the text, a rondeau cinquain in decasyllables, is part of the canon, but only the refrain is given
Presque transi	3vv	P iii, 81–2	virelai with 5-line refrain and 3-line *ouvert* and *clos* in decasyllables; may have been starting point for head-motif of 'Missa Mi-mi'
Quant de vous seul	3vv	P iii, 83	rondeau cinquain in octosyllables
S'elle m'amera/Petite camusette	4vv	P iii, 88–9	combinative chanson with rondeau cinquain in octosyllables in Sup; lower 3 parts based on monophonic chanson or quodlibet
Se vostre cuer eslongne	3vv	P iii, 90	rondeau cinquain in decasyllables; only refrain survives
Tant fuz gentement resjouy	3vv	P iii, 91	virelai with 5-line refrain and 3-line *ouvert* and *clos* in octosyllables
Ung aultre l'a	3vv	P iii, 92	'rondeau royal', rondeau cinquain in octosyllables

ARRANGEMENTS OF WORKS BY OTHERS

Title	*No. of voices*	*Edition*	*Remarks*
Alius discantus super 'O rosa bella'	2vv	P iii, 79	1 voice concordant with discantus of the setting of Giustiniani's ballata attrib. Bedyngham or Dunstaple
Qu'es mi vida preguntays	4vv	P iii, 84–5	reworking of Cornago's 3vv setting of this canción; added to Sup and T of the earlier piece are a new B and Ct, the latter quoting initially from Cornago's Ct at the lower octave

LOST WORKS

Title	*No. of voices*	*Edition*	*Remarks*
Missa della madonna (? Missa de Beata Virgine)			T of Credo cited by Zacconi, Cerone; see P ii, p.xlii
Missa 'Domine, non secundum peccata nostra' T of Gloria cited Zacconi; see P ii, p.xlii			
Missa 'Jocundare'			T of Osanna cited by Zacconi; see P ii, p.xlii
Missa 'La belle se siet'	T and Ct of Credo cited by Tinctoris, *De arte contrapuncti*; see P ii, p.xlii		
Noel			first work in a choirbook copied for Louis XI in 1471; see Perkins, *JAMS*, 1984, p.535

QUESTIONABLE AND SPECULATIVE ATTRIBUTIONS

Title	*No. of voices*	*Edition*	*Remarks*
Missa 'Le serviteur'	4vv		c.f. mass based primarily on T of rondeau attrib. Du Fay, but with borrowings from Sup as well; attrib. Ockeghem in *I-TRmp* 88, but to Faugues by Tinctoris, *De arte contrapuncti*; ed. in DTÖ, xxxviii, Jg.xix/1, 1912/*R* and Faugues, *Collected Works*, ed. G.C. Schuetze, 1960, pp.5–46
Missa 'Pour quelque paine'	4vv	P ii, 98–115	c.f. mass based on T of anon. chanson; attrib. Ockeghem in *B-Br 5557* added by a later hand; attrib. Cornelius Heyns in *I-Rvat* C.S.51 now generally accepted
Missa [primi toni]	3vv		San (frag.) and Ag in *Rvat* San Pietro B 80, judged to be a 'twin' of Ockeghem's *Missa quinti toni* because of resemblances in texture, mensuration and general stylistic features (see Wegman, 1987) but found in *CZ-Hk* II.A.7 ascribed to 'Lanoy'
Deo gratias	36vv	P iii, 35–42	canonic work for 9 groups of 4vv each; anon. in sources but attrib. Ockeghem because 15th- and 16th-century authors credited him with a motet in 36 parts; this work does not fit the description of Ockeghem's canon by Virdung, who knew it first hand, as 6 groups of 6vv each (but see Lowinsky, 1969)

Title	No. of voices	Edition	Remarks
Celeste beneficium	5vv	P iii, 26–34	setting, in responsory form, of a text referring to the Lutheran reformation, probably a contrafactum; an apparent c.f. in T has not been identified; doubts have been raised as to Ockeghem's authorship because the unique source is peripheral and late (*c*1538), the responsory motet was not common until the generation after Josquin, and the compositional style is unlike anything in Ockeghem's other motets
Gaude Maria	5vv	P iii, 43–52	T c.f. motet in four parts, based on text and music of liturgical responsory and following its form; attrib. Ockeghem challenged on the same grounds as for Celeste beneficium, with which it is found in its only source
Miles mirae probitatis	4vv		anon., in honour of St Martin of Tours; attrib. Ockeghem suggested by Ambros, iii, 1869, p.179, because of the text and on general stylistic grounds, but rejected by Plamenac, *MGG1*
Salve regina (ii)	4vv	P iii, 53–5	setting of Marian ant with plainchant melody paraphrased in Sup; attrib. Ockeghem resulted from misreading of name trimmed from *I-Rvat* C.S.46, *recte* Basiron, whose authorship is confirmed by 1520[1] (see Dean, 1986)
Vivit Dominus	2vv	P iii, 25	imitative duo, probably a contrafactum of an internal section of an unknown mass; given lateness of the only source, 1546[15], attrib. Ockeghem cannot be taken at face value
Permanent vierge/Pulchras es/ Sancta Dei genitrix	5vv	P iii, 96–7	motet-chanson, combining rondeau quatrain in decasyllables with two Marian ants.; anon. in only source, *F-Dm* 517; attrib. Ockeghem suggested by Ambros, ii, 1864, p.534, apparently accepted by Stephan, 1937 and Plamenac, *MGG1*, but designated doubtful by Wexler, P iii
Resjois toy, terre de France/ Rex pacificus	4vv		motet-chanson in ballade form (although final 4 lines of verse do not correspond to the usual conventions for the poetic form) combined with ant for 1st Vespers at Christmas and the acclamation 'vivat rex'; text seems to reflect victories of Charles VII in final stage of Hundred Years War, or impending coronation of Louis XI soon after, leading Fallows (1976–7) to suggest attrib. Ockeghem, which he later rejected (1984); Lindmayr sees attrib. Busnoys in name partially trimmed from *F-Pn* fr.15123
Ce n'est pas jeu [= Si mieulx ne vient]	3vv		rondeau quatrain in decasyllables, attrib. Ockeghem in *I-Rc* 2856 but to Hayne in *E-SEG*, *F-Pn* 2245, and *I-Fr* 2794 (anon. in 3 other sources); ed. B. Hudson in *Hayne van Ghizeghem: Opera omnia*, CMM, lxxiv, 1977
Departés vous Malebouche	3vv	P iii, 94	? rondeau cinquain in decasyllables, refrain only; attrib. Ockeghem in *F-Pn* fr.15123 and Du Fay in *I-MC* 871 (anon. in *Bc* Q16); doubt has been cast on both ascriptions, but Fallows (1984) favours Du Fay
Malheur me bat [= Dieu d'amours]	3vv	P iii, 95	incipit only, but rondeau form, possibly quatrain; attrib. Ockeghem in 1501[1], taken over by scribe of *CH-SGs* 461 and Aaron, but attrib. Martini in *I-Fc* 2439, *Fn* B.R.229 and *Rvat* C.G.XIII.27; attrib. Malcort in *Rc* 2856, (anon. in 5 other sources); attribs. in Florentine MSS appear most reliable
Quant ce viendra	3vv		added Ct in *US-NH* 91, *I-TRmp* 91; ed. L. Perkins, *The Mellon Chansonnier* (New Haven, 1979), ii, 76–9; rondeau cinquain layé in octosyllables, tetrasyllables for interpolated shorter lines; attrib. Ockeghem in *E-E* IV.a.24, but to Busnoys in *F-Dm* 517, *US-Wc* Lab; anon. in 6 other sources; attribs. in central French sources appear more reliable
Tous les regretz	3vv		ed. Picker (1980); anon. chanson with this incipit in 1504[3] may be a setting for the rondeau cinquain in decasyllables written by French court poet Octavien de St Gelais on departure of Marguerite of Austria from France in 1493; Picker suggests music may be by Ockeghem

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LEEMAN L. PERKINS

Oclande, Robert. *See* OKELAND, ROBERT.

O'Connell, Kevin (*b* Londonderry, 22 Dec 1958). Northern Ireland composer. O'Connell began composing at the age of 12. At Trinity College, Dublin (BMus 1982), he studied composition with Joseph Groocock and Brian Boydell. He subsequently worked as a teacher and became a lecturer in composition at Trinity College in 1996. In 1996 he was elected to Aosdána, Ireland's state-sponsored academy of creative artists. Since leaving university he has been fortunate in gaining a number of important commissions, beginning with the Concertino for 12 Players (1984–5). The cantata *From the Besieged City* (1988–9) was commissioned by the city council to commemorate the bicentenary of the siege of his home city. It began a line of vocal works that form the cornerstones of his recent output, a line that now includes three chamber operas.

O'Connell's work is eclectic. *Einzeichnung* (1987) charts a decidedly modernist course, whereas the chamber opera *Sensational!* (1992) is full of dance rhythms and melodic lines reminiscent of Broadway. The Saxophone Sonata (1988) mixes strong, almost jazzy, rhythms with lines that sometimes echo Hindemith. But behind these shifts of style lies a common desire to contain 'unshackled, eruptive force' within a clear structural framework. This structural vigour is well exemplified by O'Connell's control over the large span and long-breathed melodies of the first movement of his fine Sonata for Cello and Piano (1993–4).

WORKS
(*selective list*)

Chbr Op: *Sensational!* (1, Stembridge), 1992; *The Fire King* (4, Goodby), 1993–5; *My Love, my Umbrella* (2, McGahern, Conway), 1997

Orch: *Concertino*, 12 insts, 1984–5; *Einzeichnung*, 1987; Conc., vn, chbr orch, 1990; North, 1997–8

Chbr: Str Trio, 1987; Sonata, s sax + a sax, pf, 1988; *Tenebrae*, cl, vn, vc, 1992; *Carrickfergus*, pf (4 hands), 1993; Sonata, vc, pf, 1993–4

Vocal: *Fáilte don éan [Welcome Little Bird on Branch] (S.D. MacCuarta), SATB, 1988; From the Besieged City* (Herbert), Mez, orch, 1988–9

MS in Contemporary Music Centre, Dublin

MICHAEL RUSS

O'Conor, John (*b* Dublin, 18 Jan 1947). Irish pianist. He studied at the College of Music, Dublin (1957–69), and later with Dieter Weber at the Vienna Hochschule für Musik (1971–6), where he was awarded the top prize for piano in 1975. In 1974 and 1980 he undertook special studies of Beethoven with Wilhelm Kempff. He made his début in Dublin in 1968 and his London début at the Wigmore Hall in 1974, winning first prize in the Vienna Beethoven International Piano Competition in 1973 and first prize in the Bösendorfer Piano Competition, Vienna, in 1975. His repertory favours Mozart, Beethoven (whose complete sonatas he has recorded) and Schubert, and he has made a particular study of the works of John Field, whose complete concertos, nocturnes and sonatas he has recorded. In 1976 O'Conor was appointed professor of piano at the Royal Irish Academy of Music, Dublin. In 1986 he became a co-founder and artistic director of the Dublin International Piano Competition. He is also a frequent jury member at other major international piano competitions including Leeds, Vienna and Sydney.

JESSICA DUCHEN

Ocquet (Old Fr.). *See* HOCKET.

Octatonic. A term that is theoretically applicable to any mode or scale using eight different pitches to the octave, but which has found wide acceptance (since its adoption in Berger, 1963–4) as a designation for the scale (or pitch class collection) generated by alternating whole tones and semitones. A scalar order of the collection can begin with the semitone (the form termed 'Model A' by van den Toorn; e.g. C–C♯–D♯–E–F♯–G–A–A♯) or the tone ('Model B'; e.g. C–D–D♯–F–F♯–G♯–A–B). Only three distinct transpositions are possible: the forms given above can be transposed to begin on C♯ and D, but any further transpositions will replicate one of those three forms in its pitch class content. The collection is therefore a 'mode of limited transposition' under Messiaen's definition (1944).

The octatonic differs from other collections based on symmetrical octave partitioning (such as the whole-tone scale) in that it accommodates both major and minor triads (as well as diminished triads and dominant, minor or half-diminished 7ths) on its degrees a minor 3rd apart (i.e. on C, D♯, F♯ and A in the 'Model A' scale given above). Referentially octatonic passages dating from the mid-19th century, notably in the music of Liszt, tend to involve triadic root progressions by the minor 3rd, while some later examples of the collection (either partial or complete) result from the actual superimposition of minor 3rd- or tritone-related triads or 7th chords (the celebrated bell chord that opens Act 1 scene ii of Musorgsky's *Boris Godunov* is a subset of the octatonic). The scalar form of the collection was noted by Rimsky-Korsakov (who dubbed it the 'tone–semitone' scale – see Taruskin), and numerous 20th-century composers subsequently explored its non-triadic partitionings, notably Stravinsky and Bartók (whose piano piece 'Diminished Fifth' from *Mikrokosmos* divides the collection into two minor tetrachords a tritone apart). As well as by Messiaen (who classified it as his 'Mode 2'), the scale was used extensively

by Pijper in the Netherlands, where it became known as the 'Pijper scale'. From the 1980s onwards octatonicism received considerable attention in the literature of music analysis: while still most frequently discussed with reference to the music of Stravinsky, it has been explored in studies of Debussy, Ravel, Skryabin and Webern among others.

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CHARLES WILSON

Octave (i) (Fr. *octave*; Ger. *Oktave*; It. *ottava*; Gk. *diapasōn*; Sp. *octava*). The interval between any two notes that are seven diatonic scale degrees apart (e.g. *c–c'*, *d–d'*). The term usually implies 'perfect octave', which is the sum of five whole tones and two diatonic semitones; however it also covers the augmented octave, which is the sum of a perfect octave and a chromatic semitone (e.g. *c–c♯'*, *d♭–d'*), and the diminished octave, which is a perfect octave less a chromatic semitone (e.g. *c–c♭'*, *d♯–d'*). Acoustically the octave is the simplest of all intervals, giving a frequency ratio of 2:1 (a 1:2 ratio of string length); it is also the interval between a note and its first harmonic overtone.

To Western and most non-Western musicians, two notes an octave apart are in a sense alike, being different only in their relative registers and often seeming to blend into one another. This acoustical phenomenon has made the division of the frequency spectrum into octaves fundamental to both the understanding and the notation of music. The ancient Greeks, who recognized this phenomenon, called the octave *harmonia*, later *diapasōn*; Ptolemy, writing in the 2nd century, distinguished the octave from the other perfect intervals, calling it *homophōnia* (the 5th and 4th were called *symphōnia*). In the notation developed during the Middle Ages, notes an octave or two octaves apart were given the same letter name; and it was the species of octave (i.e. the arrangement of tones and semitones in an eight-note diatonic scale) that determined the MODE to which that scale belonged. Because of its acoustical properties the octave plays a significant role in the construction and playing of instruments, particularly keyboard and woodwind instruments (for example those that have 'octave keys'), and is of fundamental importance to the concept of REGISTER, both in a theoretical sense and as it concerns instruments.

WILLIAM DRABKIN

Octave (ii). *See under* ORGAN STOP.

Octave (iii). Non-musical uses of the term, which may occasionally be found in musical contexts, include the eighth day (i.e. exactly a week) after any feast day, or the day of a feast and the entire week following it; also the first eight lines of a sonnet.

See also CONSECUTIVE FIFTHS, CONSECUTIVE OCTAVES; DIAPASON (i); DOUBLING; and HIDDEN FIFTHS, HIDDEN OCTAVES.

WILLIAM DRABKIN

Octave courte (Fr.). *See* SHORT OCTAVE.

Octave dividers. A type of signal processing unit that divides or multiplies the frequency of a signal by a factor of two, to give parallel octaves below or above the note being produced by an instrument. The unit is often operated by means of a foot-pedal. *See* ELECTRIC GUITAR, §2.

Octave transfer. *See* REGISTER TRANSFER.

Octavin (Fr.). *See under* ORGAN STOP.

Octet (Fr. *octette*, *octuor*; Ger. *Oktett*; It. *ottetto*). By analogy with the sextet, septet and nonet, the term 'octet', first used at the beginning of the 19th century, denotes a composition in the nature of chamber music for eight solo instruments. The term was first used by Prince Louis Ferdinand of Prussia, whose Octet op.12 (*c*1800, published 1808) has a central piano part and remained almost unique of its kind. Further works with piano were written by Ferdinand Ries (op.128, 1818), Anton Rubinstein (op.9, 1856) and Paul Juon (op.27, 1907); through the number of instruments alone they all tend to a more concertante style. Nor did the works for mixed wind and string instruments by Peter Winter (*c*1812), Spohr (op.32, 1814), Reicha (op.96, *c*1817) and Hindemith (1957–8), each using a different combination, have any lasting influence on the genre. Only the ensemble chosen by Schubert for his Octet (D803), written in 1824 but not published (posthumously) until 1853, developed in the late 19th century into what is still regarded as the standard combination of instruments: clarinet, horn, bassoon, two violins, viola, cello and double bass. Schubert's octet, itself stimulated by Beethoven's extremely successful Septet op.20, inspired many composers to write works for the same ensemble, not least for practical performance reasons: they have included Hugo Kaun (op.26, published in error as op.34, 1891), Ferdinand Thieriot (op.62, 1893), Heinrich Molbe (op.20, 1897), Howard Ferguson (op.4, 1933), Egon Wellesz (op.67, 1949, with english horn), Boris Blacher (1965), Iannis Xenakis (*Anaktoria*, 1969), Rudolf Kelterborn (*Oktett 1969*, 1970), Siegfried Matthus (1970), Jean Françaix (*A HUIT*, 1972), Isang Yun (1978) and Dieter Schnebel (*raum-zeit y*, arranged for eight instruments 1992–3).

The string octet for four violins, two violas and two cellos, beginning with Mendelssohn's ingenious op.20 (1825, published 1833), formed a separate tradition comprising works by Niels Gade (op.17, 1848), Carl Schuberth (op.23, 1848), Johan Svendsen (op.3, 1865–6), Carl Grädener (op.49, 1870), Joachim Raff (op.176, 1872), Woldemar Bargiel (op.15*a*, 1877), Hermann Grädener (op.12, 1881), Reyngol'd Glièere (op.5, 1900), Enescu (op.7, 1900), Ferdinand Thieriot (op.78, 1903), Bruch (1920) and Shostakovich (Two Pieces op.11, 1924–5). In some of the older compositions the influence

of the extremely light, almost scurrying inflection of Mendelssohn's Scherzo can be felt.

Spohr developed an entirely different technical concept of setting with his four double quartets (opp.65, 77, 87 and 136, 1823–47); their antiphonal structure was suggested by a work by Andreas Romberg that remained fragmentary. Similar compositions were written by Nikolay Afanas′yev (*Housewarming* and *Le souvenir*) and Mario Peragallo (Music for Double Quartet, 1948). Darius Milhaud's Octet is a curiosity: the composer specified that his 14th and 15th string quartets op.291 (1948–9) may be played separately or, simultaneously, as an octet.

Wind compositions for eight instruments (usually two oboes, two clarinets, two horns and two bassoons), traditionally entitled partita, serenade, cassation, etc., because they were played in the open air, were written for indoor performance as chamber music during the 19th century and termed octets: they included works by Beethoven (op.103, ?1792–3, published 1830), Franz Lachner (op.156, 1850, published 1872), Louis Théodore Gouvy (op.71, published 1882) and Carl Reinecke (op.216, *c*1892). Entirely different combinations of eight wind instruments are used in Stravinsky's Octet and Varèse's *Octandre* (both 1923), two important 20th-century compositions.

For bibliography *see* CHAMBER MUSIC.

MICHAEL KUBE

Octobans. Drums resembling BOOBAMS.

Octobass. A large, three-string DOUBLE BASS.

Octuor (Fr.). *See* OCTET.

Oda (It.). A stanzaic form of Italian poetry often used by composers of the frottola. Each stanza consists of four iambic lines, the first three with seven syllables and the fourth, of varying length, with usually four, five or 11 syllables. In some examples the fourth line is identical with the first. All stanzas are linked by common rhymes, as in the scheme *abbc cdde effg*, or less frequently, *aaab bbbc*. The Italian *oda* bears no relation to the classical odes of Pindar or Horace but was thought, from the time of 15th-century poet-theorist Francesco Baratella, to represent the kind of 'frottola' decried by Landini in his madrigal *Musica son* ('Musica son che mi doglio piangendo, / Veder gli effetti miei dolci et perfetti / Lasciar per frottol'i vagh'intelletti'). Musically, it comes close to the *barzelletta* in its lively rhythms and clear phrases (see, for example, *Chi l'aria mai creduto* by Marchetto Cara, 1509[2], with eight stanzas, in which the voices engage in simultaneous declamation). When the last line is short (e.g. with four syllables) it is usually absorbed into the phrase for line 3, thus three phrases for four lines as in the anonymous *Audite vui fenestre*, *F-Pn* Rés.Vm[7] 676, ff.54*v*–55. As in other stanzaic frottola types, music is supplied for the first stanza only. *See* FROTTOLA, §2.

DON HARRÁN

Odăgescu [Odăgescu-Ţuţuianu], **Irina** (*b* Bucharest, 23 May 1937). Romanian composer and musicologist. After studying composition with Mendelsohn and Olah at the Bucharest Academy (1957–63), she became an editor for Editura Muzicală then taught at the Music Lyceum no.5. In 1965 Odăgescu became an assistant lecturer at the Academy, later rising to a professorial position. She studied in Darmstadt in 1972 and 1976. Her compositions blend world music traditions with more modern techniques including serialism. Characteristic elements of her scores include melodic lines of a modal character, blurred harmonic textures and a mood of lyrical contemplation which does not exclude moments of dramatic climax. In her later works, many for choir, she has employed cluster techniques. Odăgescu's writings include didactic books on score-reading.

WORKS
(*selective list*)

Orch: Passagalia, 1966; Piscuri [Peaks], 1970; Improvizaţii dramatice, 1972; Momente, concertino, 1974; Bătălia cu facle [Battle with Torches], choreographic poem, 1977; Cântec înalt [High Song], choreographic poem, 1983

Chbr and solo inst: Variaţiuni pe o temă populară din Bihor [Variations on a Popular Theme from Bihor], pf, 1961; Str Qt, 1963; Sonata, vn, pf, 1967; Scherzo-Toccata, pf, 1968; Sonata, va, 1982; Muzică pentru 2 piane şi percuţie, 1983

Choral: Tinereţe [Youth] (M. Dumitrescu), chorus, orch, 1963; Oglindire [Mirroring] (Dumitrescu), 1970; Zi de lumină [Day of Light] (M. Negulescu), chorus, orch, 1974; De doi [Of Twos] (trad. text), 1976; Cântând plaiul Mioriţei [Singing the Realm of the Mioriţa], 1977; Rugul pâinii [The Stake of the Bread] (I. Cranguleanu), chorus, perc, 1977; Balada (I. Melinte), 1978; Pe nimb de vulturi [On a Circle of Vultures] (V. Voiculescu), 1981; Urare de dragoste [Good Wishes for Love] (trad. text), 1983; Iia românească [The Romanian Shirt] (trad. text), 1985; 7 cântece de nuntă [7 Wedding Songs] (trad. text), 1989; Tatăl nostru [Our Father], 1996

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OCTAVIAN COSMA

Odak, Krsto (*b* Siverić, nr Drniš, 20 March 1888; *d* Zagreb, 4 Nov 1965). Croatian composer. After some music lessons, with private teachers, Odak joined the Franciscan order in 1906, and when he arrived in Munich in 1911 to study theology, he continued studies in composition and organ with Hartmann (1912–13). After he left the order, he moved to Prague to study there at the conservatory with Novák (1919–22). He taught at the Zagreb Academy of Music (1922–61). His output, consisting of over 200 works, reflects the aesthetically diverse style typical of Croatian composers influenced by the modernism of the 1900s, the nationalist style prevalent between the two world wars, and the beginnings of the new music in the 1950s. All three stylistic trends are present in his works: the radical polyphony with extended tonality used in his early works, such as *Radosna noć u gradu* ('A Merry Night in the Town') (1922) and the *Madrigal* (first performed at the ISCM, Frankfurt, in 1929), hints of dodecaphony in his String Quartet no.5 (1962), the modality in his two Old Slavonic masses and numerous other sacred vocal compositions written in the period of his String Quartet no.2 (1927, which was well-received when the Amar-Hindemith Quartet performed it at the Festival of Chamber Music in Baden-Baden) and no.3 (1935), a well as the national style of *Dorica pleše* (1933) based on Croatian folklore. His fundamentally romantic Expressionism – outlined already in his op.1, the Violin Sonata (1922), awarded first prize at the diploma concert in Prague – provided a pointer towards polyphonic monumentality reminiscent of Reger and a certain programmatic element in his symphonies, particularly dominant in Symphony no.3 (1961).

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(*selective list*)

Stage: Dorica pleše [Dancing Dorica] (op, 3, D. Vilović), op.18, 1933, Zagreb, 16 April 1934; Konac svijeta [Doomsday] (comic op, M. Fotez), op.40, 1944, unperf.; Majka Margarita [Mother Margaritha] (radio op, 1, V. Rabadan), op.60, 1953, Zagreb, 25 March 1955, staged 9 Feb 1957; Leptirica i mjesec [The Butterfly and the Moon] (ballet), 1958, Zagreb, 18 March 1959

Orch: Svečana uvertira [Solemn ov.], 1930; Sym. no.1 'Simfonija Jadrana' [Adriatic Sym.], op.36, 1940; Herojska uvertira [Heroic Ov.], 1954; Sym. no.2, 'Simfonija brevis', op.52, 1950; Passacaglia no.2, op 63, 1956; Concertino, bn, st, 1958; Sym. no.3, op.72, 1961, Sym. no.4, 1965

Chbr: Sonata, op.1, vn, pf, 1922; Str Qt no.1, op.5, 1923; Str Qt no.2, op.7, 1927; Str Qt no.3, op.30, 1935; Passacaglia, op.35, org, 1937, arr. str, 1938; Sonata, op.37, pf, 1940; Sonata, op.42, fl, pf, 1946; Str Qt no.4, op.64, 1954; Str Qt no.5, 1962

Vocal: Radosna noć u gradu [A Merry Night in the Town] (A.B. Šimić), male chorus, 1922; 3 Psalms, op.6, Bar, chbr ens, 1925; Madrigal, chorus, 1928; Staroslavenska misa [Old Slavonic Mass] no.1, 1928; Radost [Gaiety] (cant.), 1959; motets, songs, choruses, folk rhapsodies

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EVA SEDAK

Oddo. *See* ODO.

Oddone, Carlo Giuseppe (*b* Turin, 7 Nov 1866; *d* Rivodora, nr Turin, 23 Feb 1935). Italian violin maker. He was a pupil of Gioffredo Rinaldi of Turin, for whom he worked from 1878 to 1888. He also worked as a restorer for F.W. Chanot in London from 1889 to 1891, returning to Turin in 1892 where he began to make new instruments in 1894. Except for a brief return to London, he remained in Turin for the rest of his active career. He participated in the Turin Exhibizione of 1898 as an exhibitor, displaying a quartet of instruments. He also exhibited at the Turin Exposizione Internationale of 1911.

Oddone is considered one of the most important violin makers and restorers in Italy during the first half of the 20th century. In all, he made over 244 violins, four violas, 19 cellos and two violas d'amore. They reveal a strong and personal character with precise and accurate craftsmanship. His earlier work reflects a lighter and more graceful approach, favouring the models of Amati, Stradivari and Guarneri as well as occasionally Rocca. After 1900 his work takes on a stronger and more robust character, and incorporates models of Pressenda and the bolder models of Stradivari and Guarneri. The woods used are always of the finest quality. The varnish is usually coloured a deep golden orange, although a reddish brown is sometimes seen. The edges of the scroll and corner joints on the ribs are marked out in black. After 1894 Oddone's instruments each bore his number on the label as well as his brands on the lower rib and frequently on the interior. Among those for whom he made instruments and restorations was Alfred Hill, who held his abilities in high esteem. (*VannesE*)

GABRIELE NEGRI

Ode (from Gk. *ōdē*, from *aeidō*: 'I sing'). In classical antiquity, a poem intended to be sung, usually in honour of some special occasion or as part of a play. Both Greek and Roman ode texts were set to music in the 15th and 16th centuries: some were purely didactic exercises intended to demonstrate poetic metres through mensural notation, while others apparently formed part of the general humanist homage to classical literary style. In the 17th and 18th centuries a cantata-like form called 'ode' was cultivated as a form of panegyric to the English monarch, and it eventually also became a standard part of the annual celebrations of St Cecilia's Day. Neither these odes nor subsequent musical 'odes' have any relation to the form or metres of classical models, although most share a tendency to celebrate particular events, places or men, as did most Greek odes.

1. CLASSICAL ANTIQUITY. In ancient Greece, 'ode' (aoidē, ōdē) was the generic term for either solo or choral song, embracing a wide variety of categories (e.g. HYMN, PAEAN, EPINIKION, THRĒNOS, DITHYRAMB, ENCOMIUM, PROSODION and PARTHENEIA) named according to their functions. Choral lyrics, usually accompanied by dancing, were used at festivals in honour of Apollo or particular cities (hyporchēma and paean), to honour an individual (opinikion or encomium), as processional hymns (praodion or partheneia) and to celebrate Dionysus (dithyramb).

Choral odes are strophic or triadic. In the strophic form, the metres correspond from stanza to stanza, while in the triadic form, two metrically correspondent stanzas (strophe and antistrophe) are followed by an epode employing a contrasting metric pattern. In general, the metre is complex and the tone of the text is elevated. Many of the most important composers of choral odes were from the Dorian states, including such poets as Alcman, Arion, Ibycus, Pindar and Stesichorus, but some, such as Simonides and Bacchylides, came from other regions. Monodic odes, associated with the poets Alcaeus, Anacreon and Sappho, generally exhibit a simpler metric structure with the texts treating the entire range of human experience. Horace's *Odes* and *Epodes* were fashioned after the model of earlier Greek authors, whom Horace specifically names as Sappho and Alcaeus (for the *Odes*) and Archilochus (for the *Epodes*). The Pindaric ode was widely imitated in the English literature of the Augustan age by such poets as Cowley, Dryden and Thomas Gray.

Choral odes were an essential element of early Greek drama, although the importance of the choral element in drama gradually waned as dialogue assumed a more conspicuous place. In tragedy the chorus made its entry after the prologue, processing to the *orchēstra* ('dancing area') while singing the *parodos* (*see* TRAGŌIDIA). It contributed short songs within the *epeisodia*, and odes of considerable dimensions in the *stasima* and *exodos* at the end of the play. Euripides's *Bacchae*, for example, contains five odes, four of them constructed triadically with one

introducing a new element, a refrain linking strophe and antistrophe. The parodos and exodos odes were also features of Greek comedy, which is also distinguished by the *parabasis*, an elaborate musical interlude, occurring roughly in the middle of a comedy, in which the chorus addresses the audience directly on behalf of the poet. *See also* GREECE, §I, 4.

2. HUMANISTIC SETTINGS. Some Horatian odes were set to music in medieval court circles and monastery schoolrooms; several such settings survive, including an 11th-century copy of a Sapphic ode with neumes outlining the hymn melody *Ut queant laxis*. Guido of Arezzo wrote in the *Micrologus* (xv) of metrical performances of classical poetry, probably used for didactic purposes.

It seems likely that 15th-century humanists, such as those who gathered at Marsilio Ficino's Platonic academies, may have improvised sung odes as part of their attempted reconstruction of antique practices. Indeed, Ficino prided himself on his ability to sing Orphic hymns to his own accompaniment on the 'lira' (probably a *lira da braccio*), suggesting the possibility of other attempts to evoke Greek music. It is thought that the mensurally notated melodies illustrating five classical metres printed in Franciscus Niger's *Brevis grammatica* (Venice, 1480) may have been models for such improvisation; indeed, Glarean included a number of monophonic settings of Horatian texts in *Dodecachordon* (ii, 1547), suggesting that successive stanzas ought to be embellished and altered, and recalling a performance of a long classical text he had heard in Cologne in 1508. Some frottola-like settings of classical texts, such as Michele Pesenti's *Integer vitae*, suggest that Italian taste cared little for metrical exactness; but metrically correct settings of Latin odes were nonetheless current in Italian circles. One example is a Sapphic ode by L. Curtius on planetary virtues and powers, set as a quantitatively correct duo by Gaffurius and published in his *De harmonia* (1518).

The connection between the classical ode and musical life was closer in Germany than in any other country. During the 1490s the German humanist Conradus Celtis, lecturing on Horace at Ingolstadt, commissioned a pupil, Petrus Tritonius, to compose four-voice illustrations of the 19 poetic metres in Horace's odes. Tritonius's settings, rather stiff imitations of contemporary Tenorlied style, had the virtue of conforming exactly to the classical metres. They were sung by students at the ends of lectures and were eventually printed, in an expanded form, as *Melopoiae sive harmoniae tetracenticae super XXII genera carminum heroicorum elegiacorum lyricorum et ecclesiasticorum hymnorum* (1507). The collection enjoyed great success in German schools and was reprinted in various forms. In 1534 a new set of odes by Senfl appeared, in which the tenors of Tritonius's compositions were used as superius parts and fitted with new harmonizations. Other collections of Horatian odes, similar in character to those of Tritonius and Senfl but newly composed, include one composed by 'Michael', printed for T. Billican in 1526, and Hofhaimer's *Harmoniae poeticae* (Nuremberg, 1539).

As early as 1495 Latin plays by German schoolmasters included odes. The celebrated *Ludus Dianae* of Celtis, performed in 1501, had choruses in antique metres sung at the end of each act. This use of choral odes became common in school plays on sacred or allegorical subjects, often using or referring to Horatian texts; such plays were performed by German schoolchildren throughout the 16th century and well into the 17th.

The relationship between these choruses and German chorale settings was often very close, especially when the plays were in the vernacular. Indeed, some of Tritonius's ode settings had been taken over into the chorale repertory by the mid-16th century. Early Christian texts in antique metres, such as those by Prudentius, were set by such composers as Agricola, Senfl and Benedictus Ducis, and some psalm texts were recast in Horatian metres for musical performance.

Although Glarean cited a metrically exact melody from an ode by Robert Gaugin, a piece he must have seen in his student days in Paris, no French tradition corresponding to the German cultivation of the ode can be observed. Goudimel provided music for an enormous Pindaric ode by Pierre Ronsard, music and text being published in the *Amours* of 1552–3, and he is known to have published a now lost collection of Horatian odes in 1555, suggesting that the Calvinist psalmody to which he contributed so much may owe something to humanistic concern for classical prosody. The notions of Baïf's and Ronsard's contemporaries about 'musique mesurée à la lyre' are only indirectly related to the 16th-century tradition of metrically exact ode settings, however. Instead, they seem to have been the logical continuation of earlier humanistic efforts to set classical odes, hymns and hexameters (*see* VERS MESURÉS, VERS MESURÉS À L'ANTIQUE). Exact note-for-syllable equivalence was primarily a matter for the classroom and the academy. Occasional settings of classical odes in motet style by Rore and others, along with the Virgil motets of Josquin and Willaert and the precise hexameters of Lassus's *Prophetiae Sibyllarum*, show enough care for declamation to suggest that the humanistic concern shown by academic cultivation of ode composition made a genuine contribution to 16th-century musical thought.

3. THE ENGLISH ODE. This form of extended cantata, originating shortly after the Restoration and remaining in use for at least 160 years, was most often designed as an act of loyalty to a reigning monarch, an act of thanksgiving, or a tribute to St Cecilia. Any relationship to the classical ode is slender beyond the fact that English odes are occasional and sententious works cast in the form of addresses to the object of praise, as well as being stately in structure, lyrical in expression and serious in tone.

(i) The court ode, 1660–1715. The tradition of celebrating personal events in the lives of English monarchs was an old one. It may be linked with the musical tributes offered to Elizabeth I on her progresses, and as early as 1617 Orlando Gibbons composed a 'welcome song' on James I's arrival in Edinburgh, *Do not repine, fair sun.* This work lacked the solo sections characteristic of the Restoration ode, but its resemblance to the contemporary verse anthem anticipated the later form's style. The earliest extant ode text is Ben Jonson's *A New-Yeares-Gift Sung to King Charles, 1635* (adapted from a masque text written in 1620 for James I's birthday); Jonson's panegyric poetry remained a frequent source for ode texts after the Restoration. The title of Thomas Nabbes's masque *A Presentation Intended for the Prince his Highness on his Birthday, the 29 of May, 1638, Annually Celebrated*, for the eighth birthday of the later Charles II, suggests that such celebrations were the rule, although no other examples survive: if the young prince witnessed this

and other such performances, its memory may have prompted his later encouragement of official odes.

Contrary to the general belief, then, the writing of odes was not simply a practice borrowed from the French court; the English custom was in fact established before the French one of including panegyrics of the king in opera prologues, and the independent ode was never known in France. The revival of the ode at the Restoration was prompted by the existing literary tradition, the psychological climate after the Commonwealth, and the coincidence of Charles II's birthday with the date of his return.

The lack of contemporary evidence makes it difficult to trace the ode's history in the 1660s, and in particular to say when odes were initiated. The earliest extant ones seem to be Henry Cooke's *Good morrow to the year* and Locke's *All things their certain periods have*, both probably written for 1 January 1666. Nor is it clear whether the performance of odes on royal birthdays was a regular event; birthday odes account for many of the surviving examples, but there are also 'welcome songs' on a monarch's return to London (mostly from the reign of James II), 'feast songs' for banquets, funeral odes, and odes on coronations, military victories or treaties. (Odes on St Cecilia's Day are discussed below.) It is impossible to say with whom the responsibility for producing odes lay; the writing of the texts and composition of the music does not, until 1715, seem to have been the obligation of particular court functionaries. Most texts before 1715 are anonymous, and neither the poets known to have written the remaining ones (including Flatman, Shadwell, D'Urfey, Sedley, Tate, Motteux, Prior and Wall) nor the composers of the music (Cooke, Locke, Humfrey, William Turner (ii), Blow, Henry and Daniel Purcell, Staggins, Tudway, Clarke, Croft and Handel) held any court position in common. Performances were generally given by the Gentlemen and Boys of the Chapel Royal with the King's Band of 24 violins, supplemented as necessary.

Only ten odes from 1660 to 1680 survive in complete form (one by Locke, three each by Cooke, Humfrey and Blow); each consists of verses for solo or duet (with continuo) and verses for chorus, with instrumental ritornellos. There is some echoing of motifs between successive movements; sometimes entire sections were repeated, as required by the poetic form, and the overture (or parts of it) could be used for ritornellos. Humfrey and Blow favoured the French overture rather than the Italian symphony used by Cooke.

From about 1680 the court ode began to depart from its model and take on more individuality, partly under the influence of Purcell. He and Blow shared responsibility for the provision of court odes: in James II's reign, Purcell provided welcome songs and Blow the birthday and New Year odes, a division that continued into the reign of William and Mary, though Purcell now composed occasional birthday odes. Their odes of this period show a wider range of dramatic effect and more colourful instrumentation; and the use of better vocal soloists (notably the countertenor John Abell and the bass John Gostling) led to the inclusion of virtuoso solo items. Purcell, in fact, widened the ode's expressive range with his use of ritornellos, recurring grounds, motivic relationships and broader tonal planning. The death in 1685 of Charles II, who had exerted a considerable influence on the style of court music, gave the composers a freer hand in the composition of odes; Charles's successors showed little interest in musical matters.

After Purcell's death, and eventually Blow's, the ode tradition was continued by lesser composers, including Daniel Purcell, and John Eccles, who was however capable of some degree of originality. Few odes from this period survive. The most important is Handel's written for Queen Anne's birthday in 1713: italianate in style, it nevertheless shows a marked Purcellian influence. While Handel drew on some of his previous works, including operas and oratorios, for several of its songs, he ended each item with a choral setting of the lines 'The day that gave great Anna birth, Who fix'd a lasting peace on earth'.

(ii) The court ode, 1715–1820. From 1715 to the end of the regency in 1820, the preparation of odes on the royal birthday and the New Year fell to the Poet Laureate and the Master of the King's Music. Texts were written by Rowe, Eusden, Cibber, Whitehead, Warton, Pye and Southey, and music by John Eccles, Greene, Boyce, Stanley and William Parsons. During the reigns of George I and II odes were performed twice a year, except during court mourning or, sometimes, when the day to be fêted fell on a Sunday; in George III's reign, birthday odes were given each year until 1810. Poets were outspoken about their distaste for writing odes; both Thomas Gray and Sir Walter Scott declined the laureateship to avoid the duty, and William Whitehead, Poet Laureate from 1758 to 1785 and the author of at least 50 odes, complained of the position of a poet who, 'oblig'd by sack and pension, Without a subject or invention ... Must some half-meaning disguise And utter neither truth nor lies.'

The works of Greene and his successor as Master of the King's Music, Boyce, are almost the only court odes after 1735 for which both text and music have survived. Both used the standard procedures and the idiom of contemporary dramatic works, like Handel's. Impetus was given to this use of the Handelian model not only by the general popularity of Handel's music but also by the particular enthusiasm for it of George I, II and III. Apart from Boyce's settings of some of Whitehead's longer texts, which are primarily in recitative style, the odes came to be successions of four or five affective arias or solo ensembles, accompanied by a variety of instruments whose choice was related to the text. Both *secco* and *accompagnato* recitative styles were used, and the whole was preceded by a substantial French overture or Italian symphony and concluded with a chorus. The instrumental introductions could make up half the length of the entire ode, and were usually its best music (Boyce published two collections of his overtures). J.C. Bach's single offering to the ode tradition, a birthday ode for Queen Charlotte (consort of George III) in 1762, is noteworthy as an isolated example of an extant ode in the *galant* style.

With the exception of part of Stanley's New Year ode for 1782, none of the music written for odes by Stanley or Parsons has survived, although the texts are available. Surviving descriptions of Stanley's odes suggest that the influence of Handel's dramatic style remained strong, and that the ode consisted of an alternation of recitatives and songs framed by an overture and a chorus. Parsons, the last Master to be burdened with the court ode, was chiefly renowned for his skill and good taste in adapting Handel's music to Pye's poetic texts.

In the early 18th century a parallel tradition of ode writing developed in Ireland, where the birthdays of the

monarch and consort, but not New Year's Day, were celebrated before the Lord Lieutenant (or his deputies) at Dublin Castle. Apart from an ode on Queen Anne's birthday set by Charles Ximenes in February 1707 the first group of works of this sort were by J.S. Kusser, who arrived in Dublin that year and provided his first birthday ode in 1708; over the next 20 years he composed at least 18 birthday offerings. All but the first are described as serenatas, and the frequent use of the term *serenata theatrale* in the surviving librettos (all anonymous), along with elaborate scenic descriptions and the use of characterization, suggest that the works drew heavily on the masque tradition and included dramatic action as well as costumes and scenery. The only serenata by Kusser for which the music has survived is *The Universal Applause of Mount Parnassus*, written for Queen Anne's birthday in 1711, which has a freshness and originality lacking in London court odes of the period.

After his death in 1727 Kusser was succeeded as Master and Composer of State Music in Ireland by Matthew Dubourg, many of whose odes are extant; but all the overtures are lost, and what survives of the music is of little interest apart from some occasionally elaborate violin accompaniments. He was succeeded in turn by Richard Hay and John Crosdill, but the Dublin court ode tradition died out some years before its London counterpart, the last known performance being for Queen Charlotte's birthday in 1794.

(iii) Odes for St Cecilia's Day. The largest single body of odes, besides those for royal birthdays and New Year festivities, was composed for the annual celebration of St Cecilia's Day (22 November), a practice instituted in London by the Musical Society in 1683 and observed for 30 years (except in 1688 and 1689). Thereafter, Cecilian odes continued to be performed sporadically until the end of the 18th century; some were also composed in the 19th and 20th, but not always for performance as part of the traditional celebration (see §4).

The first celebration of St Cecilia's Day was probably held at York Buildings, Villiers Street, which evidently proved too small, for subsequent events were held at Stationers' Hall, where a banquet was followed by the performance of an ode. From 1693 the feast was preceded by a choral service at St Bride's in Fleet Street during which a sermon in defence of church music was usually preached. A contemporary account appeared in the *Gentleman's Journal* (January 1692):

> On that day [22 November] or the next when it falls on a Sunday, ... most of the lovers of music, whereof many are persons are of the first rank, meet at Stationers'-Hall in London, not thro' a principle of superstition, but to propagate the advancement of that divine science. A splendid entertainment is provided, and before it is always a performance of music by the best voices and hands in town; the words, which are always in the patronesses praise, are set by some of the greatest masters in town.

Fishburn, Oldham, Tate, Dryden, Shadwell, D'Urfey, Brady, Congreve, Hughes, and others contributed texts, and the composers included Henry Purcell (1683 and 1692), Blow (1684, 1691, 1695, 1700), Draghi (1687), Finger (1693), Daniel Purcell (1694 and 1698), Clarke (1697) and John Eccles (1701). The odes were performed by leading singers of the day, with a chorus drawn from the choirs of St Paul's Cathedral, Westminster Abbey and the Chapel Royal, and instrumentalists from the King's Band and the theatres. Most texts conform to a common pattern: a conventional opening section praising Cecilia; a contrasting section, often using military imagery to express the chaos preceding the advent of 'heavenly harmony'; and a final section lauding the qualities of individual instruments. The most distinguished texts are Dryden's *From Harmony* (1687, music by Draghi) and *Alexander's Feast* (1697, music by Clarke).

In musical organization and style, the Cecilian odes are similar to the court ones: songs, duets and trios setting descriptive passages, with choruses for the laudatory sections. Draghi's fine setting of Dryden's *From Harmony* did much to expand the expressive range of the Cecilian ode, exploiting the imagery of the text in both the melodic writing and the instrumental accompaniment. His ode undoubtedly influenced Purcell's *Hail! Bright Cecilia* (1692) which, with its unusual formal coherence and consistently high musical quality, was the finest work to emerge from the annual festival. The London feasts inspired numerous provincial concerts on St Cecilia's Day, and newly composed odes were given in Oxford (Daniel Purcell), Hereford (Henry Hall), Winchester (Vaughan Richardson) and elsewhere in England.

During the 18th century regular observance of St Cecilia's Day declined, but the *encomium musicae* continued to provide inspiration for poets, either in the traditional form of an ode in honour of the patron saint (Pope, Lockman) or as a more general ode in praise of music or harmony (Warton, Pye). In this latter form the 'ode to music' retained some popularity with composers. Pope's Cecilian ode was set by Greene, in a modified version, as his Cambridge doctoral exercise in 1730 and later, in its original form, as an Oxford BMus exercise by William Walond. William Boyce wrote a short ode for St Cecilia's Day about 1738 as well as his fine extended setting of John Lockman's *See famed Apollo and the nine* (1739). The poems written by Dryden for the feasts of 1687 and 1697 were set by Handel in 1739 and 1736 respectively (the former having its first performance on 22 November), and towards the end of the 18th century Samuel Wesley made an extended setting of a Cecilian ode by his grandfather that both William Norris and Daniel Purcell had set over a century earlier. Less substantial works in the Cecilian tradition by Pepusch, Alcock, Festing and the Hayeses are extant.

(iv) Odes for academic ceremonial. A separate tradition of ode writing developed at the University of Oxford; in its earliest manifestation, Latin songs performed to accompany the annual academic ceremony known as the Act (*see* ACT MUSIC (ii), it probably predates the court ode. At Cambridge ode performances were much rarer. By 1730, when Gibbs's Senate House was opened, the distinction between different types of ode and their functions was increasingly blurred, a fact underlined by the performance of Greene's doctoral St Cecilia ode as part of the celebrations for the new building. The only odes subsequently composed for Cambridge were Boyce's setting of a text by William Mason for the installation of a new Chancellor in 1749, and John Randall's installation ode of 1769 (now lost), with words by Thomas Gray. In Dublin an early example of an ode for an academic occasion is Purcell's *Great parent, hail* (words by Tate), performed at Christ Church Cathedral in 1694 to celebrate the Trinity College centenary. The Earl of Mornington's ode for the new Chancellor of the university in 1768 appears to have been the only other example.

(v) Other aspects of the 18th-century ode. Court odes inspired similar works in celebration of prominent figures and events of national significance, including Jeremiah Clarke's ode celebrating the victories of the Duke of Marlborough and his so-called 'Barbadoes Song' commemorating a hurricane in the West Indies. Performances for charitable causes formed another strand of the ode tradition (e.g. Boyce's *Ode to Charity*, 1774, and Arne's ode for the Middlesex Hospital, 1775). Other odes for the inauguration of new buildings included those by James Hook (1772) and Samuel Arnold (1785).

Changes in literary taste had a significant influence on the ode as a musical form. Boyce's *Ode in Commemoration of Shakespeare* (first performed 1756) and Arne's setting of words by Richard Garrick for the so-called Shakespeare Jubilee of 1769 reflect the mid-century revival of interest in the Bard. There was a further Shakespeare ode from Samuel Arnold (given at Marylebone Gardens in 1769), but the most striking work of this sort was Thomas Linley's *A Lyric Ode on the Fairies, Aerial Beings, and Witches of Shakespeare*, performed at Drury Lane in 1776. The text, by French Lawrence, reflects the rising romantic mood in English poetry, and Linley responded with fine music to produce one of the most important later examples of the genre.

Other poets influenced by the romantic movement (Gray, William Collins) increasingly wrote lengthy odes that lacked any occasional or topical significance but retained the characteristically rich language and imagery of the form. Such poems attracted many composers, an early example being William Hayes, whose setting of Collins's *The Passions* was first performed in 1750, but it was composers of the next generation (Philip Hayes, William Jackson, Benjamin Cooke and John Wall Callcott) who established a tradition of 'abstract' odes. These are among the most substantial in the ode repertory, with overtures in several movements, extended self-contained vocal sections, elaborate fugal choruses and large-scale accompaniments. Few can be considered *in toto* as musically outstanding, but they frequently demonstrate the composers' imaginative response to the libretto, expressed in vivid word-setting and unusual orchestration.

During the 18th century the term 'ode' came to be applied to a wide variety of works, ranging from strophic songs for solo voice, through works that are in effect cantatas, to settings on the scale of a small oratorio. The development of the public concert towards the end of the 17th century helped to sustain the ode's development and ensured that many occasional pieces first heard in a setting appropriate to the event were repeated in the concert room, the theatre or the pleasure garden. Of the more than 500 odes known to have been composed between 1660 and 1800 well over half have survived in some form.

4. 19TH AND 20TH CENTURIES. The ode hardly lends itself to precise definition as a musical genre in the 19th and 20th centuries. That is partly because poets themselves have not always been discriminating in their use of the term (there is no obvious reason, for example, why Keats's *To a Nightingale* should be called an ode while Shelley's *To a Skylark* is not), and also because during that period there was no unbroken tradition like that of the English court ode. Such late 18th-century publications as *Sei ode di Oratio tradotta in lingua italiana* (London, *c*1775), including settings by J.C. Bach and Antonio Boroni, and *Odes d'Anacréon, ... avec ... odes grecques mises en musique par Gossec, Méhul, Le Sueur et Cherubini* (Paris, 1798) seem to have been isolated examples of the classical revival. Many of the poems originally entitled odes in the 19th and 20th centuries were not so called when set to music, and vice versa. The best known of all musical odes, Beethoven's setting of Schiller's *An die Freude* in the finale of the Ninth Symphony, was not called an ode by Schiller, and although the title-page of the symphony reads *Sinfonie mit Schluss-Chor über Schillers Ode 'An die Freude'*, Beethoven elsewhere referred to the poem in other terms. The settings (in translation) by Tchaikovsky (1864) and Mascagni (1882) are usually called cantatas.

Indeed, there is little to be gained by attempting to separate the ode from the cantata as a musical form in the 19th and 20th centuries; both might be described as substantial works for chorus and orchestra (often with solo voices) on a secular and usually elevated theme. (Brahms's setting of Hans Schmidt's *Sapphische Ode*, like other short odes for voice and piano, belongs to a different genre.) Odes, like cantatas, were frequently written for ceremonial occasions (e.g. Sterndale Bennett's setting of Tennyson's *Ode Written Expressly for the Opening of the Industrial Exhibition*, 1862, and Sullivan's setting of Lewis Morris's *Imperial Institute Ode*, 1887), and the tradition of celebrating the feast of St Cecilia with a specially composed ode was carried on intermittently. Among the many odes of Hubert Parry was a setting of the same *Ode on St Cecilia's Day* by Pope that Maurice Greene and William Walond set in the 18th century. Among the best 20th-century Cecilian odes is Gerald Finzi's *For St Cecilia*, composed to words by Edmund Blunden for the St Cecilia's Day Festival in London in 1947. Britten's unaccompanied *Hymn to St Cecilia* on a text by Auden, though not an ode in title, comes into the same category.

Works such as these were clearly related to the ancient classical odes of Horace and Pindar in so far as the poems they use were expressly written for musical setting. The majority of odes composed during the 19th and 20th centuries, however, were settings of verses not originally intended to be sung. A glance through the works of the major European composers of this period reveals surprisingly few odes (Bizet's *Vasco de Gama* (1859–60) and Debussy's unfinished *Ode à la France* (1916–17) are rather isolated examples), but the poetic form was much cultivated by the English Romantics, and many of their greatest odes attracted composers. Keats's famous *Ode to a Nightingale* was set by Hamilton Harty, Ernest Walker and Richard Walthew, for example, and Holst used the same poet's *Ode on a Grecian Urn* for the slow movement of his Choral Symphony (1923–4). Byron's *Ode to Napoleon* was set for reciter and instruments by Schoenberg in 1942, and Finzi's ambitious setting of Wordsworth's *Ode on the Intimations of Immortality* was written for the Three Choirs Festival at Gloucester in 1950. Finzi omitted two of Wordsworth's stanzas, but his ode is nevertheless one of the longest ever composed. Among later poems must be mentioned the verses of Walt Whitman that were used by Stanford for his *Elegiac Ode* (1884) and by Holst for his *Ode to Death* (1919). Robert Bridges commemorated the bicentenary of Purcell's death in 1895 with an *Ode to Music*, which Parry set in that year as *Invocation to Music*; his own *Ode to Music* (1901) is to words by A.C. Benson. Holst also drew upon Bridges's poem for part of his Choral Fantasia (1930). The ode was not much cultivated after World War II,

perhaps because of its past associations with rather high-flown poetic sentiments and with a tradition of choral writing that many have considered stuffy and outworn.

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MICHAEL TILMOUTH/THOMAS J. MATHIESEN (1), JAMES HAAR (2), ROSAMOND McGUINNESS/TONY TROWLES (3), MALCOLM BOYD (4)

Ōdē (Gk.). In the music and liturgy of the Byzantine rite, the equivalent of 'canticle', a section of biblical poetry other than a psalm forming a regular part of Orthros (the morning Office). *See* CANTICLE, §2; KANŌN; and BYZANTINE CHANT, §10(iii).

Odell. American firm of organ builders. It was founded (as J.H. & C.S. Odell) in 1859 by John Henry Odell (1830–99) and Caleb Sherwood Odell (1827–93) in New York. Before starting their own company, the Odell brothers had worked for Richard Ferris, and for William Robjohn, whom they succeeded. Although the firm's output was never great and was largely confined to the New York area, the Odells are credited with several important inventions, mostly patented during the 1860s and 1870s, including a reversible coupler action, an early combination action and a crescendo pedal. They were also early experimenters with tubular-pneumatic action, for which they obtained patents in 1872 and 1898. Among their more notable instruments were those built for the Fort Street Presbyterian Church, Detroit (1876), and Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church, New York (1893). After the deaths of the founders, the firm was operated for a time by John Henry's son, George Washington Odell, under the name of J.H. & C.S. Odell & Co., and the scope of the company's work gradually narrowed to small organs, rebuilding and maintenance. William Henry Odell, son of Caleb, later operated the company with his sons Caleb H. (*d* 1944) and Lewis C. (*d* 1959); in 1928 the sons relocated the workshop to Mount Vernon, New York. After their deaths the company was run as a maintenance operation by Harry Odell (1919–98, son of Caleb H. Odell), who sold its assets to Anthony R. Meloni & Co. of Portchester, New York, in 1985.

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BARBARA OWEN

Odense. City in Denmark, the country's third largest city, on the island of Fyn. In early times music was taught at the Latinskole, and a town musician was employed. As the city was the winter residence of the landed gentry, a rich theatrical and musical life developed from the end of the 18th century. Visiting opera companies appeared at the Odense Teater (erected 1795, rebuilt 1840 and 1891; new building 1914); concerts were also held at the inn of Herman Kyhn (from the winter season of 1772) and later in the Odense Klub (founded 1780, closed 1801). Passion concerts with oratorios were conducted by the choirmaster of the Latinskole, Johan Jacob Heimeran. From 1813 to 1818 Count Frederik Ahlefeldt-Laurvig's orchestra formed the nucleus of concert life. In 1819 the Musikalske Selskab (Musical Society) was formed, holding subscription concerts in the town hall. The Odense Musikforening (Music Society), founded in 1866, was active over a long period and among other things performed oratorio. In 1880 a 20-man regimental orchestra was established, continuing until 1932 and later continued until 1997 in the Musikkorps Fyn (earlier the Fynske Livregiments Musikkorps). In 1918 the Odense Private Kammermusikforening (from 1920 the Odense Kammermusikforening) was set up. Several attempts were made to establish a permanent city orchestra (e.g. the Filharmonisk Orkester for Fyns Stift, founded 1926); finally in 1946 the Odense Municipal Orchestra (Byorkester) was founded (from 1986 the Odense Symfoniorkester). It performed in the Fyns Forsamlingshus (built 1910; *c*1700 seats) and later in the Odense Koncerthus (inaugurated 1982), which has two halls seating 1300 and 360; the large hall houses an organ by Marcussen with 46 stops. In 1929 the Fynske Musikkonservatorium was established; it has been a national institution since 1972. Fyns Unge Tonekunstnerselskab has performed new music since 1982, for example

at the Musiknytår and Musikhøst festivals. Other ensembles are the Carl Nielsen Kvartetten (formed 1963; known as Fynske Kvartet, 1963–73) and the Fynske Trio (founded 1973; from 1990 called the Lin Ensemble). Opera and operetta were performed occasionally at the Odense Teater, more regularly from 1948. Fynske Opera, founded in 1953, staged a new production annually at the Odense Teater until it disbanded in 1964.

The composer Carl Nielsen was born near Nørre Lyndelse, south of Odense, in 1865 and as a young man worked in the city as a military musician. There is a museum in Odense honouring Nielsen and his wife, a sculptor, and a smaller one at one of his childhood homes, south of the city. In 1982 the first known manuscript of a symphony attributed to Mozart (K16*a*) was found in Odense; it had its modern première there in 1984 and, although the attribution is discredited, is now known as the Odense Symphony.

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CLAUS RØLLUM-LARSEN

Odeon. German record company. Odeon was a trademark of the International Talking Machine Co., founded by Frederick Prescott in Berlin in 1903. In 1911 it was acquired by the German Carl Lindström company, which in turn was bought by Columbia International in 1926. In 1931, after the merger of Columbia and the Gramophone Company, Odeon became part of Electric and Musical Industries (EMI). EMI issued records on a variety of labels, but Odeon remained the main label of the German branch, and even after the merger it operated quite independently. After World War II it took a less prominent role, but EMI was still using the name as a trademark in 2000.

Odeon had international ambitions from the start. By 1906, the company claimed to have made 14,000 different recordings in various parts of the world. The recordings were originally made by engineers sent out from Berlin and pressed in Germany for subsequent export to the country of origin, but later additional factories were established in major markets. In Europe, Odeon had a large popular and classical repertory, with Lilli Lehmann, Emmy Destinn and John McCormack among its artists; in north Africa and Asia it recorded a large number of local artists.

During the 1920s and 30s Odeon was the flagship label of the Lindström company, its prominent artists including Lotte Lehmann, Richard Tauber, Bronisław Huberman, Gregor Piatigorsky, Hermann Abendroth, Hans Knappertsbusch, Otto Klemperer and Willem Mengelberg. The label was well known in most parts of the world, except the UK and North America. In the USA, European Odeon recordings usually appeared on the Columbia and OKeh labels, although a number of releases mainly aimed at the immigrant market appeared on the original label. The Lindström company had an extensive network of local branches and agents in continental Europe and Latin America, including such minor markets as Latvia and Albania. It was also established in most Asian countries, and was among the first record companies to exploit systematically the emerging African record market. It was the company's practice to assign separate catalogue number series for each country.

The total number of Odeon records issued is not known; probably many have been lost. Surviving examples show that in addition to its repertory of classical and popular Western music, the company made an extraordinary number of recordings of the various musical idioms of the world. Its anthology Music of the Orient, compiled from the company's repertory by the musicologist Erich von Hornbostel and issued in an album of 78 r.p.m. records in Germany and the UK during the 1930s, probably represented the first attempt to present in-context recordings of non-Western traditional music to Western audiences.

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PEKKA GRONOW

Odessa. The fourth largest Ukrainian city, it is strategically located at the mouths of the Danube, Dnester, Boh and Dnepr rivers. In 1480 the Odessa territory was captured by Turks, who built a fortress on it. During the Russo-Turkish War (1789), the Russian army and the Zaporozhian Cossacks took the fortress and the settlements, and in 1792 the territory was transferred to Russia under the terms of the treaty of Iaşi. In 1795 it was renamed, from the Turkish Hadzhybei, Odessa. Catherine II decided to develop the town into a large naval and commercial port and trade centre, and, because of its position as 'the southern window to Europe', the city grew rapidly in the second half of the 19th century, soon becoming the major cultural centre of southern Ukraine. Although the dominant language and culture was Russian, a sizeable German and Jewish minority (as well as Greek, Turkish, French and Italian) developed their own distinct cultural forms.

Odessa soon became an important musical centre: the opera house was built in 1810 and the Philharmonic Society was formed in 1839. Italian music was in vogue; Italian opera flourished and the only professional music activity in the city was operatic until in 1831 A.D. Zhilin organized instrumental concerts. It was fashionable at that time to have mixed vocal-instrumental concerts presenting a number of artists on the same evening. This changed with Franz Liszt's first tour of Odessa in 1847, which consisted of six solo concerts. Liszt was followed in 1848 by Henry Vieuxtemps, and in 1852 by A.F. Servais, and Henryk and Józef Wieniawski. Other famous violinists such as Alexander Artôt, Lipiński, Joseph Mayseder and C.-A. de Bériot also visited the city.

Official music instruction began in 1848 with the violin studio of L. Gold. Following reorganizations (first in 1866, then again in 1886), a school was set up in 1897 by the Russian Music Society and on this base the Odessa Conservatory was founded, in 1913. Violin instruction in Odessa became famous for attracting and producing world-class performers: Misha Elman (who studied with A. Fiedemann, 1897–1902), Nathan Milstein and David Oistrakh (who studied with Pyotr Stolyarsky) are just three examples. The conservatory was divided in 1923 into the Odessa Institute of Music and Odessa Music Tekhnikum. In 1928 the schools were combined as the Beethoven Music and Drama Institute. In 1934 the Odessa Conservatory was re-established. Its current name is the A.V. Nezhdanova Odessa State Conservatory. The Conservatory produced many virtuosos, among them Mikhail Goldstein and Emil Gilels. Odessa has also been home to notable composers. In 1858 P.P. Sokal′s′ky settled there, pursuing his activities as composer, critic, ethnographer and music promoter until his death in 1887. In the early years of Soviet Ukraine Mykola Vilinsky and Volodymyr Femelidi achieved prominence, to be succeeded by Konstantin Dankevych (1905–84). Today the principal names are Karmela Tsepkolenko, who also runs a festival in Odessa, and Y. Znatokov (*b* 1926).

The core of Odessa's musical life, and one of the most important musical centres of the tsarist empire, was opera: such composer-conductors as Tchaikovsky, Rubinstein, Rimsky-Korsakov, Nápravník, Arensky and Glazunov, and singers such as Chaliapin, Krusceniski, Sobinov, Caruso, Battistini, Anselmi and Titta Ruffo graced the stage there. The Odessa Russian Opera was founded in 1809. In its early years the theatre featured drama and opera productions, ballets and vaudevilles, in which Russian, Italian and French companies appeared. In 1873 the theatre burnt to the ground; the Viennese architects Fellner and Helmer built a new one between 1884 and 1887. In 1925 fire again damaged the theatre, and the following year it was reopened as the Odes′ky Akademichny Teatr Opery ta Baletu (Odessa Academic Theatre of Opera and Ballet). The next serious reconstruction took place in 1965–7. The Odessa Opera played a major role in the development of Ukrainian opera: two of Lysenko's works received their premières there, *The Drowned Maiden* (1885) and *Natalka Poltavka* (1889). After the reorganization in 1926, when the company became Ukrainian, it began to produce a number of Ukrainian operas, notably *The Break* by Volodymyr Femelidi (1929), *The Golden Ring* by Lyatoshyns′ky (1930), Verykivsky's *The Ensign* (1938) and *Taras Bulba* by Lysenko (1971). During the late 1920s and early 30s, until the advent of socialist realism, productions were often experimental, borrowing as much from cinema as from the theatrical avant garde.

The New Philharmonic, which includes a symphony orchestra, was founded in 1936 and has performed with many notable conductors, including Natan Rakhlin, Yury Temirkanov and Kurt Sanderling. In 1993 the Odessa Philharmonic became the first orchestra from any city in the former USSR, other than Moscow or St Petersburg, to travel to the USA. In 1992 the Venezuelan-American Hobart Earle became its music director.

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VIRKO BALEY

Odington, Walter [Walter Evesham; frater Walterus de Otyngton monachus de Evesham] (*fl* 1298–1316). English musical theorist and scientist. His treatise on music, the *Summa de speculatione musice*, is the most systematic and comprehensive English work of its period. It exists in a complete version, *GB-Ccc* 410, and a recently discovered major fragment, *Lbl* Add.56486(A). The *Summa* was a significant source for later English theory including the *Regule* of Robert de Handlo, the *Breviarium* of Willelmus and the *Quatuor principalia* of John of Tewkesbury, and it continued to be copied into the 15th century. Odington further explored the Quadrivium in treatises on arithmetic, geometry and astronomy. His alchemical treatise, the *Ycocedron*, seems to have been the most widely disseminated of his works.

The scarcity of direct biographical evidence has led to misattribution and misdating of Odington's work. Bishop Bale, writing in 1557, assigned the scientific works to 'Odingtonus', whom he dated *c*1280, and the musical treatise to 'Gualterus de Evesham', dated *c*1240. As a result, Burney, Fétis, Coussemaker and Eitner variously placed the *Summa* between 1217 and 1240. A 'Walter de Evesham' documented between *c*1331 and 1346 as a Fellow of Merton College, Oxford, has also been wrongly identified with Odington. (It is possible, however, that he may have been the author of the works ascribed to 'Walter Evesham'.) On the evidence of Odington's own words we know that he was a monk of Evesham, a Benedictine abbey near Worcester. In the minutes of a Benedictine chapter general in 1298 he is named as a member of a committee for the administration of Gloucester College, a Benedictine college at Oxford for monks of the Canterbury province. It may have been here that 'Walter Evesham ... made his deliberations at Oxford *c*1316AD', as William of Worcester noted in 1463.

The *Summa de speculatione musice*, as its title suggests, is a comprehensive work, logically organized and firmly based upon recognized authorities. As a work of 'speculation' upon music it treats the mathematical bases of the art as prerequisites for the exposition of practical music. Like Hieronymus de Moravia, whose compilation resembles Odington's treatise in scope, Odington drew freely on the standard medieval sources: Boethius (*De institutione arithmetica*, *De institutione musica*), Isidore of Seville (*Etymologiarum*) and Cassiodorus. Of more recent writers, Adelard of Bath and Ibn Sīnā are cited, and an important passage seems to derive from the earlier 13th-century Johannes de Garlandia, perhaps through Hieronymus de Moravia. Unlike Hieronymus, Odington assimilated his borrowings into the logical framework of the *Summa*.

Part i of the treatise deals with arithmetic, the study of numbers in itself. Following Boethius's *Arithmetica*, it explains the possible relationships between unequal numbers (multiple, superparticular, superpartient) and the possible means between numbers (arithmetic, geometric and harmonic). Part ii, based on the *Musica* of Boethius, considers music as understood in the classical sense of number related to sound, or what we would term harmonics. Intervals, consonances and the comma are considered in terms of their mathematical demonstration. In the course of this discussion it is observed that the major and minor 3rds, since they approach the ratios of

5:4 and 6:5, are sometimes considered consonances, and are in performance altered to mathematically perfect consonances.

Part iii, 'On the construction of musical instruments', is not a handbook for the craftsman but a demonstration of the harmonic relationships presented in the previous chapter in the proportions of the monochord, organ pipes and bells. Part iv, based on Isidore's discussion of poetic metres, employs the same numerical relations outlined in the first part to enumerate the proportional relationships between the two parts of a metrical foot.

While these four sections of the treatise serve the *musicus* or theorist, the last two chapters are designed for the practising musician, and their models are closer to hand. Part v is a chant treatise and tonary – a genre stretching from Aurelian of Réôme through Guido to the *Lucidarium* of Marchetto da Padova. There are tables of notes and ligatures and an explanation of the hexachord system. The tonary, apparently derived from the Sarum *Tonale*, which forms the bulk of the chapter, describes and illustrates each of the eight ecclesiastical modes.

Part vi is a discant treatise on the lines of the treatises of Johannes de Garlandia and Franco. The opening section on notation falls in the late Ars Antiqua tradition, reflecting English developments just prior to the innovations of the early 14th-century Johannes de Garlandia reported by Handlo in the *Regule*. It describes the *duplex longa, longa, brevis, semibrevis* (divisible into three *minute ... quasi minime seu velocissime*), plicas, the rules of perfection and alteration, ligatures and the notation of the rhythmic modes. In discussing modal notation it is stated that 'among the early composers of organum the long had only two beats as in meters, but afterward it was brought to perfection, to consist of three tempora'. Some writers have interpreted this to mean that binary modes preceded ternary ones. In fact, it merely refers to the earliest rhythmic modes, I and II, both ternary modes in which a two-beat long alternated with a one-beat breve. In more modern rhythmic notation, the dot has not replaced the short stroke as a *signum divisionis* between *brevis* values; rather, a small circle (*parvulus circulus*) replaces the stroke where the *brevis* is divided into more than three *semibreves* and in hockets of *semibreves* and their rests (dividing the *brevis* in three), where the stroke might be mistaken for a rest.

The chapter concludes with a description of the categories of polyphonic composition: organum purum, rondellus, conductus, copula, motet and hoquetus. This section is also illustrated by numerous musical examples, some of them occurring in continental motet collections, others presumably original. The triplum of one motet on the tenor *Agmina* is found elsewhere only in Handlo's *Regule*. The rondellus technique described and illustrated by a unique three-voice setting, *Ave mater domini*, is not that of the polyphonic rondeau but rather a distinctive constructivist device of English polyphony of the later 13th century.

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FREDERICK HAMMOND/PETER M. LEFFERTS

Odissi. A classical Indian dance genre of Orissa. *See* INDIA, §IX,1(iii).

Odo [Oddo]. The name of several medieval musicians whose identity has been confused. A tonary and treatise of the late 10th century attributed to 'Abbot Odo' may be regarded as the work of an Abbot Odo of Arezzo (see §2), rather than Abbot Odo of Cluny, composer of hymns and antiphons (§1).

A *Dialogus* on music has been attributed to the latter, but it is more probably an anonymous treatise of north Italian provenance (§3). Another tonary, probably of Franciscan origin, has also been wrongly attributed to 'Abbot Odo' (§1), and a simple monk of Cluny named Odo has been confused with Abbot Odo of Cluny (§1). A further tonary, *De modorum formulis*, dating from the 11th century, is an anonymous work showing the influence of Odo of Arezzo and the *Dialogus* (§4).

1. ODO OF CLUNY. Odo, Abbot of Cluny, was born in the Maine in 878/9 and educated by Remigius of Auxerre. He succeeded Berno (*d* 927), the first abbot of Cluny, and died at Tours on 18 November 942. Besides sermons and biblical commentaries, he wrote three hymns (*Rex Christe Martini decus*, *Martine par apostolis* and *Martine iam consul poli*) and 12 antiphons for the monastic Office of St Martin on 11 November (AH, l, 1907/*R*, pp.264–8; ed. J. Szövérffy, *Die Annalen der lateinischen Hymnendichtung*, i, Berlin, 1964, pp.320–23). Odo's authorship of these hymns and antiphons was attested by his first biographer, John, who noted that they were still sung at Benevento ('retinentur hactenus Beneventi', *PL*, cxxxiii, 48*c*).

Although these antiphons are not found in the antiphoner of St Lupo at Benevento (CAO, ii, no.116), the complete series survives in the noted Cluny breviary (*F-Pn* lat.12601, f.153) and in French and Italian Cluniac antiphoners (*Pn* lat.12044, f.203*v*; *I-Rc* 54, f.74*v*–75). They were subdivided into three phrases with cadences ('ternas per singulas habentes differentias'). The antiphon *O beatum pontificem* (CAO, iii, no.4002) quoted in the anonymous *Dialogus* falsely attributed to Odo (*GerbertS*, i, 256), there said to have been corrected musically by 'Abbot Odo', is not one of these antiphons but is a part of the ancient Gregorian repertory.

The likelihood of Odo's authorship of the *Dialogus* (*GerbertS*, i, 252ff, attributed in several manuscripts to 'Odo' or 'Odo abbas') is further reduced by the fact that his first two biographers (*De viris illustribus*, *PL*, clx, 573) did not list it among his works; neither did it survive among the writings of the abbots of Cluny even though the abbey library was scrupulously maintained during the 12th century (see L. Delisle: *Le cabinet des manuscrits de la bibliothèque impériale*, ii, Paris, 1874, p.469, nos.300–14).

The various tonaries falsely attributed to 'Abbot Odo' (see Huglo, *Les tonaires*, 1971, pp.183–5) include a 14th-century *Intonarium a domno Odone abbate diligenter examinatum et ordinatum* (*F-SDI* 42: *CoussemakerS*, ii, 117–49). However, the prologue of this tonary borrows from the Franciscan ruling of before 1254 concerning noted chant books (see M. Huglo: 'Règlement du XIIIe siècle pour la transcription des livres notés', *Festschrift Bruno Stäblein*, ed. M. Ruhnke, Kassel, 1967, pp.121–33) and quotes an antiphon of St Francis; it is, therefore, of Franciscan origin (see Huglo, *Les tonaires*, 184).

Before he was elected abbot, Odo had discharged the functions of *magister scholae*. Another monk also called Odo, but a simple deacon ('Oddo levita'), was the *scholae cantorum magister* at Cluny in 992 (see A. Bruel, ed.: *Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de Cluny*, iii, Paris, 1884, p.145).

2. ODO OF AREZZO. A tonary with a discussion of the modes is preserved in about 20 manuscripts, of which four specifically attribute the composition of the text to 'the religious lord Abbot Oddo who was skilled in the art of music'. The Proper chants in the tonary, with their frequent references to Bishop Donatus of Arezzo, indicate that this 'Abbot Oddo' compiled his work at Arezzo in the late 10th century. Although several different versions of the text exist, some of them originating in monasteries considerably distant from the city, the association with Arezzo is evident even in those versions that show substantial modification (see Huglo, *Les tonaires*, 1971, pp.223–4).

The prologue to the tonary, 'Formulas quas vobis' (*GerbertS*, i, 248–9), is contained in only six tonaries, all of central or southern Italian origin; three of these contain ascriptions to Odo. The lack of ascription to Odo in the other sources does not mean that he was not the author: successive revisers of his work would not necessarily name the original author of the text. The work is given no title in the extant manuscripts and its initial word, 'Formulas', suggests a description of modal formulae rather than specifying a tonary. However, several treatises by GUIDO OF AREZZO use phrases such as 'formulae modorum/tonorum/super tonos' and 'in modum formulis', or simply the word 'toni', to refer to a tonary, unlike 'regulae' which, unqualified, could signify a treatise on music theory. Merkley's contention that the prologue might be a later accretion is based on the announced intention of the prologue to reform the modal assignments of the chants and the subsequent demonstration that the antiphon *O beatum pontificem* (cf §1 above) should be classified as tone 1 rather than tone 2 and assigned to *differentia* 7 (see Merkley, 31). Although this emended tonal designation is followed in several Italian tonaries and one from southern France (*F-Pn* lat.7185), all of them associated with the prologue (or vice versa), none assigns the majority of its antiphons in the same melodic class as *O beatum pontificem* to *differentia* 7. The emendation itself, however, was transmitted into the 12th century as the prototype of the 'revised' modal formula in the *De modorum formulis* tonary (see §4 below). The number of *differentiae* in the prologue in *I-MC* Q318, pp.125–7 (*GerbertS*) agrees in each of the eight tones with the tonary that follows in the same manuscript.

The surviving sources of the tonary fall into three classes (see Huglo, *Les tonaires*, 186–204): (1) versions of the text containing only minor modifications of the original, for example, *I-MC* Q318 (first tonary), the earliest dated in this group; (2) interpolated versions; and (3) texts deriving from (1) but which do not form a single textual family and contain numerous modifications that distance them from both (1) and (2). The texts of the surviving sources are too disparate and too heavily modified (notably in tones 2, 4 and 5) for a faithful reconstruction of Odo's original text to be tenable, although a comparison of the extant manuscripts would provide some idea of what he might have written. Merkley has suggested that each version of the text may have followed its own individual and independent path, thereby invalidating both the construction of *stemmata* for the tonary and its prologue and the positing of a tonary archetype (Merkley, 32, 56). He does not, however, take into account the existence of 'active texts' (Huglo, 1979, p.309) – those used primarily for instruction and modified at the discretion of the *magister* – such as the theory manuscript of Martin Bodmer (*CH-CObodmer* 77), which is swollen with magisterial accretions.

Both *I-MC* Q318 (first tonary) and *Fs* (see Huglo, *Les tonaires*, pl.III) contain the ascription to Odo, the former proposing to assign antiphons to *differentiae* under their respective modal 'formulae' – presumably the *echemata*. Merkley has approached a reconstruction of the original text by examining seven large representative Italian tonaries and comparing the classification in them of Office antiphons according to their respective *differentiae* with the assignment in the first tonary of *MC* Q318 (see Merkley, 161–236). His analysis shows that the correspondence is greatest – a total of 423 antiphons – in the two tonaries bearing Odo's name. Next in order of compatibility, with 73 correspondences, is *GB-Ob* 25, from central Italy near the Beneventan zone (Huglo, *Les tonaires*, 197), followed by *CH-CObodmer* 77, *I-Fn* conv.soppr. F III 565, *Lc* 603 and *MC* Q318 (second tonary), which includes the tonus peregrinus. From this examination of successive versions of the tonary, it is clear that although the original Odonian text has undergone substantial revision, it has nevertheless survived in the distribution of the majority of the antiphons to the 41 *differentiae* proposed by Odo.

3. THE ANONYMOUS 'DIALOGUS'. A *Dialogus* on music is attributed in a dozen manuscripts as in Gerbert's edition (*GerbertS*, i, 252–64) to Odo. This treatise, compiled in the province of Milan, came to bear this attribution because the author mentioned that Abbot Odo had corrected the antiphon *O beatum pontificem* for modal reasons; an Italian or German copyist then came wrongly to ascribe the whole treatise to Odo (see Huglo, 1969). The Odo in question here is in fact Odo of Arezzo rather than Odo of Cluny. (See also §1.)

The *Dialogus* (partial Eng. trans. in *StrunkSR1*, 103–16) consists of 18 chapters and deals with the division of the monochord (1–2), the intervals (3–5) and the modal system (6–18). This treatise is one of the earliest datable documents using the term 'gamma' with reference to the monochord, although it occurs in the *Musica enchiriadis* (late 9th century) as the name of the lowest note of the gamut (*gamma ut*; see Meyer, p.xxix). The active diffusion of the monochord measurement of the *Dialogus* was widened by its association in manuscripts that circulated Guido's texts, and its ascending progression through two successive tones was continually adopted into, for example, organistrum tuning (Meyer, pp.xlii, lviii). Another treatise, *Musicae artis disciplina* (*GerbertS*, i, 256ff), shares much of the content of the *Dialogus* and is regarded by Oesch as an earlier version.

In nine of the manuscripts, the *Dialogus* is preceded by a prologue (*GerbertS*, i, 251–2; ed. Huglo, 'Der Prolog', 1971, pp.138–9). This had a separate origin and was apparently composed for an antiphoner with alphabetic notation, only later coming to be attached to the anonymous *Dialogus*. Guido of Arezzo drew on this prologue for his *Prologus in antiphonarium* and even for the prologue to his *Micrologus*.

4. 'DE MODORUM FORMULIS'. The anonymous tonary known as *De modorum formulis* (ed. Brockett), composed during the second half of the 11th century, shows the influence of the work of Odo of Arezzo and the anonymous *Dialogus de musica*, which was closely associated with Guido of Arezzo (*b c*990) though not written by him. *De modorum formulis* probably originated in central Italy and subsequently spread northwards. The untitled preface to the tonary, 'Vocum modus' (Brockett, 46–56), is known to have been preserved in five sources: the manuscript at St Blasien, now lost, that Gerbert used in his preparation of the text (*GerbertS*, ii, 37*a*–40*b*, there attributed to Guido); *F-Pn* lat.10508 (*CoussemakerS*, ii, 78*a*–81*a*; published without the figure); *I-MC* 318, pp.208–14 (see Brockett, pl.I), in which it is widely separated from Odo of Arezzo's prologue 'Formulas quas vobis' on p.127; *Fl* Ashb.1051, ff.67*r*–68*r*; and *CH-CObodmer* 77, ff.109*v*–111*r*. The last three sources are fragmentary.

The rationale of music theory found in the prologue was influenced by Remigius of Auxerre's commentary on book 9 of the *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* of Martianus Capella and by the works of Guido of Arezzo, especially the *Micrologus* (*c*1030; see esp. chaps.6, 8, 12 and 16) and the *Epistola de ignoto cantu directa* (also known as *Epistola ad Michaelem*; *GerbertS*, ii, 43–50; see Brockett, 7–17, 19, 21). The most Guidonian aspects of the prologue are the designation of *differentiae* ('formulae' in the text) in relation to the initial pitches of the chant (*differentiae* with melodies higher than the initial pitch are classified as *praepositivae*; those that are equal are termed *appositivae*; and those that are lower are *suppositivae*) and the categorization of chant melodies accordingly within each of the eight tones. Guido's terminology – *praepositae*, *appositae* and *suppositae* – was almost identical to that of the prologue and was adopted in the following tonary; however, Guido's designation of two further categories of 'motions of notes', namely the *interpositae* and *mixtae*, are not used in the tonary.

The author of the *De modorum formulis* differs from Guidonian theory in his use of a three-tetrachord complex – *mediae* (*finales*), bordered by *graves* and *acutae* – adapted to the eight tones; the *Micrologus* (chap.11) employs a four-tetrachord standard, including the *superacutae*. The author also uses C rather than Guido's A as the orientation pitch. Such differences and the paucity of evidence linking Odo with the work makes it unlikely that he was the author of *De modorum formulis*. However, the correspondence between the prologue and the tonary suggests that they were originally intended to be together.

The tonary (Brockett, 57–128) is identified in precisely those sources designated in class (2) above (see §2): *F-Pn* lat.10508 (*CoussemakerS*, ii, 81*a*–109*b*, but with misinterpretations and inaccuracies); *GB-Ob* Digby 25; *I-Rvat* Reg.lat.1616; *GB-Lbl* Add.10335 (lacking tones 1 and 2); the St Blasien manuscript, no longer extant, used by Gerbert (*GerbertS*, ii, 41*a*–*b*), which contained only the introduction leading up to the formula of tone 1. These sources are remarkably consistent in their assignments of *differentiae* and the ordering of antiphons within each category, but they diverge considerably from the ordering characteristic of class (1). For example, in the longest list of antiphons – which occurs in tone 1, *differentia* 1 – the sources containing the *De modorum formulis* (class 2) all present a similar order of antiphons, although the total number of chants varies; the manuscripts with the two Odonian texts (class 1) disagree radically with the class 2 sources and with each other (see Brockett, 163–5). A process of codification appears to have occurred between the 11th and 12th centuries that produced the more consistent list of the *De modorum formulis*.

The treatment of the *differentiae*, which are described in the prefaces to each tone and notated in the tonary proper, respects to a certain extent the tradition transmitted by Odo of Arezzo's tonary and its preface 'Formulas quas vobis'. The discrepancies probably result from the arbitrary categorizations that situate them above, below, or apposite with the antiphon intonation; they occur in tones 2, 4 (with six *differentiae*, but its preface stating nine), 5, 7 and 8 (with four *differentiae*, but the preface delineating six). Tone 1 appends three additional *differentiae*, evidently for the adjustment of dubious assignments to this tone; tone 2 appends one, perhaps intended to accommodate antiphons intoned and terminating on the upper 5th like its specimen. The tonary contains 689 Office antiphons, 146 introits, 97 communion antiphons, 11 responsories and 9 responsory verses (Brockett, 162).

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MICHEL HUGLO (1, 3), CLYDE BROCKETT (2, 4)

O'Donnell, Bertram Walton (*b* Madras, 1887; *d* Belfast, 20 Aug 1939). English conductor and composer of Irish descent. He grew up with military bands; his father and brothers Percy and Rudolph all conducted them, embracing between them Army, Royal Marines and RAF. O'Donnell was in the Marines at Portsmouth (1917–23) and Deal, but most notably conducted the BBC (Wireless) Military Band, formed in August 1927 and which survived until 1943, latterly under his brother Percy. It inspired, besides his own and others' arrangements of classical works, some original music including Holst's *Hammersmith* (1931).

Curiously the band's programmes included little of O'Donnell's own music yet this was brilliantly inventive and, for its time, harmonically adventurous. The *Two Irish Tone Sketches* and *Songs of the Gael* draw upon his links with Ireland, while *Three Humoresques* may derive from Jane Austen. These, with *Woodland Sketches*, were

later arranged for orchestra. Other pieces were originally orchestral, such as the modestly astringent *Miniature Suite*, and in these his writing for strings shows an understanding of resources beyond those of the military band. O'Donnell died two years after becoming head of the BBC Northern Ireland Region. His work is discussed in P.L. Scowcroft: *British Light Music: a Personal Gallery of Twentieth-Century Composers* (London, 1997).

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Orch: Miniature Suite; The Irish Maiden; Minuet; Fragment for Strings; Three Humoresques; Woodland Sketches

Other inst: A Slumber Song, vn/vc, pf (1911); 2 Lyric Poems, pf (1914): When the Sun is Setting, Before the Dawn

PHILIP L. SCOWCROFT

Odorannus of Sens [Odoramnus Senonensis] (*b c*985; *d* 1046). Theorist and composer. Professed as a monk of St Pierre-le-Vif at Sens, Odorannus was trained in metal-working, sculpture and mechanics. His monastic observance seems to have been a constant reproach to his slacker brethren, whose enmity forced him to retire to St Denis from 1022 to 1023. He returned to his monastery in triumph, and in 1028 was commissioned by King Robert and Queen Constance to make a reliquary for the relics of St Sabinian and subsequently one for those of St Potentian. He commemorated those saints in an account of the translation of their relics and in the composition of an Office in their honour. The Office and Odorannus's theoretical writings are preserved in an autograph manuscript (*I-Rvat* Reg.lat.577), once the property of Queen Christina of Sweden. His theoretical writings (ed. M.E. Duchez and M. Huglo, *Odorannus de Sens: Opera omnia*, iv–v, Paris, 1972) include a tonary, which apparently influenced other theorists, and two treatises consituting a practical guide to the performance of plainchant and a summary of the theory of musical pitch before the acceptance of Guido of Arezzo's reforms. He also wrote on other aspects of the liturgy, as well as history, canon law and scripture.

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FREDERICK HAMMOND/R

Odoyevsky, Prince **Vladimir Fyodorovich** (*b* Moscow, 1/13 Aug 1804; *d* Moscow, 27 Feb/11 March 1869). Russian author and writer on music. Best known for his short stories, he was also the first significant Russian music critic. After attending the Noble Boarding School attached to Moscow University, he worked in several branches of government, initially in Moscow, then from 1826 in St Petersburg and from 1862 again in Moscow. His unusual range of interests – from the natural sciences to education, from social organization to anatomy – made him an invaluable employee, and brought him a wide circle of acquaintance which included almost every important figure in Russian literature from Pushkin (whom he knew well) to Turgenev and Tolstoy; the poet and Decembrist A.I. Odoyevsky was his cousin. An early fascination with philosophy drew him to German idealism and particularly Schelling. His prose writings include satires on contemporary life and tales of the fantastic as well as the futuristic *The Year 4338*. The collection *Russian Nights*, published in 1844, draws together stories and philosophical studies previously issued separately, including two musical stories, *Beethoven's Last Quartet* (1831) and *Sebastian Bach* (1835).

Odoyevsky's career in literature ended with the publication of *Russian Nights*, after which he immersed himself in charitable works; but his early involvement in music continued until the end of his life. He contributed reviews to periodicals and entries to encyclopedias; he sought to influence musical life through contacts in high society and the world of musicians (Glinka was among his close friends); and he kindled in others his own enthusiasms, whether for the phenomena of acoustics, ancient Russian church music, Russian folksong, choral singing using Chevé notation, or the enharmonic piano. Odoyevsky revered Bach, Mozart and Beethoven, and was hostile to modern Italian opera, partly because of its hold over fashionable society and its predominance in Russian theatres. He was a champion of Russian music, especially of the works of Glinka, whose *A Life for the Tsar* he acclaimed in 1836 as the beginning of a new period in musical history, 'the age of Russian music'. In 1850 he included three Glinka premières in an orchestral concert for whose programme he was responsible. Following visits to Russia by Berlioz (in 1847 and 1867) and Wagner (in 1863) he wrote articles enthusiastically promoting their music.

At a time when musically knowledgeable criticism barely existed in Russia, Odoyevsky's writings were informed by his experience as a pianist, organist and composer (one of his piano works, *Berceuse*, was edited and published by Balakirev in 1895) and by the breadth of his interests. The creation of a chair in the history of Russian church music at the new Moscow Conservatory was a tribute to Odoyevsky's research in that field and to his view that the intellectual aspects of music should not be overwhelmed by the study of the mechanics of performance.

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STUART CAMPBELL

Odstrčil, Karel (*b* Valašské Meziříćí, 5 August 1930; *d* Prague, 21 May 1997). Czech composer. While studying at the University of Mining in Ostrava he took private lessons in the piano, conducting and composition as well as conducting the University Music Ensemble of Ostrava. He then taught at the Secondary Technical School in Příbram and continued his composition studies with Klement Slavický for several years (1957–63). The première of his orchestral work *451° Farenheita* in 1964 led to him being recognized as one of the most significant Czech composers. His richly inventive music incorporates various avant-garde techniques while his experience as a technician deeply affected the development of his electro-acoustic works. He was a co-founder of the first Czech electro-acoustic studio in Plzeň; he also worked with the Via Lucis group based in Brno which attempted to visualize music using laser lights. From 1990 until his death he was president of the Society for Electro-Acoustic Music. He founded the international competition for the creation of electro-acoustic works, Musica Nova.

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MOJMÍR SOBOTKA

O'Dwyer [Dwyer], **Robert** (*b* Bristol, 27 Jan 1862; *d* Dublin, 6 Jan 1949). Irish conductor and composer. Born Robert Dwyer of Irish parentage in Bristol, he was a leading voice in the movement to establish a distinctive, nationalistic school of Irish composition. He began his career in 1891, first conducting the Carl Rosa Opera Company and later touring with the Rousbey Opera Company until 1896. He settled in Dublin in 1897 where he held various posts as organist, conductor, composer and teacher. As a critic, O'Dwyer contributed to the influential periodical *The Leader*, a publication that may have honed his strong nationalistic views. Sympathetic with the aims of the broad cultural movement known as the Gaelic revival, he found a further outlet for nationalistic expression with the creation of the Gaelic League's Oireachtas Choir (1902). He subsequently became the choir director. The opera *Eithne*, his major work, was written for the annual Oireachtas festival in 1909. Thomas O'Kelly's libretto was later translated into Irish, gaining the work particular attention as the first opera to employ an Irish text. Largely on the strength of the opera's success, O'Dwyer was appointed chair of Irish music at University College, Dublin, a part-time post sponsored by Dublin Corporation. He held this appointment until his retirement in 1939.

JOSEPH J. RYAN

Odyssey. A duophonic SYNTHESIZER manufactured by ARP Instruments in Newton Highlands, near Boston (later in nearby Newton and Lexington), from 1971 until the company's demise in 1981. *See* ELECTRONIC INSTRUMENTS, §IV, 5(ii).

Oede de la Couroierie [Eude de Carigas; Odo de Corigiaria; Odon de Paris; Odon de Saint-Germain] (*d* 1294). French trouvère. He acted as a *clerc* to Count Robert of Artois. In this capacity his activities, which often included delicate diplomatic missions, were documented from 1270 until his death in 1294. His will, registered in June of that year, provided for the maintenance of his mistress and two illegitimate daughters in addition to his widow and her three children. In the documents he is referred to as Odon de Paris and Odon de Saint-Germain; this indicates that although he spent most of his working life in Artois he was probably born in the Ile-de-France.

The five songs attributed to him are of interest largely because they are all modelled on songs by older trouvères; two are based on a song of Gace Brulé, who was active at the turn of the 13th century; a third is set to the melody of a song by Blondel de Nesle, who lived in the second half of the 12th century; a song by a near contemporary, Raoul de Soissons, was the source for yet another.

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Ma derreniere veul fere en chantant, R.321, T xiii, 1175/2 [modelled on: Raoul de Soissons, 'Rois de Navarre et sire de virtu', R.2063]
Tout soit mes cuers en grant desesperance, R.215, T ii, 135/2 (modelled on: Gace Brulé, 'Desconfortés plain d'ire et de pesance', R.233]
Trop ai longuement fait grant consirvance, R.210, T v, 359/2 [modelled on: Blondel de Nesle, 'A l'entrant d'esté', R.620]

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For further bibliography *see* TROUBADOURS, TROUVÈRES.

ROBERT FALCK

Oeglin, Erhard (*b* Reutlingen; *d* ?Augsburg, *c*1520). German printer. In 1491 he became a citizen of Basle, where he served his printer's apprenticeship. He was registered at the University of Tübingen in 1498 and joined the printer Johann Otmar, also a native of Reutlingen, with whom he moved to Augsburg in 1502. Here he printed works on a variety of subjects, some in collaboration with Otmar, some with Georg Nadler and some alone. They include several publications commissioned by Emperor Maximilian I.

In music Oeglin is known mainly for two collections: the four-part settings of 22 Latin odes by Petrus Tritonius (1507) and a group of 42 German songs and six Latin texts, also set for four voices (RISM 1512[1]). Of a further collection of 68 German songs only the discant partbook survives (*c*1513[3]). The books of German songs include the works of such composers as Isaac, Hofhaimer and Senfl, all associated with Maximilian's court, and thus reflect the court's musical repertory. An excellent craftsman, Oeglin was the first German printer to use Petrucci's technique of multiple impression, although he reduced it to double impression by printing the lines and notes together. The songbooks are decorated with woodcuts by Hans Burgkmair.

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music only

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MARIE LOUISE GÖLLNER

Oe'Harahap, Irwansyah. *See* HARAHAP, IRWANSYAH.

Oehler, Oskar (*b* Annaberg, Erzgebirge, 2 Feb 1858; *d* Berlin, 1 Oct 1936). German woodwind instrument maker and clarinettist. He developed the clarinet of the German-speaking world to its modern state; this model is thus known as the Oehler system clarinet. His excellent instruments were still prized at the end of the 20th century. Oehler was trained as an organ builder and clarinettist, and set up a woodwind instrument making workshop in Berlin in 1887. For the clarinet he devised additional venting, making the tone and intonation of the Baermann clarinet more even, and designed a mechanism that enabled his new vent keys to operate extremely reliably and with very little additional work from the fingers (the 28 tone-holes of the Oehler system clarinet are controlled by the same number of keys as the 22 tone-holes of the Baermann system instrument). The mechanism for properly venting the forked *b♭/f″* on the right hand is particularly complex, and Oehler worked through several versions before arriving at one that is reliable and effective in all three registers of the clarinet. He is also credited with the idea of making the table of the clarinet mouthpiece slightly concave, a design that ensured (especially in the case of a wooden mouthpiece) a good seal against the reed. Several important makers, most notably F. Arthur Uebel (1888–1963), and also Ludwig Warschewski (1888–1950), served apprenticeships with him and spread his ideas. Oehler was also a distinguished orchestral clarinettist whose last post was in the Berlin PO (1882–8).

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NICHOLAS SHACKLETON

Oehlschlägel [Oehlschlegel, Oelschlegel], **Franz Joseph** [Lohelius, Joannes] (*b* Lahošť, nr Duchcov, Bohemia, 31 Dec 1724; *d* Strahov, Prague, 22 Feb 1788). Bohemian composer, choirmaster, organist and organ builder. He was a church organist first in Bohosudov and from about 1741 in Prague. After finishing his philosophical studies he joined the Premonstratensian order in August 1747, taking the name Joannes Lohelius, under which most of his music was written. His earliest autographs date from about 1755. Besides serving as choirmaster of the monastic churches at Milevsko (1749–50) and at Strahov (from November 1756), he spent 15 years rebuilding the Strahov church organ, making it one of the best and largest in Bohemia at the time (Mozart tested and admired it in autumn 1787); he also designed the organ of the Barnabite monastic church of St Salvator in Prague.

Oehlschlägel was a pupil of J.A. Sehling and Franz Habermann, but he evidently felt a strong inclination towards the more modern idiom of his younger contemporaries Antonio Boroni and F.X. Brixi; works of the latter are predominant in the music he copied for the Strahov choir. His own works show an amalgamation of pre-Classical and early Classical elements. His church oratorios are operatic in style, with large da capo arias, and are remarkable for the skilful treatment of wind instruments in their orchestral accompaniments. Although he was one of the most authoritative and prolific composers of Bohemian church music in the second half of the 18th century, none of his works was printed during his lifetime.

WORKS

Anima desolata (Anima afflicta) (operetta pastoritia), Strahov, 6 Jan 1761, *CZ-Pnm*

Easter orats (perf. Strahov, Premonstratensian abbey; only printed libs extant unless otherwise indicated): Captiva filia Sion, 1757; Fortis in bello amor et maeror, 1758, *Pnm*; Justitia et clementia, 1759; Innocentia et pietas, 1760; Patientia et humilitas, 1761, *Pnm*; Vox filiae Sion, 1762; Patientia victrix, 1763; Jesus Christus gloriose . . . triumphans, before 1779, *Pnm*

Numerous other sacred works, autographs mostly *Pnm*, other MSS in *Bm*, *Pak* (see Kouba, 1969)

Inst: Conc., F, 2 ob, private collection, Louny; Parthien, hpd, lost

WRITINGS

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MILAN POŠTOLKA

Oehman, Carl-Martin (*b* Floda, nr Göteborg, 4 Sept 1887; *d* Stockholm, 26 Dec 1967). Swedish tenor. He studied the piano and the organ at the Stockholm Conservatory, and then, privately, singing in Stockholm and Milan. He appeared first in concerts in 1914, making his operatic début in *Fra Diavolo* at Göteborg three years later. The Swedish Royal Opera, which became the centre of his career, heard him first in 1919 and last in 1941. He became well known for his singing of the more lyrical Wagnerian roles, yet in his single season at the Metropolitan in 1924 he appeared only as Laca in the American première of *Jenůfa* and as Saint-Saëns's Samson. At Covent Garden in 1928 he sang Tannhäuser and Walther in *Die Meistersinger*: the power of his full voice and the charm of his *mezza voce* were admired. Some of his best work was done in Berlin, where he sang in the local première of *Simon Boccanegra* (1930). As a teacher he numbered among his pupils Jussi Björling, Martti Talvela and Nicolai Gedda, all of whom paid warm tribute to his musicianship and clarity. On recordings he is somewhat variable, but at best the voice has fine quality and the style remarkable sensitivity.

J.B. STEANE

Oehring, Helmut (*b* Berlin, 16 July 1961). German composer and guitarist. Born a hearing child to deaf parents, his first language was sign language. He trained as a construction worker (1978–80); as a conscientious objector to military service (1986–7) he worked as a cemetery gardener, in forestry and as a night watchman. Self-taught as a composer, his first works included incidental music and a string quartet. After consultations with Asriel, Goldmann and Zapf, he attended Katzer's masterclass at the Berlin Akademie der Künste (1990–92). His honours include the Hanns Eisler Prize (1990), a young composer's award from West German Radio, Cologne (1992), the Orpheus Prize, Italy (1996), the Hindemith Prize (1997) and the Schneider-Schott Music Prize (1998).

Oehring's compositions derive from the complex physical and facial expressions of sign language, which he notates as music. His works outline bleak narratives that address the chasm between individuals and the futility of communication. His early compositions are concerned with stages of agony and human actions that lead to death; in later works, speech as a symbol of the impossibility of human discourse becomes the central musical subject. Much of his work can be considered social criticism. Several compositions include deaf people among the performers.

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(*selective list*)

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Inst: Str Qt, 1987; Do you wonna blow job, sax qt, 1988; Nos.1–3, multiple versions, 1988–92; COMA I, orch, 1991; Asche, ob, eng hn, trbn, va, vc, db, pf, perc, 1992; Locked-in-, gui, str trio, 1992; Losheit, 2 db, 1992; Strychnin I, tpt, trbn, va, db, pf, 1993; Strychnin II, trbn, db, hp, 1993; Lethal injection, eng hn, bn, va, tape, 1994; Leuchter, ob, vc, prep pf, 1994; Suck the brain out of the head, 6 perc, tape, 1994; Dienel, bn, db, hp, 1996; Zuendel, fl, ob, str trio, prep pf, tape ad lib, 1996–7; Prae-senz (Ballet blanc II), vn, vc, pf/sampling kbd, 1997, collab. I. ter Schiphorst; Do you wish to proceed, str qt, live elec, 1998

Other works: Wrong (Schaukeln-Essen-Saft) (B. Sellin, Oehring), deaf person, ob, b tpt/trbn, vn/va, elec gui, perc, live elec, 1993–5; Self-Liberator (Oehring, R. Taumel), 2 deaf people, tpt, ens, 1994; Polaroids (melodrama, ter Schiphorst, Oehring), deaf person, 1v, 12 insts, live elecs, 1996, collab. ter Schiphorst; Live (A. Sexton), 18 songs, 1v, vn, vc, prep pf/sampling kbd, live elecs, 1997, collab. ter Schiphorst; Requiem, 3 Ct, ens, live elecs, 1998, collab. ter Schiphorst; Sprachkörper, 1v, prep pf, trbn, elec gui, live elecs, 1998

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GISELA NAUCK

Oelze, Christiane (*b* Cologne, 9 Oct 1963). German soprano. She studied with Klesie Kelly-Moog and Erna Westberger, working for the first years of her career in concert and oratorio. In 1990 she made her operatic début as Despina in *Così fan tutte* at Ottawa, with a first appearance at Salzburg the following year as Konstanze in *Die Entführung*. Her performance as Anne Trulove in *The Rake's Progress* at Glyndebourne in 1994 was widely praised, and the same year audiences at Covent Garden enjoyed her delightful Zdenka in *Arabella*. She returned to Covent Garden as Servilia (*La clemenza di Tito*) in

2000. In 1995 she sang Pamina in a series of performances of *Die Zauberflöte* conducted by John Eliot Gardiner that were also filmed and recorded; and in 1996 she was the Marzelline in Gardiner's revival of Beethoven's *Leonore*.

Her pure, delicate timbre is matched by a graceful style which can lend itself more readily to expressions of happiness than of grief and deep thoughtfulness. This was sometimes remarked upon with regard to her Pamina and it has somewhat limited the effectiveness of her lieder singing. However, recordings such as that of songs by Webern show a not inappropriate coolness as well as a charming voice and resourceful musicianship.

J.B. STEANE

Oesch, Hans (Rolf) (*b* Wolfhalden, canton of Appenzell, 10 Sept 1926; *d* Anwil, Basle, 7 May 1992). Swiss musicologist. He studied musicology from 1946 with Jacques Handschin at Basle University, where he took the doctorate in 1951 with a thesis on Guido of Arezzo. Until Handschin's death in 1955 he was an assistant lecturer in the Basle musicology institute, and from 1951 to 1966 was music critic on the *National-Zeitung* in Basle. He completed the *Habilitation* in 1959 at Zürich with a work on the medieval theorists Berno and Hermannus Contractus. Until 1967 he lectured at Zürich on ethnomusicology and medieval music history. At the same time he held a similar appointment at Basle University, where he succeeded Schrade as professor of musicology in 1967. He was also editor (1972–4) and co-editor (1975–8) of *Melos* (the leading German-language periodical for contemporary music), chairman of the Heinrich-Strobel-Stiftung in Freiburg (1973–92) and academic coordinator of the Paul Sacher Stiftung (from 1986). He retired in 1991.

Influenced by his teacher Handschin's Enlightenment belief in a 'universal' approach, Oesch dedicated himself to the 'musical people of all times and all populations', focussing his work on two diverse areas, 20th-century music and ethnomusicology. In connection with the latter, he directed several field projects (in Malacca, Malaysia, 1963; in India, Indonesia and elsewhere in South-east Asia, 1974), whose findings were documented in a series of recordings. Oesch's fieldwork was significant for its early attempts to overcome Eurocentrism in favour of a more open-minded approach to cultural history. In *Aussereuropäische Musik* (1984–7), Oesch summed up the guiding principle of his scholarship: to arrive at a world history of music in all its similiarities and differences, musical cultures must be examined in terms of their own underlying principles. Oesch also had personal contact with many modern composers and was convinced of the importance of a scholarly grappling with the 'Ars Nova of the 20th century'. In addition to his many years as editor and writer in this field, he was engaged with public concert life, undertaking the role of spokesman for repertory outside the canon of both old and new music.

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JÜRG STENZL/R

Oeser, Fritz (*b* Gera, 18 May 1911; *d* Kassel, 23 Feb 1982). German musicologist and editor. He studied at the Realgymnasium, the university and the conservatory in Leipzig; among his teachers in musicology were Helmuth Schultz and Theodor Kroyer. In 1938 he joined the staff of the Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag, Leipzig. Following military service during World War II, he became director of the Brucknerverlag, Wiesbaden, in 1947; the firm became Alkor-Edition, Kassel, in 1955. He retired in 1971. Oeser's main areas of study were Bruckner's music, Czech music, and Russian and French opera in the 19th

century; among his writings, mostly on operatic subjects, is a study of the texts of Bruckner's symphonies, *Die Klangstruktur der Bruckner-Symphonie* (Leipzig, 1939, 2/1941), with which he obtained the doctorate at Leipzig University in 1939. He edited several orchestral works, notably Bruckner's Third Symphony (1878 version; Wiesbaden, 1950), made a number of German translations of operas and prepared performing versions of several operas, including Gounod's *Faust* (Kassel, 1972) and Offenbach's *Les contes d'Hoffmann* (Kassel, 1975). The most important is that of Bizet's *Carmen* (Kassel, 1964; see Oeser's article 'Neu entdeckte "Carmen"', *Musica*, xviii (1964), 108–14), in which much music traditionally omitted is restored; his edition has however been criticized for misrepresenting Bizet's final intentions (see W. Dean: 'The True Carmen?', *MT*, cvi (1965), 846–55, rev., *Essays on Opera*, Oxford, 1990, 281–300; for biography see H. Vogt: 'Fritz Oeser', *Musica*, xxxvi (1982), 194–6).

BENJAMIN KORSTVEDT

Oesterreicher, Georg (*b* Wiebelsheim, nr Windsheim, Franconia, 1563; *d* Windsheim, 9 Jan 1621). German composer, music editor, poet and schoolmaster. From 1585 he studied at Wittenberg University. In 1588 he became teacher at the grammer school of the imperial town of Windsheim and in 1608 was promoted Kantor. In this post he produced numerous German and Latin school plays, which gained wide recognition. He edited a hymnal for the town of Windsheim, *Geistliche Lieder aus dem Catechismo ... zugericht* (Giessen, 1614), which is lost, but the posthumous second edition, *Ein recht christlich Gesangbüchlein* (Rothenburg ober der Tauber, 1623), survives. Alongside many hymns then in general use, it contains texts and unharmonized melodies by Oesterreicher himself. Several of these melodies appear too in the Ansbach, Rothenburg and Heilbronn hymnbooks of that period. Oesterreicher also composed the music for the funeral service of Margarethe Barbara Seubold at Ansbach in 1620. The 'Cantor-Büchlein' of 1615 that Gerber attributed to him is probably identical with the 1614 edition of the Windsheim hymnal, which was listed in 1615 in the catalogue of the Frankfurt Book Fair. (*EitnerQ*; *GerberNL*; *GöhlerV*; *ZahnM*)

FRANZ KRAUTWURST

Oestvig, Karl Aagaard (*b* Christiania, 17 May 1889; *d* Oslo, 21 July 1968). Norwegian tenor. He studied at Cologne and made his début in 1914 at Stuttgart, where he sang the Lay brother/Giovanni in the first performance of Max von Schillings's *Mona Lisa* (1915). Engaged at the Vienna Staatsoper from 1919 to 1927, he created the role of the Emperor in Strauss's *Die Frau ohne Schatten* (1919); from 1927 to 1930 he sang at the Berlin Städtische Oper. His repertory included Tamino, Lohengrin, Walther, Parsifal, Don José, Hoffmann, Paul in Korngold's *Die tote Stadt*, Bacchus in *Ariadne auf Naxos* and Max in Krenek's *Jonny spielt auf*, which he sang at Munich on 16 June 1928, when the performance was interrupted by a Nazi demonstration. A very stylish singer, he brought a lyrical approach even to his heavier, more dramatic roles. In 1932 he retired to Oslo, where he taught singing and produced opera.

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ELIZABETH FORBES

Oettingen. Oettingen-Oettingen and Oettingen-Wallerstein were two small German courts in Swabia, south of Ansbach; the former had a brief musical importance in the late 17th century and the latter was particularly prominent in the late 18th century. The house of Oettingen, whose history dates from the mid-12th century, was divided during the 16th century into Protestant and Catholic branches, with Oettingen belonging to the former, Wallerstein to the latter.

A court Kapelle is known to have existed in Oettingen during the reigns of both Albrecht Ernst I (1674 to his death in 1683) and his successor, Albrecht Ernst II (1683–1731). The most important musician active in Oettingen was Johann Georg Conradi (see Jung), the son of the Oettingen organist Caspar Conrad, who was Kapellmeister from 1671. From 1689 the court Kapelle consisted of about a dozen musicians, and court opera performances are known at least for the period 1699–1703 (see Brockpähler). Conradi, who left Oettingen in 1683, was succeeded by Jakob Christian Hertel. However, at the end of Conradi's successful career as a Hamburg opera composer, he returned to Oettingen as Kapellmeister in 1698. He was succeeded in about 1699 by his son Johann Melchior, who remained in the post until the court was dissolved in 1732 and joined to that of Oettingen-Wallerstein.

Musical institutions at Wallerstein were greatly strengthened during the reign of Count Philipp Karl (1745–66), though the music was mainly functional, for church and for entertainment during dinner and after the hunt. The count's Hofmusik, primarily wind players and mainly Bohemians, included some of Germany's finest horn players (e.g. Friedrich Domnich and Johann Türrschmidt, both founders of important families of horn players), and the composers Ignaz Klauseck (at Wallerstein from 1747 to 1751) and Franz Xaver Pokorny (employed there from about 1751 to 1770).

After Philipp Karl's death (1766) his widow, Countess Juliane Charlotte, acted as regent for her son. Under the countess's administration conditions deteriorated and many musicians left Wallerstein. A turning-point in Wallerstein's musical history occurred in 1773 when Kraft Ernst assumed control of the countship, which one year later was elevated to a princedom. Almost immediately the new prince began to form a Hofkapelle. His musical training by several of his father's court musicians and at the imperial Savoyische Ritterakademie in Vienna enabled him to make a good selection. To the unpretentious group of musicians inherited from his father, he added several acknowledged virtuosos, including Antonio Rosetti (Anton Rösler, violone), Josef Reicha (cello), Anton Janitsch (violin), Joseph Fiala (oboe) and Johann Nisle (horn). To complete his ensembles he employed household servants who could double as musicians.

After the death in 1776 of Kraft Ernst's young wife, Maria Theresa, born princess of Thurn und Taxis, the court entered an extended period of mourning, putting a temporary halt to the development of the Kapelle. Several musicians left, and others were given permission to travel. It was during this period that Mozart, on his way to Mannheim, stopped at Hohenaltheim, the prince's *Lustschloss*. The prince, who was still in mourning, would hear no music, and Mozart left without performing for the court. By 1780 Kraft Ernst was again ready to focus his attention on music. New talent was hired for the

Hofkapelle. Significant musicians in this group were Franz Zwierzina and Joseph Nagel (horn), Christoph Hoppius (bassoon) and Gottfried Klier (oboe). Wallerstein's musical reputation grew rapidly; by 1784 C.F.D. Schubart wrote that 'music flourishes there in a most excellent degree'. In the mid- to late 1780s the Wallerstein court orchestra numbered approximately 24 members, being a combination of professional performers and house servants with some musical skill (see Rosetti and *Musikalische Realzeitung*).

As at Mannheim several members of the Wallerstein orchestra were also active as composers, in fact a virtual school of composers developed there during the 1770s and the 1780s, headed by Intendant Ignaz von Beecke and Kapellmeister Antonio Rosetti and including Josef Reicha, Joseph Fiala, Georg Feldmayr, Paul Wineberger, Franz Zwierzina, Anton Hutti, Joseph Nagel and Friedrich Witt. The court music library, originally housed in Schloss Harburg (now in *D-Au*) includes, in addition to the works of these 'house composers', others by most of the popular composers of the time, including a large collection of Haydn's symphonies, some commissioned by Kraft Ernst.

The prince encouraged travelling musicians to perform at Wallerstein and among his more illustrious guests were Jan Zach in 1773, Beethoven in 1787 and Haydn on his first journey to London in 1791. Haydn is reputed to have said on hearing the Wallerstein orchestra that 'no orchestra plays my music with such precision as this ensemble'.

After Kraft Ernst's death in 1802 the Wallerstein Hofkapelle entered a period of steady decline and was eventually dissolved. In 1806 Oettingen-Wallerstein was incorporated into the state of Bavaria and the increased financial burdens of the following years forced Kraft Ernst's widow, Countess Wilhelmine Friederike, to release most of the court musicians. A reorganization of the Hofkapelle was attempted under Prince Ludwig Kraft in 1812, the court music director being Xaver Hammer, a local musician. The Weimar composer Franz Seraph von Destouches was connected with the court during this period. In a further attempt to revitalize the court music Prince Ludwig established a quartet school under Hammer's direction in 1817, but Hammer died the following year and the venture failed. Hammer was replaced by Johannes Andreas Amon from Bamberg. In the next few years the prince spent more and more time away from court and finally, in 1821, court concerts were discontinued. After Amon's death (1825) virtually all secular music at Wallerstein ceased. Wallerstein's last Kapellmeister, Johann Michael Mettenleiter, died in 1859. The decline of Wallerstein's music coincided with the end of the tradition of court music in Germany. For an illustration of the wind band at Oettingen-Wallerstein in about 1783 *see* HARMONIEMUSIK.

The town of Oettingen is the seat of the well-known firm of organ builders, G.F. STEINMEYER (founded 1847), which has been responsible for the building of almost 2400 organs, including the cathedral organs of Bamberg, Munich, Speyer, Passau and Trondheim.

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STERLING E. MURRAY

Oettingen, Arthur (Joachim) von (*b* Dorpat, Livonia [now Tartu, Estonia], 28 March 1836; *d* Leipzig, 6 Sept 1920). German scientist and musical theorist. After reading sciences at the University of Dorpat (1853–8), he continued his study of physics, physiology and mathematics in Paris and Berlin (1859–62) and completed his *Habilitation* (1863) in Dorpat. In 1865 he was appointed associate professor and in 1866 professor of physics; from 1869 to 1874 he was secretary of the Natural Science Academy in Dorpat, and, from 1877, corresponding member of the St Petersburg Academy of Science. In 1894, after the russification of the University of Dorpat (Yuriev), he took his pension and settled in Leipzig, where he was honorary professor at the university until 1919.

In Dorpat, Oettingen was president of a musical association and director of a well-trained amateur orchestra; he wrote many important articles in the field of natural science, and also won recognition as a musical theorist by the publication of his *Harmoniesystem in dualer Entwickelung* (1866). He developed the idea that major and minor triads and key systems are mirror inversions of each other: that the major triad C–E–G, designated c^{+}, is mirrored by the minor triad C–A♭–F (reading downward), designated c°. The tonic major scale C–D–E–F–G–A–B–C is mirrored by the phonic scale E–D–C–B–A–G–F–E (reading downward), which is the common A minor scale descending from the dominant. In this arrangement the intervals of the two scales are the same and every triad in the tonic scale is mirrored by a triad of the opposite mode in the phonic scale. If the triads repeat their roots, the phonic chords will all be second inversions in the major-minor system.

Oettingen's principle of organization might be summarized by saying that tonality is the property of intervals or chords having a common fundamental tone called the 'tonica', while phonality is the property of intervals or chords possessing a common overtone called the 'phonica'. In the major chord *c′–e′–g′* all the sounds find a focus in the difference tone or fundamental tone, C, and in the minor chord *c′–e♭′–g′*, the fundamental tone is the first common partial tone, *g‴*. The two fundamentals are each two octaves distant from the roots of their respective chords.

Oettingen designed his dual system as the antithesis to Helmholtz's *Lehre von den Tonempfindungen* (1863). He believed that Helmholtz was wrong in his concept of consonance and dissonance. Because even a single tone has beats caused by the higher harmonics approaching each other in pitch, he believed that Helmholtz was measuring merely a greater or lesser dissonance. He thought that Helmholtz's approach was negative, and he advocated simply considering dissonance as a positive meeting of two or more different chords, major and minor chords thus being of equal value. As a proponent of just intonation he used in his figuration system a line over the letter name to indicate a tonic major 3rd and a line under the letter name of the phonic major 3rd, making clear his reference to 3rds of 5/4 ratio rather than to the major 3rds of 81/64 ratio used in Pythagorean intonation.

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MARK HOFFMAN/BERND WIECHERT

Oeuvre (Fr.). *See* OPUS (i).

Oevering, Rynoldus Popma van. *See* POPMA VAN OEVERING RYNOLDUS.

Ofenbauer, Christian (*b* Graz, 24 March 1961). Austrian composer and organist. He studied at the Klagenfurt Conservatory, at the Vienna Musikhochschule with Uhl (1979–82) and Cerha (1982–7), and in Paris (1986) where he was in touch with Boulez. From 1982 to 1987 he worked as an organist at the Votivkirche, Vienna, and as a composer for the experimental drama group Theater-AngelusNovus. He has also performed with the Viennese ensemble Die Reihe. He began working as a freelance editor for Universal Edition in 1985. His teaching appointments have included positions at the Graz Musikhochschule (1986, 1987–91), the University of Giessen (1988, 1991), the Vienna Musikhochschule (from 1989, visiting professor 1991–2) and the Musikhochschule of the Salzburg Mozarteum (visiting professor 1994–7).

Contrasts in Ofenbauer's work, such as the harsh tonality of the *Streichquartettsatz 1997* in comparison to the much gentler music of *unordentliche inseln/de la motte fouqué-vertonung* (1995), indicate his reluctance to adopt a consistent style. The issue of identity has been a theme in a number of Ofenbauer's compositions; in *Medea* (1990–94), for example, the role of the heroine is shared by seven soloists. Later works, such as the violin *concerto fancies/fancy papers* (1997), show an increasing tendency towards tranquillity and subtle transitions.

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BERNHARD GÜNTHER

Off-beat. Any impulse in a measured rhythmic pattern except the first (called the DOWNBEAT); the term is commonly applied to rhythms that emphasize the weak beats of the bar (ex.1). The impulse that immediately

Ex.1 Liszt: Piano Sonata



precedes – and anticipates – the downbeat of a bar is called the UPBEAT.

See also RHYTHM.

Offenbach, Jacques [Jacob] (*b* Cologne, 20 June 1819; *d* Paris, 5 Oct 1880). French composer of German origin. He was, with Johann Strauss (ii), one of the two composers of outstanding significance in popular music of the 19th century and the composer of some of the most exhilaratingly gay and tuneful music ever written. Offenbach's opera *Les contes d'Hoffmann* has retained a place in the

international repertory, but his most significant achievements lie in the field of operetta. *Orphée aux enfers*, *La belle Hélène*, *La vie parisienne*, *La Grande-Duchesse de Gérolstein* and *La Périchole* remain outstanding examples of the French and international operetta repertory. Moreover, it was through the success of Offenbach's works abroad that operetta became an established international genre, producing outstanding national exponents in Strauss, Sullivan and Lehár and evolving into the 20th-century musical.

1. LIFE. His father, born Isaac Juda Eberst, left his native Offenbach am Main in about 1800 for Cologne, where he became known as 'Der Offenbacher' and then simply Offenbach. He earned a living from bookbinding, music teaching and composition, and was later cantor at a synagogue in Cologne. Jacob was the second son and the seventh of ten children, and was born a short distance from the square in Cologne which today bears his name. He was first taught the violin, but at the age of nine took up the cello. With his brother Julius (1815–80) who played the violin, and sister Isabella (1817–91) at the piano he formed a trio which played in Cologne bars. He studied at first with Joseph Alexander and then with Bernhard Breuer; he dedicated his first published composition to the latter in 1833. In November of that year Isaac took Julius and Jacob to Paris in search of further tuition. There a place was obtained for Jacob at the Conservatoire, and positions were found for the two boys in a synagogue choir before Isaac returned to Cologne.

In Paris the two boys were soon known as Jules and Jacques. The latter left the Conservatoire after a year's study with Vaslin, and after brief periods with two orchestras he found a position in the orchestra of the Opéra-Comique. There he played beside Hippolyte Seligmann, and received further tuition with Seligmann's own teacher Louis Norblin. He also met Halévy, who gave him some composition lessons. In the summers of 1836 and 1837 some waltzes were performed in the Jardin Turc under Jullien, including one, *Rebecca*, on 15th-century Hebrew themes. After leaving the orchestra of the Opéra-Comique in 1838, he made the acquaintance of Flotow, through whom he gained entry to Paris salons, performing with him jointly composed pieces for cello and piano. Through contacts made in the salons he obtained pupils and also received a commission for a score for a vaudeville *Pascal et Chambord* produced in March 1839. In January 1839 he gave his first public concert with his brother Jules.

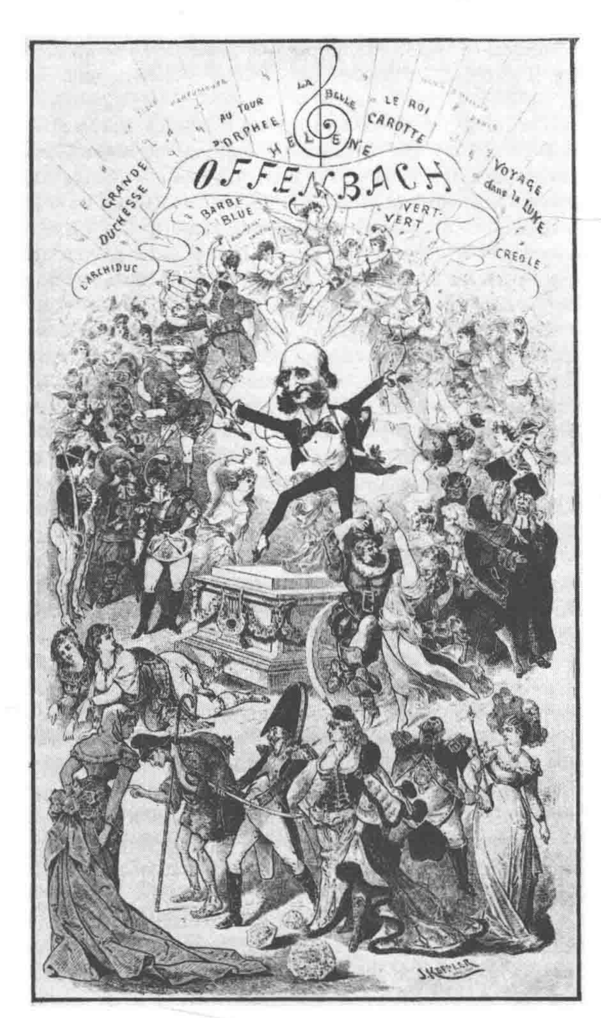
During the 1840s he continued his career as a cello virtuoso, appearing in Paris in 1841 with Anton Rubinstein and in Cologne in 1843 with Liszt. In May 1844 he visited London, performing at concerts of the Musical Union with Joachim and Mendelssohn and at an Ascot Week banquet at Windsor Castle. That August, after becoming a Roman Catholic, he married Herminie d'Alcain; he had met her at the salon of her mother, whose second husband was related to a London concert agent, John Mitchell. Meanwhile, his attempts to get stage works, including the one-act *L'alcôve*, accepted by the Opéra-Comique were unsuccessful, and he was forced to arrange concerts of his own to have them performed. His hopes of greater success with Adam's Opéra National were dashed by the Revolution of 1848, during which he temporarily returned to Cologne.

In 1850 he was appointed conductor at the Théâtre Français, but he continued to have little success in getting his stage works accepted until the Exhibition year of 1855. Then, no doubt emboldened by the success of Hervé's Folies-Nouvelles, where Offenbach's own *Oyayaye, ou La reine des îles* had been accepted, he rented for the Exhibition season the tiny wooden Théâtre Marigny in the Champs Elysées. With a hastily compiled programme of short comic pieces, the theatre opened as the Bouffes-Parisiens on 5 July. With occasional changes of programme, the entertainments were a big success of the Exhibition season, enabling Offenbach to give up his position at the Théâtre Français and transfer to winter quarters at the Théâtre Comte (Théâtre des Jeunes Elèves) in the Passage Choiseul. The following summer he moved again to the Théâtre Marigny, but from the following winter settled permanently in the Salle Choiseul.

Besides his own works his repertory embraced those of other composers, including Adam, Delibes, Duprato, Gastinel and Jonas as well as adaptations of Mozart's *Der Schauspieldirektor* and Rossini's *Il Signor Bruschino*. In 1856 his competition for young composers attracted 78 entrants: the winners were Bizet and Lecocq, with their settings of *Le Docteur Miracle*. The continuing success of the Bouffes persuaded John Mitchell to bring them to London. The entire company (including Jules Offenbach, who was leader of the orchestra) opened an eight-week season at St James's Theatre in May 1857 and also included a performance before the exiled Queen Marie-Amélie at Claremont.

Initially Offenbach's licence restricted him to pieces for only two or three stage performers, but the loosening of restrictions gradually enabled him to produce more ambitious works. The two-act *Orphée aux enfers* (1858) was a big success and the prototype of the larger-scale operettas, though for a time he continued to concentrate mainly on one-act works. In 1860 a two-act ballet *Le papillon* was produced at the Opéra and the three-act *Barkouf* at the Opéra-Comique, without giving him any greater acceptance in more respectable circles. Although he resigned as director of the Bouffes in January 1862, he continued to write mainly for that theatre and for the summer theatre at Bad Ems. In 1860 he had become a naturalized Frenchman and in August 1861 was appointed a Chevalier of the Légion d'Honneur. His family by now consisted of four daughters and a son Auguste (1862–83), and besides his Paris home in the rue Lafitte he also owned a Villa Orphée in the fashionable Normandy resort of Etretat.

His *opéras bouffes* had by now become established abroad, particularly in Vienna, at first in pirated versions and then under the composer's own direction. While he was in Vienna in 1864 his romantic opera *Die Rheinnixen* was performed at the Hofoper, and he composed a waltz *Abendblätter* in competition with the *Morgenblätter* of Johann Strauss (ii), whom he is also reputed to have encouraged to write operettas. From the same year dates the period of his greatest successes with *La belle Hélène* (1864) followed by *Barbe-bleue* (1866), *La vie parisienne* (1866), *La Grande-Duchesse de Gérolstein* (1867) and *La Périchole* (1868). During the Exhibition season of 1867 his works filled three Paris theatres, but thereafter his success began to wane. Popular taste in the musical theatre changed after the civil war of 1870–71, for much



1. 'Jacques Offenbach dirigeant la ronde frénétique de ses oeuvres': lithograph by Joseph Keppler, 1875

of the duration of which he was abroad in San Sebastian, Italy, London and Vienna.

During the 1870s it was the more escapist works of Lecocq that attracted the public, although Offenbach's own new works continued to be performed. On 1 June 1873 he took over the management of the Théâtre de la Gaîté, where he produced spectacular new versions of *Orphée aux enfers* and *Geneviève de Brabant*. But he was a poor businessman, and losses suffered on a production of Sardou's *La haine* in 1874 forced him into bankruptcy. He then composed music for a Christmas piece *Whittington* (1874) for the Alhambra in London, and in an endeavour to make up some of his losses he embarked on a trip to the USA for the Philadelphia centennial Exhibition of 1876. He gave some 40 concerts in New York and Philadelphia as well as conducting performances of *La vie parisienne* and *La jolie parfumeuse*. On his return he published a volume of his impressions of the USA.

In his last years he experienced success in London with *Madame Favart* (1878) and in Paris with *La fille du tambour-major* (1879) as well as with revivals of earlier works such as *Orphée aux enfers* with Hervé as Jupiter for the Exhibition season of 1878. However, his main preoccupation was with the score of the fantastic opera *Les contes d'Hoffmann*. During 1880 he was working on the score at the Pavillon Henri IV in Saint Germain-en-Laye, but in September worsening health forced him to return to Paris. There he died in October, the gout from which he suffered having affected his heart. At the request of his family, the score of *Les contes d'Hoffmann* was completed by Guiraud and that of an operetta *Belle Lurette* by Delibes.

2. WORKS. As with all stage works for the genre, the success of Offenbach's operettas depended a good deal on the librettists and performers. In this respect Offenbach was both well served and skilful at discovering talent. Like Sullivan, and unlike Johann Strauss (ii), he was consistently blessed with workable subjects and genuinely witty librettos. His chief librettist, Ludovic Halévy (1834–1908), was one of the leading French theatrical writers and was given his chance at the age of 21 in writing material for the opening night of the Bouffes-Parisiens in 1855. Offenbach's leading lady, Hortense Schneider (1833–1920), who enjoyed immense personal success in *La belle Hélène*, *Barbe bleue*, *La Grande-Duchesse de Gérolstein* and *La Périchole*, was also discovered by Offenbach (and given a role in *Le violoneux* as early as August 1855), as was Zulma Bouffar, star of *La vie parisienne* and *Les brigands*.

Offenbach's sound theatrical judgment extended to his part in selecting and shaping the subjects he used. Many of these were satirical treatments of familiar tales, for example myths (*Orphée aux enfers*, *La belle Hélène*) or stories well known in France (*Geneviève de Brabant*, *Barbe-bleue*, *Robinson Crusoé*), while others satirized contemporary society and politics (*La vie parisienne* (fig.2), *La Grande-Duchesse de Gérolstein*). His one-act works include similar examples, such as *M. Choufleuri restera chez lui le . . .* which satirized Paris salons, while others were slight comic sketches such as the highly successful *Les deux aveugles*. He satirized particularly the regime of Napoleon III, and it was with the fall of Napoleon III that Offenbach's own success declined.

The humour of the pieces was rarely very subtle in purely musical terms, in keeping with the requirements of his audiences. Effect was often achieved by quoting familiar music, the satire being not so much in the treatment of the themes themselves as by introducing the themes in incongruous surroundings. Examples of such quotations are the introduction of music from *Les Huguenots* in *Ba-ta-clan*, Gluck's 'Che farò' in *Orphée aux enfers*, the patriotic trio from *Guillaume Tell* in *La belle Hélène*, and Donizetti's *La fille du régiment* in *La fille du tambour-major*. Other comic devices were the introduction of parts for animals (*Barkouf*) and the setting of gibberish (*Ba-ta-clan*). He further exploited incongruity, for example in *Orphée aux enfers* by providing a cancan for the gods, and in *La belle Hélène* by setting the phrase 'Un vile séducteur' to his most lilting waltz tune and by building up a grandiose operatic ensemble around the banal phrase 'L'homme à la pomme'. He also exploited the natural flexibility of the French language by varying accentuation, and a notable device was the breaking-up of words as in *La Périchole*:

> Aux maris ré,
> Aux maris cal,
> Aux maris ci,
> Aux maris trants,
> Aux maris récalcitrants.



2. Poster for a revival of Offenbach's 'La vie parisienne': colour lithograph by Jules Chéret, c1886

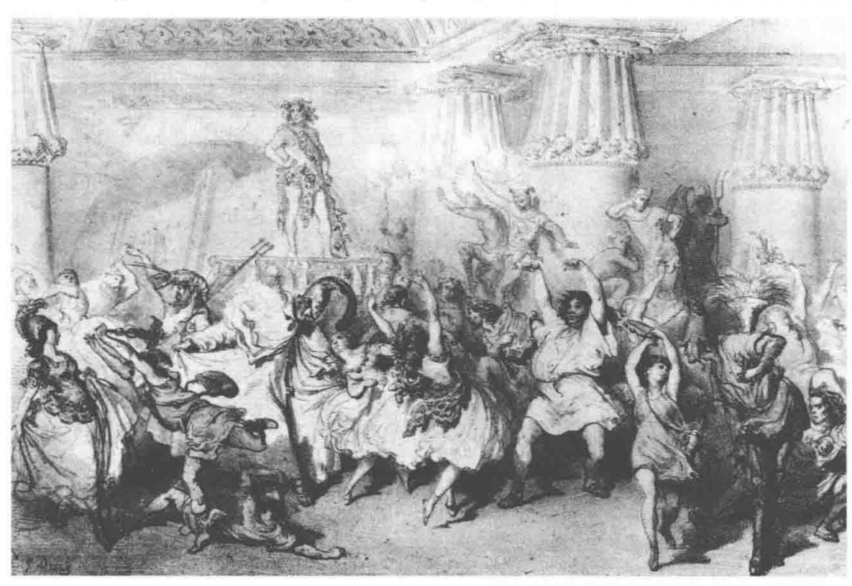
All this he backed up with simple but effective devices of a purely musical nature. His tunes are very often built upon a rising phrase and in a major key, but he achieved remarkable variety of mood by varying the rhythmic pattern. Noteworthy too is his gradual speeding-up of the finale of an act to achieve an exciting climax. His vocal writing produced outstanding lyrical examples such as the tenor's 'Au mont Ida' (*La belle Hélène*) and rumbustious comic songs such as the Gendarmes' Duet (*Geneviève de Brabant*); but when he allowed himself to break away from straightforward rhythmic patterns, he produced examples of sensitive shaping of phrases in solos written for Hortense Schneider in *La belle Hélène* and *La Périchole*.

The most individual feature of Offenbach's orchestration lies in his use of brass to heighten the impact and excitement of climaxes. He generally made effective use of wind instruments, but for much of his work he was restricted in orchestral resources and in any case he was concerned to ensure that the orchestra did not obscure the words. In fact, it is not always his own orchestration that is heard.

The well-known overture to *Orphée aux enfers*, for example, was composed on Offenbach's themes by Carl Binder (1816–60) for the Vienna production of 1860. Through this overture and particularly through the famous cancan, *Orphée aux enfers* has remained Offenbach's best-known operetta (fig.3), though a consensus as to the best of his operettas would probably prefer *La vie parisienne* for its sparkle, *La Périchole* for its charm and *La belle Hélène* for its all-round brilliance.

Offenbach's talents were often stretched by the need to work at breakneck speed to produce new works. For the same reason he often re-used material. Thus *La chanson de Fortunio* (1861), one of his best one-act works, was written around a song composed for Alfred de Musset's *Le chandelier* at the Théâtre Français in 1850. A *valse des rayons* in his 1860 ballet *Le papillon*, which reappeared in his 1864 opera *Die Rheinnixen* and in the ballet music of *Le Roi Carotte* (1872), later achieved its most familiar form when used as an apache dance for a Moulin Rouge revue in 1908. *Die Rheinnixen* also included a *Vaterland Lied* composed in Germany in 1848, and was itself the source of the music of the celebrated Barcarolle in *Les contes d'Hoffmann*.

During his lifetime Offenbach's success brought a considerable amount of disapproving comment from those who resented the 'naughtiness' of the French stage and the lack of pretence at any elevated form of art, or who considered his use of other composers' music irreverent. Wagner, whom Offenbach parodied in his revue *Le carnaval des revues* (1860), referred to 'the warmth of the dung-heap', though his attitude towards Offenbach later mellowed.



3. The Bacchanal from Offenbach's 'Orphée aux Enfers' (Act 2 scene ii of the original version), Théâtre des Bouffes-Parisiens, Paris, 1858: drawing by Gustave Doré, who designed some of the costumes for the original production (Bibliothèque et Musée de l'Opéra, Paris)

The entry on Offenbach in the first edition of Grove's *Dictionary of Music and Musicians* typified the attitude of more elevated music circles of the time, concluding that 'it is melancholy to predict that of all these musical *bouffonneries* little or nothing will remain; since in order to live, a work must possess either style or passion, whilst these too often display merely a vulgar scepticism, and a determination to be funny even at the cost of propriety and taste'.

His standing was undoubtedly helped by the success in more respectable circles of *Les contes d'Hoffmann*. The libretto, by Jules Barbier (1825–1901), was based on a play by Barbier and Michel Carré (1819–72) produced in Paris in 1851; it portrayed three stories of the author E.T.A. Hoffmann (1776–1822) as episodes of his love life. Although without the frivolous touches of the operettas, a good deal of their ready melodic appeal was carried over into the *opéra comique*, and in addition there was some powerful dramatic writing, particularly in the Antonia act (the three central acts are commonly known by the names of the heroines of the three episodes). The fact that the work is not as homogeneous as the best of the operettas may not be altogether Offenbach's fault. At his death he apparently left the work in a complete piano score, but to meet the requirements of the Opéra-Comique, Guiraud not only completed the orchestration but also added recitatives. In addition it was belatedly decided to omit the Giulietta act with some of its music hastily redistributed. The work was first published in this corrupt version, and over the years it has been subjected to all manner of further variants. In recent years, thanks largely to the conductor and musicologist Antonio de Almeida, much original material has come to light; but there can never be a definitive score of a work that Offenbach never quite completed.

The appeal of individual numbers of *Les contes d'Hoffmann* and the fantastic nature of the story has kept the work in the international opera repertory. The lack of a recognized international operetta tradition formerly meant that revivals of the operettas were less regular. The best tunes, however, retained their wide popularity, particularly through their use in the score arranged by Manuel Rosenthal for Leonid Massine's ballet *Gaîté parisienne* for the Ballets Russes de Monte Carlo in 1938. More recently, the greater attention paid to the classical operetta since World War II has made the best of Offenbach's operettas familiar again and permitted fuller appreciation of his standing as the supreme master of the genre.

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all first performed and published in Paris, unless otherwise stated

BPSM – *Bouffes-Parisiens (at Salle Marigny)*
OC – *Opéra-Comique*
BP – *Bouffes-Parisiens (at Salle Choiseul)*
PR – *Palais-Royal*
FD – *Folies-Dramatiques*
R – *Renaissance*
G – *Gaîté*
V – *Variétés*

OPERETTAS AND OPÉRAS COMIQUES

L'alcôve (1, P. Pittaud de Forges, A. de Leuven and E.-G. Roche), Tour d'Auvergne, 24 April 1847
Le trésor à Mathurin (1, L. Battu), Salle Herz, 7 May 1853; rev. as Le mariage aux lanternes (J. Dubois [M. Carré], and Battu), BP, 10 Oct 1857
Pépito (1, J. Moinaux and Battu), V, 28 Oct 1853
Luc et Lucette (1, Pittaud de Forges and Roche), Salle Herz, 2 May 1854
Entrez, messieurs, mesdames (prol, F.-J. Méry and J. Servières [L. Halévy]), BPSM, 5 July 1855
Les deux aveugles (1, Moinaux), BPSM, 5 July 1855
Une nuit blanche (1, E. Plouvier), BPSM, 5 July 1855
Le rêve d'une nuit d'été (1, E. Tréfeu), BPSM, 30 July 1855
Oyayaye, ou La reine des îles (1, Moinaux), Folies-Nouvelles, 7 Aug 1855
Le violoneux (1, E. Mestépès and E. Chevalet), BPSM, 31 Aug 1855
Madame Papillon (1, J. Servières [Halévy]), BPSM, 3 Oct 1855
Paimpol et Périnette (1, Pittaud de Forges), BPSM, 29 Oct 1855
Ba-ta-clan (1, Halévy), BP, 29 Dec 1855
Un postillon en gage (1, J. Adenis), BP, 9 Feb 1856
Trombalcazar, ou Les criminels dramatiques (1, C.D. Dupeuty and E. Bourget), BP, 3 April 1856
La rose de Saint-Flour (1, Carré), BPSM, 12 June 1856
Les dragées du baptême (1, Dupeuty and Bourget), BPSM, 18 June 1856
Le '66' (1, Pittaud de Forges and M. Laurencin [P.A. Chapelle]), BPSM, 31 July 1856
Le financier et le savetier (1, Crémieux and E. About), BP, 23 Sept 1856
La bonne d'enfants (1, E. Bercioux), BP, 14 Oct 1856
Les trois baisers du diable (1, Mestépès), BP, 15 Jan 1857
Croquefer, ou Le dernier des paladins (1, A. Jaime and Tréfeu), 12 Feb 1857
Dragonette (1, Mestépès and Jaime), BP, 30 April 1857
Vent du soir, ou L'horrible festin (1, P. Gille), BP, 16 May 1857
Une demoiselle en lôterie (1, Jaime and Crémieux), BP, 27 July 1857
Les deux pêcheurs (1, Dupeuty and Bourget), BP, 13 Nov 1857
Mesdames de la Halle (1, A. Lapointe), BP, 3 March 1858
La chatte metamorphosée en femme (1, Scribe and Mélesville), BP, 19 April 1858
Orphée aux enfers (2, Crémieux and Halévy), BP, 21 Oct 1858; rev. (4), G, 7 Feb 1874
Le mari à la porte (1, A. Delacour), BP, 22 June 1859
Les vivandières de la grande armée (1, Jaime and Pittaud de Forges), BP, 6 July 1859
Geneviève de Brabant (2, Jaime and Tréfeu), BP, 19 Nov 1859; rev. (3, Crémieux), Menus-Plaisirs, 26 Dec 1867 (5, Crémieux), G, 25 Feb 1875
Le carnaval des revues (1, E. Grangé, Gille and Halévy), BP, 10 Feb 1860
Daphnis et Chloé (1, Clairville [L.F. Nicolaie] and J. Cordier [E.T. de Vaulabelle]), BP, 27 March 1860
Barkouf (3, Scribe and H. Boisseaux), OC, 24 Dec 1860
La chanson de Fortunio (1, Crémieux and Halévy), BP, 5 Jan 1861
Le pont des soupirs (2, Crémieux and Halévy), BP, 23 March 1861; rev. (4), V, 9 May 1868
M. Choufleuri restera chez lui le . . . (1, Saint-Rémy [Duc de Morny], E. L'Epine, Crémieux and Halévy), Présidence du Corps Législatif, 31 May 1861, BP, 14 Sept 1861
Apothicaire et perruquier (1, E. Frébault), BP, 17 Oct 1861
Le roman comique (3, Crémieux and Halévy), BP, 10 Dec 1861
Monsieur et Madame Denis (1, Laurencin [Chapelle] and M. Delaporte), BP, 11 Jan 1862
Le voyage de MM. Dunanan père et fils (3, P. Siraudin and Moinaux), BP, 22 March 1862
Les bavards [Bavard et bavarde] (2, Nuitter, after Cervantes: Los habladores), Bad Ems, 11 July 1862, Vienna, Kaitheater, 20 Nov 1862, BP, 20 Feb 1863
Jacqueline (1, P. d'Arcy [Crémieux and Halévy]), BP, 14 Oct 1862
Il Signor Fagotto (1, Nuitter and Tréfeu), Bad Ems, 11 July 1863, BP, 13 Jan 1864
Lischen et Fritzchen (1, P. Dubois [P. Boisselot]), Bad Ems, 21 July 1863, BP, 5 Jan 1864
L'amour chanteur (1, Nuitter and E. L'Epine), BP, 5 Jan 1864
Die Rheinnixen (3, A. von Wolzogen, after Nuitter), Vienna, Hofoper, 4 Feb 1864
Les géorgiennes (3, Moinaux), BP, 16 March 1864
Le fifre enchanté, ou Le soldat magicien (1, Nuitter and Tréfeu), Bad Ems, 12 July 1864, BP, 30 Sept 1868
Jeanne qui pleure et Jean qui rit (1, Nuitter and Tréfeu), Bad Ems, 19 July 1864, BP, 3 Nov 1865
La belle Hélène (3, H. Meilhac and Halévy), V, 17 Dec 1864
Coscoletto, ou Le lazzarone (2, Nuitter and Tréfeu), Bad Ems, 11 July 1865
Les refrains des bouffes (1), BP, 21 Sept 1865
Les bergers (3, Crémieux and Gille), BP, 11 Dec 1865
Barbe-bleue (3, Meilhac and Halévy), V, 5 Feb 1866

La vie parisienne (5, later 4, Meilhac and Halévy), PR, 31 Oct 1866
La Grande-Duchesse de Gérolstein (3, Meilhac and Halévy), V, 12 April 1867
La permission de dix heures (1, Mélesville [A.H.J. Duveyrier] and P.F.A. Carmouche), Bad Ems, before 20 July 1867, R, 4 Sept 1873
La leçon de chant (1, E. Bourget), Bad Ems, 20 July 1867, Folies-Marigny, 17 June 1873
Robinson Crusoé (3, E. Cormon and Crémieux, after D. Defoe), OC, 23 Nov 1867
Le château à Toto (3, Meilhac and Halévy), PR, 6 May 1868
L'île de Tulipatan (1, H. Chivot and A. Duru), BP, 30 Sept 1868
La Périchole (2, Meilhac and Halévy), V, 6 Oct 1868, rev. (3), V, 25 April 1874
Vert-vert (3, Meilhac and Nuitter), OC, 10 March 1869
La diva (3, Meilhac and Halévy), BP, 22 March 1869
La princesse de Trébizonde (2, Nuitter and Tréfeu), Baden-Baden, 31 July 1869, rev. (3), BP, 7 Dec 1869
Les brigands (3, Meilhac and Halévy), V, 10 Dec 1869, rev. G, 26 Dec 1878
La romance de la rose (1, Tréfeu and J. Prével), BP, 11 Dec 1869
Boule de neige (3, Nuitter and Tréfeu), BP, 14 Dec 1871; rev. of Barkouf
Le Roi Carotte (4, V. Sardou, after E.T.A. Hoffmann), G, 15 Jan 1872
Fantasio (3, P. de Musset), OC, 18 Jan 1872
Fleurette, oder Näherin und Trompeter (1, J Hopp and F. Zell [C. Walzel], after Pittaud de Forges and M. Laurencin [P.-A. Chapelle]), Vienna, Carltheater, 8 March 1872
Der schwarze Korsar (3, Nuitter, Tréfeu, J. Offenbach and R. Genée), Vienna, An der Wien, 21 Sept 1872
Les braconniers (3, Chivot, Duru), V, 29 Jan 1873
Pomme d'api (1, Halévy and W. Busnach), R, 4 Sept 1873
La jolie parfumeuse (3, Crémieux and E. Blum), R, 29 Nov 1873
Bagatelle (1, Crémieux and Blum), BP, 21 May 1874
Madame l'archiduc (3, Halévy and A. Millaud), BP, 31 Oct 1874
Whittington (3, Nuitter, Tréfeu and H.B. Farnie), London, Alhambra, 26 Dec 1874, Châtelet, 19 Oct 1893
Les hannetons (3, E. Grangé and Millaud), BP, 22 April 1875
La boulangère a des écus (3, Meilhac and Halévy), V, 19 Oct 1875
La créole (3, Millaud and Meilhac), BP, 3 Nov 1875
Le voyage dans la lune (4, Leterrier, Vanloo and A. Mortier), G, 26 Nov 1875
Tarte à la crème (1, Millaud), BP, 14 Dec 1875
Pierrette et Jacquot (1, J. Noriac and Gille), BP, 13 Oct 1876
La boîte au lait (4, Grangé and Noriac), BP, 3 Nov 1876
Le Docteur Ox (3, A. Mortier and Gille, after J. Verne), V, 26 Jan 1877
La Foire Saint-Laurent (3, Crémieux and A. de Saint-Albin), FD, 10 Feb 1877
Maître Péronilla (3, Offenbach, Nuitter and Ferrier), BP, 13 March 1878
Madame Favart (3, Chivot and Duru), FD, 28 Dec 1878
La marocaine (3, Ferrier and Halévy), BP, 13 Jan 1879
La fille du tambour-major (3, Chivot and Duru), FD, 13 Dec 1879
Belle Lurette (3, Blum, E. Blau and R. Toché), R, 30 Oct 1880, completed by Delibes
Les contes d'Hoffmann (5, J. Barbier), OC, 10 Feb 1881, completed by Guiraud
Mam'zelle Moucheron (1, E. Leterrier and A. Vanloo), R, 10 May 1881, rev. Delibes

VAUDEVILLES AND INCIDENTAL MUSIC

Pascal et Chambord (1, A. Bourgeois and E. Brisebarre), PR, 2 March 1839
Le brésilien (1, Meilhac and Halévy), PR, 9 May 1863
Le gascon (5, T. Barrière and Poupart-Davyl), G, 2 Sept 1873
La haine (5, Sardou), G, 3 Dec 1874

VOCAL
(selective list)

1 voice, piano, unless otherwise stated; German songs published in Cologne
6 fables de Lafontaine (1842): Le corbeau et le renard, Le rat de ville et le rat des champs, Le savetier et le financier, La laitière et le pot au lait, Le berger et la mer, La cigale et la fourmi
Le langage des fleurs (E. Plouvier) (1846): La branche d'oranger, La rose, Ne m'oubliez pas, La marguerite, L'églantine, La pâquerette
Les voix mystérieuses (1852): L'hiver (A. Barthet), Chanson de Fortunio (A. de Musset), Les saisons (J. Barbier), Ma belle amie est morte (T. Gautier), La rose foulée (C. Poncy), Barcarolle (Gautier)
Lieder und Gesänge (1853): Cathrein was willst du mehr, Mein Lieb', gleicht dem Bächlein, Leb' wohl; Was fliesset auf dem Felde
Over 50 singly pubd works, incl.: (1838–46): A toi, romance (N. Armand); Dors mon enfant, mélodie (Armand); Doux ménéstrel, romance (C. Saudeur); J'aime la rêverie, romance (Gay de V.); Jalousie! romance dramatique (A. Gourdin); La croix de ma mère, chansonette (Armand); L'arabe a son coursier, chant (J. Reboul); La sortie du bal, romance (E. Chevalet); L'attente, romance; L'aveu du page, romance (E. Plouvier); Le moine bourru, ou Les deux poltrons, duo bouffe, T, B (Plouvier); Pauvre prisonnier, romance (L. Leube); Le sergent recruteur (Plouvier); Le sylphe, romance (Leube); Meunière et fermière, duo bouffe (Plouvier); Rends-moi mon âme, romance dramatique (Reboul) ; Ronde tyrolienne, pf, ob (C. Catelin); Sarah la blonde, séguidille (Carré); Virginie au départ, romance dramatique (Plouvier)
(1848–73): Bibi Bamban (E. Bourget); Bleib bei mir, Lied (C.O. Sternau); Das deutsche Vaterland (H. Hersch); Der kleine Trommler (L. Pfau), T, male vv; Im grünen Mai (Sternau); Jeanne la rousse (A. Houssaye); La chanson de ceux qui n'aiment plus (Houssaye); Lebe wohl, herzliebster Schatz (Sternau), T, male vv; Le décameron, ou La grotte d'azur (J. Méry); Leidvolle Liebe, T, male vv (Sternau); L'étoile (E. Chevalet); Der deutsche Knabe, (Hersch); Sérénade du torero (Gautier); Si j'étais petit oiseau (Jousselin); Ständchen (Sternau), T, male vv

BALLETS

Arlequin barbier (1, Placet, after Rossini), BPSM, 5 July 1855
Pierrot clown (1, Jackson), BPSM, 30 July 1855
Polichinelle dans le monde (1, W. Busnach), BPSM, 19 Sept 1855
Le papillon (2, M.Taglioni, J.H. Vernoy de Saint-Georges), Opéra, 26 Nov 1860

DANCE MUSIC
(selective list)

all arranged for piano
Décameron dramatique, album du Théâtre Français (1854); Rachel, grande valse; Emilie, polka mazurka; Madeleine, polka villageoise; Delphine, rédowa; Augustine, schottisch; Louise, grande valse; Maria, polka mazurka; Elisa, polka trilby; Nathalie, schottisch du tambourin; Clarisse, varsoviana
6 singly pubd suites of waltzes (1836–8): Brunes et blondes, Les fleurs d'hiver, Les Amazones, Les jeunes filles, Les trois Grâces, Rébecca
Over 10 singly pubd pieces (1844–76), incl.: Abendblätter, Walzer; Herminie, valse; Les belles américaines, suite de valses; Offenbach valse; Polka burlesque

CELLO
(selective list)

For vc, orch: Prière et Boléro, op.22 (1840); Musette, Air de ballet du 17me siècle, op.24 (1842); Hommage à Rossini, 1843; Concerto militaire, 1847; Concerto rondò, 1851
For vc, pf: Rêveries (1839), collab. F. von Flotow: La harpe éolienne, Scherzo, Polka de salon, Chanson d'autrefois, Les larmes, Rédowa brillante; Chants du soir (1839), collab. Flotow: Au bord de la mer, Souvenir de bal, La prière du soir, La retraite, Ballade du pâtre, Danse norvégienne; Introduction et valse mélancolique, op.14 (1839); Deux âmes au ciel, élégie, op.25 (1844); Chants du crépuscule, op.29 (1846): Souvenir du val, Sérénade, Ballade, Le retour, L'adieu, Pas villageois; Rêverie au bord de la mer (1848); La course en traîneau, étude-caprice (1849)
For vc, other insts: Divertimento über Schweizerlieder, vc, 2 vn, va, db, op.1, 1833; Las campanillas, vc, bells, 1847
For vcs: Fantasy on Robert le diable, 7 vc, 1852; Adagio et scherzo, 4 vc, 1845
For vc solo/vc, pf: fantasies on Anna Bolena, Beatrice di Tenda, Il barbiere di Siviglia, I puritani, Jean de Paris, Joseph, La dame blanche, La sonnambula, Le nozze di Figaro, L'elisir d'amore, Norma, Parisina, Richard Coeur-de-Lion
Pedagogical works: Ecole du violoncelle, 2 vc, opp.19–21, 34 (1839–46); Cours méthodique de duos, 2 vc, opp.49–54 (1847); 20 petites études, vc, db, op.77 (1855); 12 études, vc, db, op.78 (1855)
For fuller list of works see Almeida

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ANDREW LAMB

Offerenda. Mass chants in the Ambrosian rite, corresponding to the Roman offertories. *See* AMBROSIAN CHANT, §7(i), and OFFERTORY, §3.

Offererius. *See* UFFERERII, GIOVANNI DAMASCENI.

Offertory [offertorium, offerenda]. A chant of the Western Mass rites sung while bread and wine are prepared for eucharistic consecration. It is also the post-medieval name for the complex of priestly prayers and ritual actions (mixing of wine and water, incensation, washing of the hands) that took place during this part of the Mass. In its full medieval form the offertory chant consisted of a choral refrain in richly neumatic style with two or three neumatic–melismatic verses sung by a soloist. The latter part of the refrain (known as the *repetendum*) was repeated after each verse. Related to the offertory of the Roman Mass are the Ambrosian *offerenda*, the Mozarabic *sacrificium* and the Gallican *sonus*.

1. Origin and early history. 2. Offertories of Old Roman and Gregorian chant. 3. Other rites. 4. Post-medieval developments.

1. ORIGIN AND EARLY HISTORY. The earliest descriptions of the Mass (Justin Martyr, Hippolytus) do not single out the placing of bread and wine on the altar as an important ritual event surrounded by prayers and singing. Although nothing is known about the origins of the offertory, it was presumably introduced into the Mass after the gradual, communion and introit chants. The widespread view that Augustine's allusion (*c*400) to a Carthaginian practice of singing 'hymni ad altare . . . ante oblationem' refers to singing at the offertory can no longer be maintained. Augustine defended the practice in a lost tract *Contra Hilarem*, but its exact nature cannot now be ascertained. The earliest reference to singing at this point in the liturgy might be a statement (before 620) by Isidore of Seville about 'Offertoria quae in sacrificiorum honore canuntur' (*De ecclesiasticis officiis*, i.14; *PL* lxxxiii, 751, cf lxxxiii, 896), if this is not actually a reference to music during Jewish Temple sacrifices. Some medieval commentators on the liturgy viewed such Jewish ritual music as prefiguring the Christian offertory chant, although Walafrid Strabo (*c*831) believed that the early Christians made their offerings in silence (*Liber de exordiis et incrementis*, xxiii).

The earliest reference to singing at this point during the Roman Mass occurs in *Ordo Romanus I*, a description of the papal Mass at about the turn of the 8th century. By this time an elaborate ritual already surrounded the reception of bread and wine from members of the Roman aristocracy by the pope and his retinue. It is not entirely clear whether ordinary members of the congregation participated. The offertory chant (*offertorium*) is mentioned only when the pope gives the Schola Cantorum a signal that it should be brought to a conclusion (*Ordo I*, 85; Andrieu, ii, 95). (*Ordo Romanus I* also calls the veil used to hold the handles of the large chalice into which offerings of wine were poured an 'offertorium'.) Nothing can be known about the form or musical style of the offertory chant at this period, save that its length could be adjusted to cover the time it took to gather the offerings. Before the end of the 8th century a visitor to Rome who made random observations about the Lenten liturgy thought the verse(s) worthy of mention (*Ordo XXII*, 21; Andrieu, iii, 262), something he would not have done were these set to a simple psalm tone. Three of

the earliest unnotated *gradualia* from the 9th century (Mont-Blandin, Compiègne, Senlis) contain two or three verses for most offertories, and the Gallicanized episcopal Mass described in *Ordo Romanus V* (late 9th century) notes specifically that during the people's offering 'cantores cantant offertorium cum versibus'.

It has been claimed that the offertory was originally an antiphonal chant associated with psalmody, like the other 'processional' chants of the Mass – the introit and communion. This analogy rests in part on the assumption that a lay procession to the sanctuary for the presentation of bread and wine (and possibly other offerings) constituted an original element of the ceremony. Early evidence for a procession of this type at Rome is non-existent. It might have been a Carolingian contribution to the liturgy, but the extent to which the laity customarily made a solemn liturgical presentation of their offerings at Mass during the Middle Ages has yet to be clarified. Certain lavish donations to the church (precious sacred vessels or property) might have been carried in procession and placed on the altar during the offertory of the Mass.

Those who defend the theory of an antiphonal origin claim that the offertory chant later became a responsorial chant with melodically developed refrain and verses. In an attempt to determine when this might have happened, Apel noted that Aurelian of Réôme claimed that 'the verses of the offertories are inserted in them *per tonos*' (*Musica disciplina*, x.12; ed. L. Gushee, CSM, xxi, 1975, p.87). Apel construed Aurelian's statement to mean that the verses were sung to standard 'offertory tones' in the mid-9th century, and he concluded that their absence in the tonary compiled by Regino of Prüm (915) was proof that the 'tones' had been discarded in favour of freely composed verses. Even though the offertories are listed in Aurelian's 'deuterologium tonorum', this is merely for the sake of an inclusiveness typical of the 'theoretical' tonaries. Neither the theorists of the Middle Ages nor any of the anonymous tonaries or medieval liturgical manuscripts consider the offertories anything other than responsorial chants. An antiphonal origin seems out of the question.

2. Offertories of Old Roman and Gregorian chant. The period during which new offertories were composed at Rome may have ended as early as the 8th century. When the Thursdays of Lent, hitherto deprived of Mass liturgies, were given their own Mass formularies by Pope Gregory III (715–31), pre-existing chants supplied all of the needed offertories. *Ad te levavi*, assigned to the Thursday after Ash Wednesday, is sung on Wednesday in the second week of Lent, on the tenth Sunday after Pentecost and on the first Sunday of Advent. In addition, about two dozen other medieval offertories are sung on more than one occasion. Feasts of saints of the same category (martyr, bishop) often share a common offertory. In a few cases offertory melodies have been adapted to different texts: *Viri Galilei* was reused for the offertories *Stetit angelus*, *Iustorum anime* and *Erue me*. The verses might not have been sung everywhere or necessarily in the same order; they fell out of general use by the 13th century. Not infrequently, they were transmitted in separate collections along with tropes and prosulas (*see* Sources, ms, §II, 3).

Most offertories in the Old Roman and Gregorian repertories draw their texts from the Book of *Psalms* (*see* Psalter, liturgical). In a study of the 107 offertory texts contained in the *Antiphonale missarum sextuplex* Hucke (1970) demonstrated the prevalence of two text types: (1) both refrain and verses freely selected from psalm verses not in the order of the Psalter; (2) the refrain selected from an interior psalm verse and the verses of the offertory from the beginning of the psalm. According to Hucke, these text types presuppose a responsorial, not an antiphonal, manner of performance. 18 Gregorian offertories have non-psalmic texts, 12 of which occur in Old Roman chant as well. Levy (1984) described these texts as 'librettos' specifically designed for a florid musical setting, and, on the basis of textual and musical parallels, he pointed towards Gaul as the source of the texts and possibly of aspects of their musical settings in the Mozarabic, Gregorian and Ambrosian repertories. The existence of these relationships would push the history of the offertory back to about 700.

Frequently, the texts of the Old Roman and Gregorian offertories were chosen for their close connection with the Gospel pericope or the introit of the day. *Iustitie Domini* for the third Sunday in Lent (ex.1) has a refrain pieced together from parts of three verses of Psalm xviii (xix), verses *9a*, *11b*, and *12a*. The Gospel of the day concludes with Jesus's proclamation that they are blessed who hear the word of God and keep it ('et custodiunt illud'). The offertory refrain closes with a similar phrase: 'for your servant keeps them' ('nam et servus tuus custodiet ea'). (The neuter plural 'ea' refers to the words 'iudicia eius', omitted by the compiler of the offertory text. The Cistercian and Dominican revisers of the chant inserted these words before 'dulciora' and supplied music for them.) The words 'illuminans oculos' ('illuminating the eyes') in the first verse of the offertory allude to the first words of the introit for this Sunday, *Oculi mei semper ad Dominum*.

Although the Gregorian offertory repertory is distinctive because each chant is unique, *Iustitie Domini* (ex.1) may serve as an adequate representation. The asterisk at the beginning of the second line of the refrain indicates the beginning of the *repetendum*. This phrase makes good textual sense following the first verse but links less satisfactorily with the second. The range of the refrain (*c–a*) and its concentration on *f* is entirely consistent with chants in mode 4, to which this piece was assigned by the *Graduale romanum*, although some medieval traditions assigned it to mode 6 with a final cadence on F. Verse 1 initiates the curve of intensification characteristic of the offertory chants. It breaks away from *f* and moves to the upper third, *a–c′* returning to *f* as a focal point in the last phrase, thus forming a smooth link with the *repetendum*. The first phrase of verse 2 explodes into the expansive lyricism encountered frequently in the Gregorian offertory verses. The insistence on a single pitch (here, *c′*) in the long final melisma also represents a distinctive feature of the repertory. Some melismas have repetition patterns (*aab*, *abb*), and the final melisma could be provided with a Prosula.

The Old Roman offertories (transcribed by Landwehr-Melnicki) have generally the same textual basis as their Gregorian counterparts. From a structural point of view, however, they differ significantly. They make extensive use of the repetition and artful recombination of phrases, long and short, and approximately two thirds of the repertory (59 of 94 offertories) makes greater or lesser use of two formulae (Dyer, 1998). The first of these (ex.2*a*, formula A, a formula with four elements that is

Ex.1 Gregorian offertory *Iustitie Domini* (after Ott, 94–6)

Iu - sti - ti - - e Do - mi - - - ni rec - - - tae lae - ti - fi - can - tes cor - - - da

*Et dul - ci - - o - - - ra su - per mel et fa - - - - - vum: nam et ser - vus tu - us

cus - to - - di - et e - - - - - a V.1: Prae - cep - - - - - - - tum

Do - - - - - - mi - ni lu - - ci - - - dum il - - lu - mi - nans o - cu - - - los:

ti - - mor De - - - - - - i san - ctus per - ma - net in sae - cu-lum sae - cu - - - li:

ju - di - ci - a Do - mi - ni ve - - - ra. *Et dul - ci - o - - - ra [etc] V.2: Et e - - - runt

ut com - pla - - - - - - - - - - - - ce - ant

e - lo - qui - a o - ris me - - - - i et me - di - ta - ti - o cor - dis me - - - i

in con - spe - - - - - - ctu tu - o sem - - - - - - - - - - - -

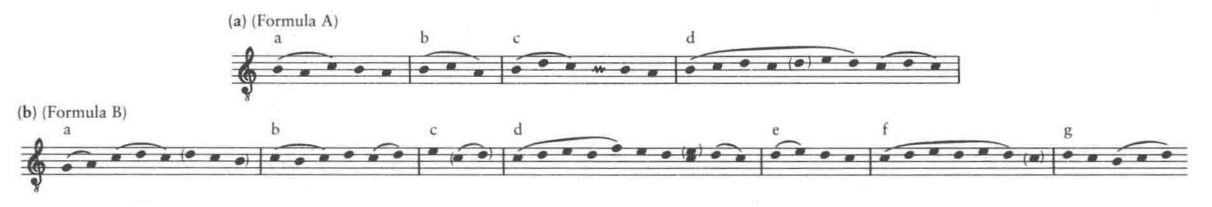
- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

- - - - - - - - - - per *Et dul - ci - o - - - - ra etc

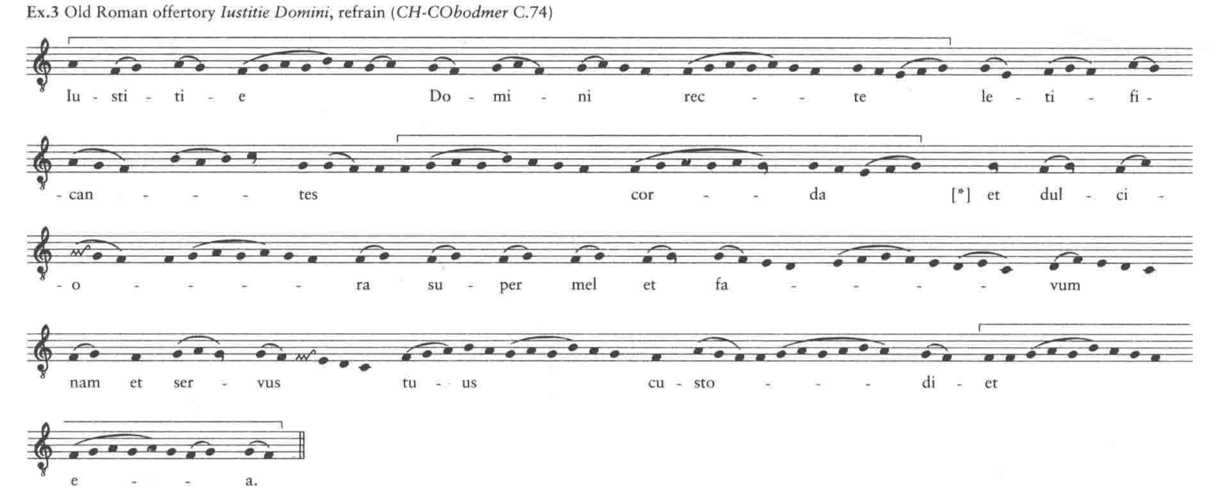
most often associated with E-mode offertories and verses, has as its most prominent feature a torculus (*b–c′–a*) that can be repeated several times to accommodate texts of varying lengths. The second formula consists of seven elements (ex.2*b*, formula B). Though found most frequently with F-mode offertories, it pervades a larger part of the offertory repertory than does the first formula. Allusions to this formula in the Old Roman offertory *Iustitie Domini* (ex.3) are indicated by brackets above the stave.

Certainly the most peculiar, and hitherto inexplicable, aspect of the Old Roman and Gregorian offertories is the presence of text repetition, found in 14 Old Roman and 13 Gregorian offertories. This can take two forms: (1) the immediate repetition of a text phrase, either with the same or slightly altered music (*AA*), or (2) the return of the first phrase of the refrain at its end (*ABA*). None of the various explanations proposed to account for this practice, unique to the offertory, has found general acceptance. The most extraordinary instance of repetition

Ex.2 Old Roman offertory reciting tones.



Ex.3 Old Roman offertory *Iustitie Domini*, refrain (*CH-CObodmer* C.74)



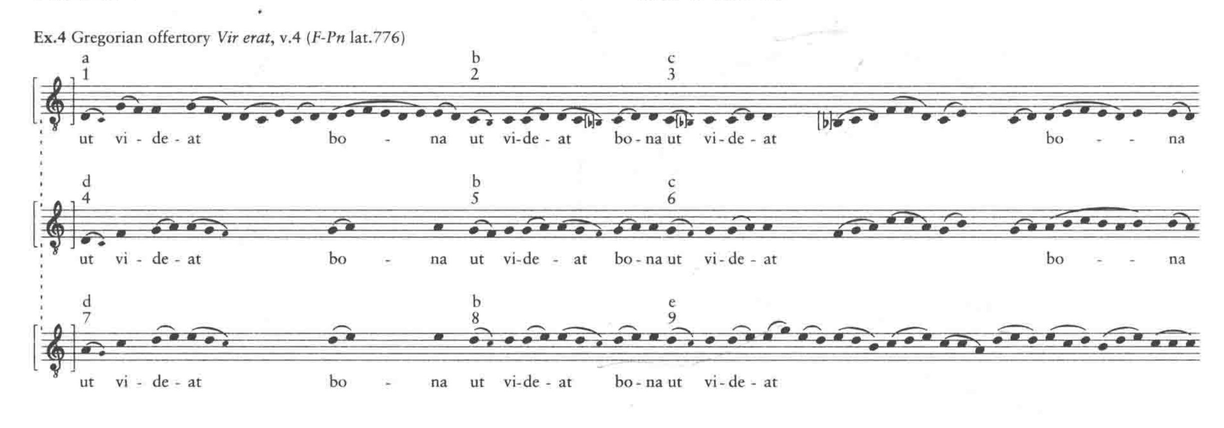
in the Old Roman and Gregorian offertories occurs in verse 4 of *Vir erat* (ex.4, transcribed by Ruth Steiner from the clefless but diastematic manuscript *F-Pn* lat.776), a text from the book of *Job*. In it 'ut videat/videam bona' is repeated nine times, although not all manuscript sources agree on the number of repetitions. As in *Iustitie Domini*, a gradual increase of tension may be observed in *Vir erat*: the first line hovers around *d*; the second group of repetitions moves a fifth higher to *a*; and the climax is reached with the last three anguished cries of the distressed Job. Each group of phrases closes with a melodically expanded variation of the first two sub-phrases.

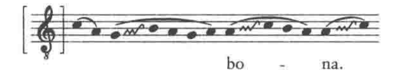
3. OTHER RITES. A large number of Mozarabic *sacrificia* are preserved, but only in staffless neumes that cannot be transcribed. Most of the texts are non-psalmic, though drawn from the Hebrew scriptures or the gospels (listed with sources in Randel, 457–71). Many of the texts refer to offering and sacrifice. Like the Old Roman and Gregorian offertory, the Mozarabic *sacrificium* consists of a refrain followed by several verses separated from each other by a *repetendum*. The musical style is prevailingly florid, thus making it regrettable that the corpus of what one authority has called 'the most prodigious chant in the old Spanish liturgy' cannot be recovered.

Evidence for the Gallican *sonus*, if this chant was indeed the equivalent of the Roman offertory, is far more tenuous. The account of the Gallican liturgy attributed to St Germanus (*d* 576), but probably written in Burgundy in the early 8th century, describes a solemn procession during which members of the clergy transfer bread and wine from the sacristy to the altar. The singing of the *sonus*, concluded by a triple alleluia, accompanied this procession. *Ordo Romanus XV* describes a similar ceremony accompanied by the singing of the antiphon *Laudate Dominum de celis*, to which a response is made. The author then continues: 'after this the clergy at once sing the offerenda, which the Franks call "sonus"' (*Ordo XV*, 134–44; Andrieu, iii, 122–3). With the possible exception of a few texts (see above) the Gallican repertory has been lost.

Many of the Milanese (Ambrosian) offertories (*offerendae*) are related to Gregorian offertories but there are fewer verses present in the repertory. Most of the texts are psalmic, although a number of Ambrosian offertories share the non-psalmic 'libretto' texts that might have a Gallican origin. The Ambrosian offertory refrains manifest about the same level of melodic elaboration as their Gregorian equivalents. They have notable melismas, sometimes even at the beginning of the refrain, as in *Haec dicit Dominus*.

Ex.4 Gregorian offertory *Vir erat*, v.4 (*F-Pn* lat.776)





letters above stave indicate motivic structure
figures above stave indicate phrase repetitions

4. Post-medieval developments. As the sense of liturgical integrity weakened, the singing of the proper chant offertories declined. Polyphonic settings of the offertory were neglected during the Renaissance, possibly because the florid melodies of the chant offertories did not lend themselves to cantus firmus treatment (see Lipphardt). The 68 offertories for five voices in Palestrina's superb collection, *Offertoria totius anni* (1593), make use of freely invented motifs. Lassus had earlier published polyphonic offertories in two collections entitled *Sacrae cantiones* (1582 and 1585).

During the 17th and 18th centuries settings of the offertory texts were adapted to current modes of musical expression, although *stile antico* polyphony was not entirely abandoned. In Germany the offertory took on the aspect of an orchestrally accompanied cantata with recitatives, arias and instrumental movements, and the traditional offertory texts sometimes yielded to newly composed poetry. Symphonic movements also found a place at the offertory. French organ masses included an *offertoire*, a form that reached grand proportions in François Couperin's *Pièces d'orgue consistantes en deux messes* (1690). Italian organ composers wrote spirited *offertori* for this point in the liturgy.

The musical treatment of the offertory ('offering') in contemporary Christian churches varies widely. If a choir is present, an anthem with a text relating to the prescribed liturgy of the day or theme of the service can be performed, a role that might also be filled by a vocal soloist. Organ or instrumental music, or a hymn sung by the congregation, are other alternatives. When the offerings have been gathered, they (along with bread and wine, if the Eucharist is to be celebrated) are brought forward with a certain degree of ceremony. The congregation then sings an appropriate brief sentence or a stanza of a hymn. 'Praise God from whom all blessings flow', sung to the tune 'Old Hundredth', serves this purpose in many Protestant churches of the English-speaking world. Some service books provide other musical options, such as 'What shall I render' and 'Let the vineyards be fruitful' in the American *Lutheran Book of Worship*.

See also Old roman chant; Gallian chant; Ambrosian chant; and Mozarabic chant.

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Office, Divine. *See* Divine office.

Oficleide (It.) *See* OPHICLEIDE.

Ofterdingen, Heinrich von. *See* HEINRICH VON OFTERDINGEN.

Ó Gallchobhair, Éamonn [O'Gallagher, Eamonn] (*b* Dundalk, 30 Sept 1906; *d* Spain, 27 Dec 1982). Irish composer. He studied in Dublin at the Leinster School of Music and the Royal Irish Academy of Music. His strong personality led to a varied succession of appointments. He served as the music director at the Abbey theatre, conducted Radio Éireann's Light Orchestra and later became a member of the station's music staff. A leading advocate for the development of a distinctive Irish school of composition, he devoted considerable energy as a critic to combating in writing those who argued for a broader compositional outlook.

An active composer in smaller forms, Ó Gallchobhair wrote in a determinedly nationalistic musical style. The structures and harmonies of traditional music strongly inform his works. Five operas survive, all of which are in Irish. Many of his choral and solo vocal works also set Gaelic texts. His sacred works include mass settings and a short *St John Passion* for male voices (1950). Among his most expressive compositions are the *Three Aquarelles* (1952), orchestral complements to watercolours painted by his wife, Mollie Ó Gallchobhair. He also wrote a considerable body of incidental music for productions at the Abbey theatre and scores for films and documentaries.

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Oganesyan, Edgar Sergeyi. *See* HOVHANESIAN, EDGAR SERGEYI.

Oganezashvili, Sasha [Oganyan, Aleksandr] (*b* Soganlug, Georgia, 1889; *d* Tbilisi, 31 May 1932). Armenian *k'emanch'a* player, teacher, theorist and composer. He began to play the *k'emanch'a* at the age of seven and joined a *sazander* ensemble in which he played the *tiplipito* and the *duduk* as well as the *k'emanch'a*. He became a soloist in the composer Anton Mailian's Eastern Orchestra in Baku in 1905 and often appeared with the instrumental *ashugh* group Haziri in Tbilisi. In the same year he toured the Transcaucasian region, Central Asia and Iran with two *mugam* performers, the singer D. Karyagdogli and the *t'ař* player K. Pirimov. During the period 1906–12 recordings of his performances of classical *mugam* and Armenian dance music were released by the companies Kontzert-Rekord, Patye and Sport-Rekord. He studied the *k'emanch'a* with Oganez Oganezov, an authority on the Persian *mugam*, and took the pseudonym Oganezashvili ('son of Oganez') in his honour; Oganezashvili added a fourth string to the *k'emanch'a*, which significantly widened its range and thereby increased its potential as a solo instrument.

In 1920 he became the first rector of the Eastern Conservatory in Baku, which taught the theory of eastern music and eastern folk-instrument playing. He began to teach the *k'emanch'a* and music theory in Tbilisi in 1924, and in 1926 he founded a Faculty of Eastern Music at the Yerevan Komitas State Conservatory, at the same time directing and performing as a soloist with the Ensemble of Folk Instruments of Radio Armenia. His students included the *k'emanch'a* players and composers Guzgen Mirzoian and Aram Merangulian. During the late 1920s Oganezashvili worked in the Ton archive in Berlin and took part in the World Exhibition in Frankfurt (1927). He also wrote a series of articles about the monodic musical culture of the Transcaucasus and Iran. His compositions include *Farkhad i Shirin* (1911) and pieces for *k'emanch'a*s, violin and piano.

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ALINA PAHLEVANIAN

Ogdon, John (Andrew Howard) (*b* Mansfield Woodhouse, Notts., 27 Jan 1937; *d* London, 1 Aug 1989). English pianist and composer. His first serious piano study was at the Royal Manchester College of Music in 1945 with Iso Elinson. Later teachers included Claud Biggs and Egon Petri, Richard Hall and George Lloyd. As a student he gave the premières of works by Goehr, Maxwell Davies and himself as part of the Manchester New Music Group. He first attracted attention in 1958 when at short notice he replaced an indisposed soloist in Liverpool and performed Brahms's Second Concerto almost at sight. Later that year in the same city he gave the first of his many performances of Busoni's Concerto with a mastery that astounded the audience. His London recital début in 1959 was equally memorable, so complete was his technical command, so refreshing and true his interpretative imagination. He first appeared at the Proms later that year. In 1960 he gained the Busoni Prize and the following year received the Liszt Prize in London. In 1962 he shared with Vladimir Ashkenazy the coveted first prize in the Moscow Tchaikovsky Competition, an achievement that launched his international career.

Ogdon's vast repertory and recorded legacy embraced almost every imaginable aspect of pianism. Already well known for performing popular Classical and Romantic masterpieces and an astonishing variety of 20th-century music, he went on to champion important and lesser-known music from past and present, most notably Alkan, Liszt and Busoni and many of his own contemporaries and compatriots, giving numerous first performances

along the way and making many notable recordings. He also gave many duet recitals with Brenda Lucas, whom he married in 1960. A prolific composer, especially of keyboard music, he saw the act of composition as an indispensable part of his overall musical development which influenced his approach to performance. No pianistic challenge proved too much for him; his capacity to absorb substantial works at a glance has already passed into legend and helped him conquer peaks of piano literature hitherto considered unscalable. Modest in demeanour, economical and undemonstrative in his keyboard manner, he was, like most great pianists, a sympathetic chamber musician and accompanist; at the same time his colossal range and control of dynamics, digital brilliance and seemingly limitless resources of physical stamina enabled him to unleash torrents of virtuosity with ease, although always at the service of the music. A widely read man of profound intellect who never took any repertory for granted, he often wrote copious notes about pieces; he even arrived at one recording session clutching his substantial essay on Chopin's G minor Ballade.

During the 1970s he suffered increasingly from mental illness which was eventually diagnosed as schizophrenia. The most outstanding achievement of his final years, when his condition was largely stabilized, was his recording and performance of Sorabji's massive *Opus clavicembalisticum*. To hold an entire audience's attention throughout more than four hours of almost unremitting complexity relieved only by transcendental virtuosity is a tribute to Ogdon's unique genius as well as to the emotional and intellectual power of Sorabji's music. At recording sessions for this work he generally chose to warm up with Busoni's *Fantasia contrappuntistica*; the four-CD boxed set which was released a few months after Sorabji's death has come to be regarded as the crowning glory of Ogdon's career. His own death a few weeks later, at the age of only 52, robbed the musical world of one of the most remarkable figures in the history of piano playing. Ogdon's compositions, many in manuscript and some incomplete, are detailed in S. Atman: *The Compositions of John Ogdon: a Catalogue* (MS, 1990). A substantial collection of his manuscripts is held at the RNCM, Manchester.

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ALISTAIR HINTON

Ogelby, John. *See* OGILBY, JOHN.

Ogier. *See* HOGER DE LAON.

Ogilby [Ogelby, Oglivie], **John** (*b* north of Dundee, Angus, Nov 1600; *d* London, 4 Sept 1676). Scottish dancing-master, theatrical impresario, writer, publisher and possibly composer, active partly in Ireland. A man of extraordinary versatility who was adept at attracting influential patronage, he successfully survived many misfortunes. His career began as a dancer at the court of Charles I. After a fall during a court masque in 1621 he was forced to give up dancing and became a dancing master and choreographer. About 1633 he accompanied the Duke of Wentworth (later the Earl of Strafford) to Dublin. He is important in the history of music in Ireland as the first holder there of the title of Master of the Revels, a position created for him by the Earl as Lord Deputy on 28 February 1638. In this capacity he erected in Werburgh Street, close to Dublin Castle, the first theatre to be built in the British Isles outside London. On the outbreak of the Civil War in 1641 his theatre was closed and soon fell into ruin, and he returned destitute to England shortly after. He then turned to translating the classics, including Virgil, Aesop and Homer, and established a profitable publishing business in London issuing both his translations and travel books.

After the Restoration he attracted the attention of Charles II and outmanoeuvred William Davenant in obtaining once again, on 8 May 1661, the monopoly of theatrical interests in Ireland and immediately built the Smock Alley Theatre, which was opened in the autumn of 1662 and survived until 1787. There is evidence that he was at least to some extent versed in musical composition, since the libretto of the musical play *Pompey* by Mrs Philips, which was performed at the Smock Alley Theatre on 10 February 1663, states that the play concluded with 'a Grand Masque Danc'd before Caesar and Cleopatra made as well as the other Dances and the Tunes to them by Mr John Ogilby'.

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BRIAN BOYDELL

Oginaga, Joaquin de. *See* OXINAGA, JOAQUÍN DE.

Ogiński. Polish family of musicians.

(1) Michał Kazimierz Ogiński (*b* Warsaw, 1728; *d* Warsaw, 31 May 1800). Prince, Grand Hetman of Lithuania, musician and poet. In his youth he spent seven years in France, first at the court of Stanisław Leszczyński at Lunéville and then in Paris. He was taught the violin by G.B. Viotti, and also learnt the clarinet and harp. His improved harp pedal system was adopted in 1762 by the firm of Erard in Paris; he wrote the article on the harp for Diderot's *Encyclopédie* (Paris, 1765). From 1771 Ogiński maintained an opera company with ballet and orchestra at his residence at Słonim, Lithuania; it had a large repertory of Polish, Italian, French and German operas and symphonies. He founded a school for local children, who in 1777 acted Rousseau's *Pygmalion* in French at his second theatre at Siedlce, near Lublin. Ogiński's compositions include several operas and songs (for which he also wrote the texts), a ballet celebrating the anniversary of the coronation of Stanisław August (Warsaw, 24 November 1765; now lost) and several polonaises and mazurkas.

WORKS

Spl (librettos by the composer, first performed Słonim, unless otherwise stated): Filozof zmieniony [The Transformed

Philosopher], 1771, *PL-Wn*; Opuszczone dzieci [The Forsaken Children], 1771, *WRzno*; Kondycje stanów [The Social Position of the Classes], 1781, *Wn*; Pola Elizejskie [The Elysian Fields], 1781, *Wn*; Cyganie [The Gypsies] (F.D. Kniaźnin), Siedlce, 1786; Mocy Świata [The Powers of the World], before 1788, *Wn*

26 songs: 12 without acc., 1770, *Wn*; 14, acc. 2 vn, b, in *Bajki i Niebajki*, i–ii (Warsaw, 1788)

Inst: 3 National Polonaisen, pf 4 hands (Berlin, n.d.); Polonaise, G, vn, pf, ed. in *Kurier Warszawski* (1902), no.1; others, *Wtm*

(2) **Michał Kleofas Ogiński** (*b* Guzów, nr Warsaw, 25 Sept 1765; *d* Florence, 15 Oct 1833). Composer, nephew of (1) Michał Kazimierz Ogiński. He first studied the violin and piano at Guzów with Józef Kozłowski (1773–8); later he took occasional violin lessons from Viotti (1798), Baillot (1810) and others. From 1789 he held various ambassadorial and governmental positions in the Netherlands (1790), London (1791), Warsaw (as Grand Treasurer of Lithuania, 1793–4), Constantinople (1796) and elsewhere. He travelled throughout Europe, settling in 1802 at Zalesie, near Vilnius, and in 1815 in Italy.

Ogiński is chiefly noted for his piano works, particularly the polonaises, the melancholy, lyrical mood of which suited the taste of the times and expressed Polish patriotism. Many contemporary composers such as Elsner, Kurpiński and Szymanowska were influenced by his works in this form. Ogiński wrote about 20, published in many editions in Poland and abroad, the best known being *Pożegnanie Ojczyzny* ('Farewell to the Fatherland'). His vocal works include an opera and many songs; a number of patriotic songs written for the Polish regiment he maintained in the early 1790s are now lost.

WORKS

Pf 2–4 hands: *c*20 polonaises, incl. 'Les adieux' (Warsaw, 1803), Pożegnanie Ojczyzny [Farewell to the Fatherland] (n.p., 1831); mazurkas, waltzes, marches, incl. Marche pour les légions polonaises en 1797 (Leipzig, 1825); Menuet, *PL-Kj*

Vocal: Zélis et Valcour ou Bonaparte au Caïre (op, 1, Ogiński), 1799, *Kj*; 13 romances (It., Fr.); 2 songs (Pol.), ed. W. Poźniak (Kraków, 1962)

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Lettres sur la musique adressées à un de ses amis de Florence en 1825 (MS, *PL-Kj*; Pol. trans., 1956)

Others (MSS, *USSR-Mcl*)

(3) **Franciszek Ksawery Ogiński** (*b* 1801; *d* 1837). Composer, eldest son of (2) Michał Kleofas Ogiński. He wrote polonaises for the piano, including two sets of three each published in Warsaw (after 1822, 1827–8) as well as romances for voice and piano including *Le page blessé à Pavie* (St Petersburg, n.d.) and three to texts by Scott and Zan (Warsaw, 1829).

Another son of (2) M.K. Ogiński, Tadeusz Ogiński, wrote a *Marche à quatre mains* (22 October 1822, *PL-Kj*), and a daughter Amelia Ogińska wrote several works at Zalesie (now in *Kj*): *Polonaise à 4 mains* (10 November 1822), and two *romances* ('Mon âme aujourd'hui', 1825, and 'J'aime la nuit').

The Polish composer Karol Ogiński (*fl* mid-18th century) did not belong to the princely family. He was probably a member of the orchestra of the Duke of Mecklenburg; his Sonata for violin and piano survives (*D-SWl*, ed. K. Sikorski, Kraków, 1955).

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B. Mucha: *Artyści polscy w nowozytnejt Rosji* [Polish artists in modern Russia] (Łódź, 1994)

ALINA NOWAK-ROMANOWICZ

Oglio, Domenico dall'. *See* DALL'OGLIO, DOMENICO.

Oglio, Giovanni Battista dall'. Italian music theorist, not related to DOMENICO DALL'OGLIO.

Oglio, Giuseppe dall'. Italian cellist, brother of DOMENICO DALL'OGLIO.

Oglivie, John. *See* OGILBY, JOHN.

Ognivtsev, Aleksandr Pavlovich (*b* Petrovskoye, Lugansk region, 27 Aug 1920). Russian bass. In 1949 he graduated from the Kishinyov conservatory and was engaged as a soloist by the Bol'shoy. His début as Dosifey (*Khovanshchina*) and his performances as Boris soon afterwards brought him immediate recognition as a singer of unusual dramatic accomplishment and authority, with a strong, beautiful voice of velvety timbre, and an imposing stage presence. A versatile actor, he took with equal success roles in high tragedy, complex psychological drama and comedy: his repertory included Ivan the Terrible (*The Maid of Pskov*), Prince Gremin (*Yevgeny Onegin*) and René (*Iolanta*), Gounod's Méphistophélès, Rossini's Don Basilio, Philip II, and the General (Prokofiev's *Gambler*), which he sang on the Bol'shoy visit to the Metropolitan in 1975. He created Nicholas I in Shaporin's *The Decembrists* (1953) and the Leader in Kholminov's *Optimisticheskaya tragediya* ('An Optimistic Tragedy', 1964), and sang Theseus in the first performances in the USSR of Britten's *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (1965). His film appearances included Aleko (in Rachmaninoff's opera, 1954). In 1965 he was made People's Artist of the USSR.

I.M. YAMPOL'SKY

Ogolevets, Aleksey Stepanovich (*b* Poltava, 17/29 May 1894; *d* Moscow, 15 Aug 1967). Soviet music historian, theorist, pianist and instrument maker. In 1912 he went to Moscow University to read physics and mathematics, but he changed to law and graduated in 1917. At the same time he studied at the Moscow People's Conservatory under Boleslav Yavorsky (composition) and Yevgeny Bogoslovsky and Aleksandr Goedicke (piano). Between 1912 and 1916 he appeared as a concert pianist and performed his own sonatas (all five of which have remained in manuscript) and other works, stylistically influenced by the Taneyev school. In 1915 he started teaching at the conservatory. He edited the literary journal *Gyulistan*, and from 1923 to 1933 held a number of posts in different publishing houses; from 1937 to 1941 he was

editor of the publishing house of the USSR Academy of Architecture. For several years he played an active part in the Union of Soviet Composers; he was chairman of the Moscow branch (1933–8), a member of the standing committee (1934–7) and vice-chairman of the Kuybïshev branch (1941–3). From 1953 until his death he was on the executive committee of the Society for Indo-Soviet Cultural Relations, and from 1952 until 1962 he was general editor of the research publication *Voprosï muzïkoznaniya* ('Questions of musicology').

In 1923 Ogolevets began his research into the harmonic possibilities of the untempered scale, and an important stage in this work was the construction in 1935 of a harmonium which was the first instrument to use a 17-note system. He discussed the general application of the results he had obtained in his monumental work *Osnovï garmonicheskogo yazïka* (1941). He continued his studies with an examination of the 17-note system of the Arabs and the 22-note system, or *shruti*, of the Indian peoples. After World War II he devoted most of his time to research, studying problems of the laws of harmony in European and Asian music, and problems of the pitch and intonation of language and music.

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IGOR' BĖLZA

O'Hagan, Betsy. *See* WRIGHT, LAWRENCE.

O'Hampsey, Denis. *See* HEMPSON, DENIS.

Ohana, Maurice (*b* Casablanca, 12 June 1913; *d* Paris, 13 Nov 1992). French composer of Spanish descent. One of the leading independent figures in French music during the second half of the 20th century.

1. Background. 2. Achievement.

1. BACKGROUND. Throughout his life Ohana claimed to have been born in 1914. By his own declaration he was plagued by superstitions, particularly concerning the number 13: there is a certain irony, therefore, in the date of his death.

Ohana was described by Gide as a French Joseph Conrad. The intriguing parallel highlights the unusual complexity of Ohana's cultural origins which, like those of the Ukrainian-born Pole, were different from his bureaucratic national identity. Both Ohana and Conrad were British citizens. (Ohana took French nationality in 1976.) Born in French, colonial Morocco into a family of Spanish origins (Gibraltarian-Andalusian on his father's side and Andalusian-Castilian on his mother's), Ohana inherited his British citizenship from his father. The southern culture from which he stemmed reaches beyond the political boundaries of any one country; hence in later life he spoke more of cultural roots and geographical influence than of nationality. As in many Gibraltarian families, English was spoken in the Ohana household, as well as Spanish, while French was, by necessity, Ohana's language of education and training. He remained trilingual, publishing writings and conducting interviews in all three languages. Describing himself as Spanish by birth and upbringing but French by training and adoption, he had much in common with the stream of Spanish musicians, artists and writers who migrated north to Paris to exploit their cultural heritage. His cultural complexity contributed to the relative neglect of his music in the Anglo-Saxon world. In France, where fascination with the exotic and acceptance of the eclectic are long established, his music has enjoyed a position of eminence since his emergence as a composer in the 1950s. He received numerous prizes and distinctions throughout his lifetime.

Cosmopolitan in upbringing, he spent his youth in Morocco, Spain and the Basque region, and became familiar with Spanish folk music from an early age. He learnt many legends and dances of Spain, as well as repertory from the *chanson de geste* to the zarzuela from his mother, while his Andalusian-gypsy nurse nurtured him into the tradition of the *cante jondo*. His musical gifts were recognized early, and he gave his first public piano recital at the age of 11, the programme including Chopin's Study op.10 no.5 and Beethoven's op.13 Sonata. Soon after, he enrolled at the Bayonne Conservatoire, where he studied until 1931 as a pupil of Ermend Bonnal. Before the age of 18 he had publicly performed all 32 Beethoven piano sonatas, though as a mature composer he did not remember the experience fondly, feeling ill at ease with music belonging to the Austro-German tradition. Another teacher, Jéhanne Pâris, organist at Ste Eugénie in Biarritz, led him to discover many works, including the quartets of Debussy and Ravel, which remained important to him. He took the baccalauréat in 1932 and went to Paris the same year, originally to study architecture.

Following two years at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, he entered the Ecole Nationale Supérieure des Arts Decoratifs in 1934. He met Mallet Stephens and visited the workshop of Le Corbusier. Against his father's wishes he continued his musical training, studying piano with Lazare-Lévy and later with Frank Marshall. In 1936 he abandoned his architectural studies and devoted himself solely to the career of a pianist, giving his Paris début recital in February 1936 at the Salle Pleyel. Of mammoth proportions, the programme clearly revealed his instinctive cultural alignment and included works by Scarlatti, Chopin, Debussy, Granados, Ravel and Albéniz. Before the war he played in many European cities (including London), and he performed Falla's *Noches en los jardines de España* at the Salle Gaveau with the Lamoureux Orchestra and Eugène Bigot in both 1937 and 1938. Despite his success as a pianist, he was increasingly drawn to composition and made his first sketches at this time. Feeling the need to extend the scope of his musical training he enrolled at the Schola Cantorum in 1937 and studied for three years with Daniel-Lesur. His studies in counterpoint, plainsong and the medieval and Renaissance repertory, characteristic of the Schola, proved a lasting influence on his musical language and vocal style.

An earlier chance meeting with the flamenco dancer and singer La Argentinita (Encarnación Júlvez López) in October 1936 had encouraged him to look to his Spanish origins as the catalyst in developing a compositional style. Already an established artist closely associated with Lorca and his circle, La Argentinita was famed not only for her Ballet Espagnol and revival of traditional Spanish folk music but also her collaborations with Falla. Together with the guitarist Ramón Montoya, Ohana and La Argentinita formed a trio and made a tour of Spain and northern Europe that included appearances at the Salle Pleyel and the Arts Theatre Club in London. Some of Ohana's first works were composed for La Argentinita, although most he subsequently destroyed or withheld from publication. Through her he became acquainted with many of the leading figures in ballet at the time, these contacts resulting in several commissions for ballet scores during the 1950s. As a further encouragement to draw on Spanish subjects, La Argentinita gave Ohana the manuscript of Lorca's poem *Llanto por Ignacio Sánchez Mejías* which he set for baritone, narrator, chorus and orchestra in 1950.

Throughout this early period, Ohana became increasingly fascinated with improvised folk music traditions, including not only Spanish folk music and the jazz he heard in Paris, but African tribal music. When visiting his home in Casablanca, he travelled into the Atlas mountains to seek out the indigenous berbers, sometimes participating in their tribal ceremonies. He absorbed much about their means of improvisation and learned many of their choral songs and microtonal melodies. He also discovered sub-Saharan African music, the rhythmic processes of which proved a decisive influence on his compositional development. He continued to make journeys to Africa, north and south of the Sahara, until 1965. Although he published some studies of Spanish folk-music, most of his research was intended more for compositional than musicological purposes. The cross-fertilizations between Spanish and African musics and culture became an enduring fascination, African and Afro-Cuban rhythmic patterns and drumming techniques providing a stimulus to which his fullest response came in the works of his last decade, most notably his final work, *Avoaha* (1991).

2. ACHIEVEMENT. Ohana's real beginnings as a composer were interrupted by the outbreak of World War II. Fleeing France in 1940 via Portugal, he joined the British Army and saw active service in Africa, Madagascar, Greece and Italy. During periods of military inactivity he absorbed himself in the five scores he carried in his pack throughout his army life: Falla's *El retablo de maese Pedro* and Harpsichord Concerto, Debussy's *Prélude à l'après-midi d'un faune* and *Nocturnes*, and Ravel's Concerto for the Left Hand. Holding a commission in the Intelligence Corps, he found himself in 1944 in Rome, where he joined Casella's piano class at the Accademia di Santa Cecilia. His first published works, 'Enterrar y Callar' (*Trois caprices*) and the *Sonatine monodique*, both for piano, date from this period. Shortly after the cessation of hostilities he gave a recital at the Institut Français in Naples and there met Gide, who was impressed by his interpretations of Chopin. They remained in contact until Gide's death, and Ohana assisted on Gide's *Notes sur Chopin*. Following demobilization in 1946 Ohana settled permanently in Paris and devoted himself increasingly to composition, gradually winding down his performing activities.

Developing a musical language based on plainsong, techniques of early counterpoint, rhythmic processes derived from African tribal music, and melodic features from Spanish folk music, Ohana was not attracted to the new serialism of his contemporaries. He declared his fierce independence from Austro-German traditions by founding the Groupe Zodiaque in 1947 along with two other students of Daniel-Lesur, Alain Bermat and Pierre de la Forest-Divonne. They were joined in 1948 by Sergio de Castro, a former pupil of Falla, and Stanislaw Skrowaczewski, then studying with Nadia Boulanger. The group, which mounted concerts on French Radio and at the Salle Gaveau from 1947 to 1950, rejected not only the tyranny of serialism and the neo-Romanticism of La Jeune France but all aesthetic dogma, advocating instead a reassessment of their respective folk music traditions and plainsong as the basis for an organic musical language that should avoid any elaborate precompositional system. Ohana's conscious distancing of himself from Darmstadt resulted in exclusion from the concerts of the Domaine Musical, which in turn contributed to his neglect in the United Kingdom. Sympathetic to the independent standpoint of the Zodiaque composers, the positions both Dutilleux and Daniel-Lesur held at French radio were crucial in providing a platform for the group's music. Although Zodiaque had disintegrated by 1950, Ohana kept his association with French radio and worked for a short time with Pierre Schaeffer; he incorporated electronic tape in several works, most notably in *Sibylle* (1968) where it is combined with soprano and percussion.

Many of Ohana's works of the 1950s draw on Spanish subjects and texts, or allude to forms borrowed from Spanish folk music. His setting of Lorca's *Llanto por Ignacio Sánchez Mejías* owes much to the timbral acidity of Falla and includes an orchestral harpsichord. Together with *Cantigas*, based on the monodies of Alfonso el Sabio, these were his first important large-scale works, and show his growing predilection for the voice. *Tiento* alludes to the traditional Spanish form associated with the guitar, while the guitar concerto *Trois graphiques*, *Si le jour paraît. . .* and the *Trois caprices* are based on engravings by Goya. While Spanish influences continued to emerge in certain mature works, notably the first cello concerto, *Anneau du Tamarit*, and the opera *La Célestine*, they were absorbed into a more homogeneous, if widely eclectic musical language that includes elements of jazz, Afro-Cuban music, and Chinese and Japanese theatre music. His melodic parallelism and colouristic view of harmony as timbre, or sound mass, owes much to Debussy and has parallels in Varèse, just as his superimposed layers of ostinatos in aleatory counterpoint owe much to Stravinsky and have parallels in Lutosławski. His first incorporations of African and Afro-Cuban rhythmic patterns appear in the percussion ballet *Etudes chorégraphiques*, but were more fully developed in the layering techniques of the percussion concertos *Synaxis* and *Silenciaire*, and more freely adapted in certain vocal works, particularly *Cris*, *Lys de madrigaux* and the Mass.

As a result of the stylistic and technical experimentation prompted by Ohana's many commissions for incidental music in the 1950s and early 1960s, the middle 1960s marked a stylistic watershed and witnessed the emergence of his mature style. The *Quatre improvisations* for flute

Ex.1 Ohana's micro-interval scales of third-tones illustrating their construction from both whole-tone scales



seek to recreate the spontaneity of improvisation, while *Tombeau de Claude Debussy* for soprano, piano, zither and orchestra, takes as its point of departure several piano works of Debussy and makes use of a coordinated system of third-tones, created by subdividing each interval of either whole-tone scale into three (ex.1); the third-tone-tuned zither was thenceforth a recurrent feature of his music. The first string quartet, *Cinq séquences*, includes sections of aleatory counterpoint, and *Si le jour paraît. . .* for the newly invented ten-string guitar, further explores an Impressionism stemming from Debussy. Incorporating all these new textures and techniques, *Signes* for instrumental ensemble (1965) represents the complete emergence of his mature style. It is the first of a series of eleven works composed during the 1960s and 1970s bearing esoteric titles beginning with the same letter, the 'Sigma Series', which according to the composer symbolized evolution and the proliferation of his mature style into his second 50 years. With its title partly borne out by hand-drawn ciphers at the head of each movement, *Signes* is also one of many works to incorporate allusions to extra-musical symbolism, in this case the image of the tree. Other works notable for their allusive symbolism include the chamber opera *Auto-da-fé*, the orchestral works *T'Harân-Ngô* and *Livre des prodiges*, and *Trois contes de l'honorable fleur*, music theatre for soprano and ensemble.

Ohana contributed to almost every vocal and instrumental genre and was conspicuous in the harpsichord revival: the concerto *Chiffres de clavecin* and the opera *La Célestine* are representative. In *Sacral d'Ilx* for harpsichord, oboe and horn he used the instrumental combination envisaged by Debussy for the fourth of his uncompleted series of late sonatas. Other instruments he favoured include the guitar, the piano and the two he invented: the third-tone zither and the ten-string guitar. Prolific as a composer for the voice, writing opera, chamber opera and music theatre, as well as non-dramatic works, he concentrated on vocal music in his last years and produced some of his most personal statements. In *Swan Song* (1987–8) he composed his epitaph.

WORKS

STAGE

Les répresentations de Tanit (ballet, M. Béjart), orch, 1951, Enghien, Casino, 1956; suite, pf, withdrawn

La soirée des proverbes (incid music, G. Schéhadé) (fl, 2 ob, bn, hn, perc)/(fl, perc), 1953–4, unpubd, Paris, Marigny, 30 Jan 1954

Paso, solea (ballet, F. Dominique), orch, 1954, Lyons, Opéra, 1955, unpubd

Etudes chorégraphiques (ballet, M. Parrès), 4–6 perc, 1955–61, Strasbourg, 8 June 1963

Le guignol au gourdin (incid music, F. García Lorca: *Tragicomedia de Don Cristobal y la seña Rosita*), 1956, unpubd; arr. as music theatre, 1958, Carcassonne, July 1958

Prométhée (ballet, Béjart), chbr orch, 1955–6, Lyons, July 1956, withdrawn; suite, orch, 1958

Récit de l'an zéro (dramatic orat, G. Schéhadé), 1958–9, Paris, Grand Auditorium de l'ORTF, 11 April 1959

Histoire véridique de Jacotin (incid music, C.J. Cela, adapted A. Trutat), 1961, Paris, ORTF, 1961; rev. as Le mariage sous la mer (children's chbr op), 1990, Boulogne-Billancourt, Conservatoire National, 18 April 1991

Syllabaire pour Phèdre (chbr op, 6 episodes, R. Cluzel and M. Ohana, after Euripides), 1966–7, Paris, Musique, 5 Feb 1968

Auto-da-fé (dramatic cant., Ohana) spkr, 3 SATB, ens, puppets, 1971, Vaison-la-Romaine, 9 Aug 1971; rev. 1972 as chbr op (10 scenes, Ohana), Lyons, Opéra, 23 May 1972

Office des oracles (music theatre, Ohana), 1974, La Sainte-Baume, 9 Aug 1974

Trois contes de l'honorable fleur (music theatre, O. Marcel, after Ohana), 1978, Avignon, 15 July 1978

La Célestine (op, 2, Ohana and O. Marcel, after F. de Rojas), 1982–8, Paris, Opéra, 13 June 1988; see also VOCAL [Suite de concert de la Célestine 1989–90; 3 prophéties de la Sibylle, 1989–90]; CHAMBER AND SOLO INSTRUMENTAL [Miroir de Célestine, 1989–90]

Sundown Dances (ballet, E. Hawkins), fl, cl, tpt, trbn, perc, vn. db, 1990, Washington, DC, Kennedy Center, May 1991

OTHER INCIDENTAL MUSIC
(selective list)

Les hommes et les autres (A. Trutat, after E. Vittorini), ens, 1956, unpubd; Médée (J. Bergamin, after Seneca), ens, 1956; Images de Don Quichotte, ens, 1956; Fuenteovejuna (Lope de Vega), SATB, wind, perc, 1957, unpubd; Homère et l'orchidée (B. Horowiscz), ⅓-tone zither, 1959, withdrawn; Hélène (Euripides), female chorus, ens, 1963, unpubd; Les héraclides (Euripides), SATB, wind, pf, ⅓-tone zither, perc, 1964, unpubd; Iphigénie en Tauride (Euripides), solo vv, pf, ⅓-tone zither, 4 perc, 1965, unpubd; Hippolyte (Euripides), S, Mez, SATB, ens, 1966, unpubd

ORCHESTRAL

Sarabande, hpd, orch, 1950, unpubd; 3 graphiques, gui, orch, 4 perc, 1950–57; Synaxis, 2 pf, 4 perc, orch, 1966; Chiffres de clavecin, hpd, orch, 1968; Silenciaire, 6 perc, str, 1969; T'Harân-Ngô, orch, 1974; Anneau du Tamarit, vc, orch, 1976; Livre des prodiges, orch, 1978–9; Crypt, str, 1980; Pf Conc. 1981; In Dark and Blue, vc, orch, 1989–90

VOCAL

Choral: Llanto por Ignacio Sánchez Mejías (García Lorca), orat, Bar, spkr, female vv, orch, 1950; Cantigas (J. de Valdivielso, F.A. Mortesino, G. de Berceo, Alfonso X, J. Alvarez), child's voice, S, Mez, SATB, pf, orch, 1953–4; Cris, SATB, 1968–9; Lys de madrigaux, female vv, ens, 1975–6; Mass, S, Mez, SATB, ens, 1977; 4 choeurs, children's vv, 1987; Lux Noctis – Dies solis (Catullus, Lat. anon.), 4 choral groups, children's vv, 2 org, perc, 1983–8; Swan Song (Ohana, after P. Ronsard), SATB, 1987–8; Suite de concert de la Célestine, solo vv, SATB, orch, 1989–90; Tombeau de Louize Labé 'O beaux yeus bruns', SATB, 1990; Nuit de Pouchkine, Ct, SATB, va da gamba/vc, 1990; Avoaha, SATB, 2 pf, perc, 1990–91

Solo: 2 mélodies (García Lorca), S, pf, 1947, arr. S, gui/hpd, unpubd; 3 poèmes de Saadi (trans. F. Toussaint), Bar, orch, 1947, unpubd; Tombeau de Claude Debussy, S, ⅓-tone zither, pf, orch, 1962; Sibylle, S, perc, tape, 1968; Stream, B, str trio, 1970; 2 incantations, S, fl, pf, 1972–4 [no.1 from op Auto-da-fé; no.2 from music theatre Office des oracles]; 3 prophéties de la Sibylle, 2 S, pf, perc, 1989–90 [from op La Célestine]

Orchestration: Satie: La messe des pauvres, 1990

CHAMBER AND SOLO INSTRUMENTAL

3 or more insts: 5 séquences, str qt, 1963; Signes, fl + pic, chromatic zither, ⅓-tone zither, pf, 4 perc, 1965; Sacral d'Ilx, ob, hn, hpd, 1975; Str Qt no.2, 1978–80; Kypris, ob/ob d'amore, va, db, pf, 1985; Str Qt no.3 'Sorgin-Ngo', 1989

2 insts: 2 danses, 2 perc, 1954, unpubd; Neumes, ob, pf, 1965; Sorôn-Ngô, 2 pf, 1969–70; Syrtes, vc, pf, 1970; Noctuaire, vc, pf, 1976; Satyres, 2 fl, 1976; Anonyme XXème siècle, 2 gui, 1988; Miroir de Célestine, hpd, perc, 1989–90
Solo ww: 4 improvisations, fl, 1960; Sarc, ob, 1972
Pf: Sonatine monodique, 1945; 3 caprices, 1944–54; 24 préludes, 1972–3; 12 études d'interprétation: bk i, 1982, bk ii, 1983–5 [nos.11 and 12 with perc]
Hpd: Tiento, 1957 [arr. of gui piece]; Carillons 'Pour les heures du jour et de la nuit', 1960; 2 pièces, 1983 [no.1 arr. of Wamba]; So Tango, 1991
Gui: Tiento, 1957; Si le jour paraît. . . 10-str gui, 1963–4, arr. 6-str gui; Cadran lunaire, 10-str gui, 1981–2, arr. 6-str gui
Carillon: Wamba, 1980
MSS held by Association des Amis de Maurice Ohana, Paris and publishers

Principal publishers: Amphion/Durand, Billaudot, Jobert, Salabert, Schott

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CAROLINE RAE

O'Hara, Kane [Kean, Kene] (*b* ?Dublin or Co. Sligo, 1711/12; *d* Dublin, 17 June 1782). Irish librettist and musician. He was the younger son of Kean O'Hara, High Sheriff of County Sligo in 1703, and married the widow of Theobald Mathew the younger of Thomastown, County Tipperary. He was admitted to Trinity College, Dublin, on 3 March 1728 at the age of 16 and graduated in 1732. He is known chiefly as the librettist and arranger of the music for *Midas* (repr. of lib and facs. of 4 airs from score (*Us-Ws*) in Dircks; lib ed. Dircks, New York, 1987), the first 'English burletta', presented at the Crow Street Theatre, Dublin, on 22 January 1762 as a rival attraction to the season of Italian burlettas at the Smock Alley Theatre. Flood (*History of Irish Music*) stated that it had previously been performed at the private theatre of

the Rt Hon. William Brownlow MP in Lurgan in April 1760; and O'Keeffe (*Recollections*) described a meeting at O'Hara's house in King Street, Dublin, at which O'Hara, Lord Mornington and Brownlow were 'settling the music for Midas'. The music contains popular songs of the time, such as arias from Italian operas and folksongs from Ireland and other countries, linked by dialogue set to recitative. There is frequent resort to concerted numbers. With characters consisting of mythological gods and mortals, *Midas* is in reality a burlesque of *opera seria*. It attained considerable popularity and was frequently performed in London after the first production at Covent Garden on 22 February 1764.

O'Hara was also author of the libretto for Thomas Arne's pasticcio of 1773, *The Golden Pippin* (lib ed. Dircks, New York, 1987), and was responsible for the musical farce *Two Misers* (Covent Garden, 21 January 1775), which was covenanted to Thomas Ryder in 1780 for production at Crow Street in Dublin, the burlesque *A Fine Day* (Haymarket, 22 August 1777), and a version of Fielding's *Tom Thumb* (Covent Garden, 3 October 1780), which had been set by both Arne and J.F. Lampe in 1733. He was vice-president of Lord Mornington's Musical Academy, which was founded in 1757 mainly through his exertions. For the last four years of his life he was blind.

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BRIAN BOYDELL

Ohio Chamber Orchestra. Orchestra established in 1972, based in CLEVELAND.

Ohio State University School of Music. A school of music in the college of the arts of the state university at Columbus, Ohio, USA. The university opened in 1873 and soon began to offer music instruction; the school of music was established in 1945. Its first director was Eugene J. Weigel (1894–1973), also director of the university's renowned marching band. Students numbered about 550 and faculty about 65 in the 1990s; BA, BM, BME, AB, MM, MA, DMA and PhD degrees are awarded in performance, conducting, jazz studies, music education, theory, composition and music history. The library holds over 130,000 volumes and 38,000 recordings. The Weigel Hall (1980) at the school has a recital hall with a movable ceiling and other acoustical refinements.

BRUCE CARR

Öhlberger, Karl (*b* St Pölten, 30 March 1912). Austrian bassoonist and teacher. On completing his studies under Karl Strobl in Vienna in 1936, he had the rare distinction of being appointed to the principal position in the Vienna PO. Two years later he succeeded his teacher as professor at the Vienna Music Academy. In these positions he upheld the highest traditions of the Viennese school of wind playing, exerting considerable influence by attracting students from many foreign countries. He retired from the Vienna PO in 1974. His 80th birthday was commemorated by a Festschrift, *Fagott Forever*, edited by W.H. Sallagar and Michael Nagy (Wilhering, 1992).

WILLIAM WATERHOUSE

Ohlsson, Garrick (Olof) (*b* Bronxville, NY, 3 April 1948). American pianist. His first teacher was Thomas Lishman at the Westchester Conservatory, and at 13 he went to Sascha Gorodnitzki at the Juilliard School, where he also studied with Rosina Lhévinne. The most crucial influence, however, was Olga Barabini, a pupil of both Arrau and Hofmann. Ohlsson's career was established when he became the first American to win the Warsaw International Chopin Competition (1970); he had already attracted attention as the winner of competitions in Bolzano (1966) and Montreal (1968). Because of his Warsaw success he became known as a Chopin player and has made many tours of Poland. His repertory is nevertheless broad and includes even such early composers as Thomas Tomkins, while Skryabin is a special interest. He has appeared with major symphony orchestras across Europe, the USA, Japan and New Zealand and at numerous festivals including the Proms and the City of London Festival.

Ohlsson is a large man with large hands who plays easily such works as Skryabin's Etude in 9ths. His technique is complete, his tone large and unpercussive, though hard-edged. He is a musician with a modest manner and exceptional intelligence, adept at projecting, for example, the subtle forms of late Chopin, if tending towards heaviness in late Romantic works. He has made many recordings, including works by Chopin, the complete piano music of Brahms and an unusual recording of Wagner performed on the composer's own piano. In 1984 Ohlsson was the soloist for the world première of Wuorinen's Third Piano Concerto.

MICHAEL STEINBERG/R

Ohm, Georg Simon (*b* Erlangen, 16 March 1789; *d* Munich, 6 July 1854). German scientist. He studied mathematics at the University of Erlangen, taking a degree in 1811. He spent the rest of his life in a series of undistinguished posts, teaching mathematics and later physics at a relatively elementary level, apart from a period (1833–49) as professor of physics and rector of the Polytechnic Institute at Nuremberg. Among his writings is the paper of 1827 which contained the famous Ohm's Law of Electricity, which however was little recognized at the time. His contribution to music is contained in two papers (published in *Annalen der Physik uns Chemie*, 1843 and 1844) in which he presented what became known as Ohm's Law of Acoustics: he suggested that musical sounds depended not on phase but on the distribution of energies among the harmonics. His research stimulated Helmholtz's important experiments in the 1850s and 1860s, and dominated the conception of the subject for a century. Ohm's place in musical acoustics, although less publicized, is as secure as his place in electromagnetic theory.

See also PHYSICS OF MUSIC, §4.

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JAMES F. BELL/MURRAY CAMPBELL

Ohms, Elisabeth (*b* Arnhem, 17 May 1888; *d* Marquartstein, 16 Oct 1974). Dutch soprano. After study in Amsterdam and Frankfurt, she made her début at Mainz

in 1921, and in 1923 joined the Staatsoper in Munich, where she spent the greater part of her career; she was appointed *Kammersängerin*, and married the Munich stage designer Leo Pasetti. Her many notable performances as Brünnhilde and Isolde during the Munich summer festivals made her name familiar to a wider public, and she began to make guest appearances elsewhere, notably at La Scala, in 1927 and 1928, under Toscanini in *Fidelio* and *Parsifal*, at Bayreuth in 1931 in *Parsifal* (again with Toscanini), and at Covent Garden during three seasons in Wagnerian roles and as Strauss's Marschallin. At the Metropolitan during three consecutive seasons (from January 1930) she appeared in all the heavier Wagner roles. In Munich her non-Wagnerian parts, besides those mentioned, included Turandot and Strauss's Helena of Troy. Her dark-coloured, heroic soprano is well represented, among her few recordings, by a majestic 'Ozean, du Ungeheuer' from Weber's *Oberon*.

DESMOND SHAWE-TAYLOR

Ohren, Jacob. *See* ØRN, JACOB.

Oiseau-Lyre, L'. French/British music publisher and record company. It was named after the rare Australian lyrebird (*menura superba* or *novaehollandiae*) and founded in 1932 as Les Editions de l'Oiseau-Lyre ('The Lyrebird Press') in Paris by Louise B.M. Dyer, née Smith (1884–1962), an Australian patron of the arts. Her aims were to make available early music that had never been printed in a good modern edition, and to support contemporary composers (Auric, Canteloube, Ibert, d'Indy, Milhaud, Roussel, Sauguet, Britten, Holst and the Australians Peggy Glanville-Hicks and Margaret Sutherland, among others) by commissioning and publishing their works. Her first project was the publication (1932–3) of the complete works of François Couperin to coincide with the 200th anniversary of the composer's death. The 12-volume limited edition that resulted epitomized the quality of subsequent publications in its rigorous scholarship, elegant engraving and modish book design.

After the death of her first husband, Louise Dyer married Joseph ('Jeff') B. Hanson (1910–71) in 1938. Over nearly 25 years they produced a remarkable catalogue of fine editions and scholarly books. The firm's headquarters moved to Monaco in 1947; after Dyer's death the firm was run by Hanson. From 1971 to 1996, the publishing venture of L'Oiseau-Lyre was run by Hanson's second wife, Margarita Hanson, née Menendez, who undertook a series of reprints and revisions of existing editions, notably the Couperin complete works. A series entitled Magnus Liber Organi was begun in 1993 with a plan to include seven volumes. In 1979 L'Oiseau-Lyre entered into an agreement with the University of Melbourne whereby regular income from funds bequeathed to the university by Dyer and J.B. Hanson would support publication costs until 2005.

With music ranging from the 13th century to the 20th, L'Oiseau-Lyre's catalogue has always placed special emphasis on French music, especially the 17th- and 18th-century repertory. Publications are divided between scholarly series and performing editions. The firm's most significant undertaking has been the numbered, limited edition Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century (25 vols., 1956–92).

The first recordings produced by Editions de l'Oiseau-Lyre appeared in 1939. In 1953 distribution of L'Oiseau-Lyre recordings was undertaken by Decca. The company was the first to record several notable artists, among them Janet Baker, Alfred Deller and Colin Davis; Joan Sutherland also made her first recording (of 18th-century arias) with L'Oiseau-Lyre in Paris in 1959, released by Decca only in 1981. The recording business was continued by Hanson after Dyer's death, and sold to Decca in 1970.

Under the direction of Raymond Ware, the label issued recordings of music by contemporary composers, notably Maxwell Davies, Henze and Shostakovich, as well as major Purcell stage works and the first recordings by the Academy of Ancient Music directed by Christopher Hogwood. In 1974 L'Oiseau-Lyre embarked on the pioneering Florilegium series (conceived by Christopher Hogwood and the producer Peter Wadland) with music from the Middle Ages to the Romantic period played on period instruments. Recordings issued over the next 21 years included a large Baroque repertory (including Bach concertos and operas and oratorios by Handel), the complete symphonies of Mozart and Beethoven and many by Haydn played by the Academy of Ancient Music under Hogwood, the complete Beethoven piano sonatas played by Malcolm Binns, Mozart's Da Ponte operas from Drottningholm conducted by Arnold Östman, choral recordings by the Choir of Christ Church, Oxford, under Simon Preston, and much-admired discs of English and Italian Renaissance music by Anthony Rooley and the Consort of Musicke, featuring Emma Kirkby. Artists appearing on the label also included Philip Pickett and the New London Consort, Catherine Bott, the Amsterdam Loeki Stardust Quartet, Christophe Coin and Christophe Rousset (with solo harpsichord albums and his own orchestra, Les Talens Lyriques, in complete opera recordings of works by Mondonville, Handel, Traetta etc.). (J. Davidson: *Lyrebird Rising: Louise Hanson-Dyer of L'Oiseau-Lyre, 1884–1962*, Melbourne, 1994)

ORHAN MEMED, MAUREEN FORTEY

Oistrakh, David (Fyodorovich) (*b* Odessa, 17/30 Sept 1908; *d* Amsterdam, 24 Oct 1974). Ukrainian violinist. He studied with Pyotr Stolyarsky from the age of five until his graduation (playing both violin and viola) from the Odessa State Conservatory in 1926. (In 1914 he and Nathan Milstein appeared on the same student programme.) While still a student, Oistrakh played with the Odessa SO, as both soloist and leader. In 1927 Glazunov invited him to play his concerto under him in Kiev.

Oistrakh made his début in Leningrad in 1928, and in Moscow the following year. In 1928 he moved to Moscow, and there began a period of intense artistic growth. During the 1930s he won first prizes in the Ukrainian Contest (1930) and the All-Soviet Contest (1935); second prize in the Wieniawski Contest (1935; the first prize was won by Ginette Neveu); and first prize in the Concours Eugène Ysaÿe in Brussels in 1937. This was the beginning of his international career; but during the war he played at the front, in besieged Leningrad, in hospitals and factories. The performance of Bach's Double Concerto in 1945 in Moscow with Menuhin (the first foreign artist to visit the Soviet Union after the war) was memorable. In 1946–7 Oistrakh gave a cycle of five programmes, 'The Development of the Violin Concerto', which included the concertos of Sibelius, Elgar and Walton, as well as Khachaturian's, dedicated to him. At



David Oistrakh

his New York début in 1955 he introduced Shostakovich's First Concerto, written for him.

Oistrakh was counted among the greatest violinists of his day, and the most characteristic representative of the Russian school. This is remarkable since his training took place in Odessa, without contact with the Auer school. However, while his early style stressed elegance, he developed his monumental style during his Moscow years. His technical mastery was complete, his tone warm and powerful, and his approach a perfect fusion of virtuosity and musicianship. His willingness to perform new music was notable and many Soviet composers dedicated works to him (Prokofiev, Shostakovich, Myaskovsky, Khachaturian, Rakov, Weinberg). Oistrakh also played sonatas with Lev Oborin and trios with Oborin and Knushevitsky, and was known as a gifted conductor.

In 1934 he was appointed to the Moscow Conservatory; among his students were his son Igor′ and Valery Klimov. He was named People's Artist of the USSR in 1954 and received the Lenin Prize in 1960; he was also honoured by the Royal Academy of Music, London, and the Conservatorio di S Cecilia, Rome. He edited standard violin works and arranged Prokofiev's Flute Sonata with the composer's approval. His hobby was chess, and in 1937 he played a match against Prokofiev.

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BORIS SCHWARZ/R

Oistrakh, Igor′ (Davidovich) (*b* Odessa, 27 April 1931). Ukrainian violinist, son of DAVID OISTRAKH. His principal teacher was his father. After attending the Central Music School in Moscow, Igor′ studied at the Moscow Conservatory and graduated in 1955. While still a student, he won first prize at the International Festival of Democratic Youth in Budapest in 1949 and at the Wieniawski Competition in Poznań in 1952. He was appointed to the staff of the Moscow Conservatory in 1958 (at first as assistant to his father) and became a lecturer in 1965.

His achievements have sometimes been overshadowed by comparison to his father. However, Igor′ has a musical profile of his own: his approach to music is leaner and more modern, his tone cooler and less emotional, and his interpretations more detached and objective. His style lends itself particularly well to such works as Bartók's Violin Concerto no.2. The performances by father and son in violin duets by Leclair and Spohr, as well as in double concertos, were of special interest. They also performed with Igor′ as soloist and David as conductor. Igor′'s partner at the piano is his wife, Natal′ya Sertsalova. (D. Blum: 'The Oistrakh Tradition', *The Strad*, c (1989), 210–15)

BORIS SCHWARZ

Oja, Carol J(ean) (*b* Hibbing, MN, 18 March 1953). American musicologist. She took the BA at St Olaf College, Minnesota in 1974 and the MA at the University of Iowa in 1976. She studied with H. Wiley Hitchcock, Barry Brook and Sherman Van Solkema at CUNY, taking the doctorate there in 1985 with a dissertation on Colin McPhee. In 1985 she became professor of music at Brooklyn College and the Graduate School, CUNY. From 1980 to 1984 she was a research assistant at the Institute for Studies in American Music at Brooklyn College; in 1993 she became director of the Institute. Her main area of study is American music, with emphasis on the 20th century. She has focussed on the period between the wars, discussing musical publications and publishers of the time. She has written on a wide range of American composers, among them McPhee, Gershwin, Copland, Sessions, Blitzstein, William Grant Still, Virgil Thomson and Elie Siegmeister; she has also edited a volume of Stravinsky's writings in *Modern Music* (1982).

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PAULA MORGAN

Ojinaga, Joaquin de. *See* OXINAGA, JOAQUÍN DE.

O'Keeffe [O'Keefe], **John** (*b* Dublin, 24 June 1747; *d* Southampton, 4 Feb 1833). Irish librettist. He wrote his first play at the age of 15 and acted on the Irish stage before settling in London in 1781. He was a prolific comic dramatist for the Haymarket and Covent Garden theatres, although an accident when he was 27 led to deteriorating sight and he had to dictate all his works from 1781. His most successful pieces were librettos for pasticcio operas with music composed, selected and arranged by Samuel Arnold or William Shield. *The Thespian Dictionary* described O'Keeffe as having 'an excellent taste for music, though no theoretic knowledge', and said that the tunes for his pastoral ballad opera *Collin's Welcome* (written while he was still in Ireland) were 'of his own adapting'. He carefully designed parts for his singers, such as the 'broken English' role for Giovanna Sestini in *The Castle of Andalusia* and Patrick in *The Poor Soldier* for the Irish contralto Margaret Kennedy. He provided Shield with tunes for this opera by singing to him 'the fine Irish airs' of the harper Carolan. 'The Ploughboy', Shield's most famous song, is from his short opera *The Farmer*. Kelly remembered O'Keeffe in 1793 as 'broken down, and almost blind; but still full of pleasantry and anecdote'.

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OLIVE BALDWIN, THELMA WILSON

O'Keeffe [Ó Caoimh], **Pádraig** (*b* Castleisland, Co. Kerry, 8 Oct 1887; *d* Tralee, Co. Kerry, 22 Feb 1963). Irish traditional fiddle player and music teacher. Born in Sliabh Luachra, an area comprising parts of Kerry and Cork noted for its traditional culture, he showed early musical promise and learnt from his mother and his uncles. He trained as a primary teacher in Dublin before briefly assuming his father's former position as the local school teacher. From 1920 he was a highly influential travelling music teacher in Sliabh Luachra, walking long distances daily from his home base. He taught mainly the fiddle and the accordion and frequently played for both listeners and dancers. After teaching tunes orally, he usually gave his pupils notations in tablature for both instruments as aides-mémoires, and changes in the music repertory of his district can be traced in surviving notations. He introduced tunes from a variety of printed sources and commercial sound recordings and developed his own versions of traditional melodies. He preferred to play slow airs rather than the characteristic polkas and slides of Sliabh Luachra. O'Keeffe's vivid personality and wit, his position as an entertainer in the local community and his rakish way of life made him a figure of folklore, and his musical influence continues through the playing of his pupils and his recordings. Some of his large repertory was recorded for the archives of the Irish Folklore Commission and by Radio Éireann and the BBC.

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NICHOLAS CAROLAN

Okeghem, Johannes. *See* OCKEGHEM, JEAN DE.

OKeh. American record company. It was established in 1918 by General Phonograph, an enterprise set up in New York in 1916 by Otto Heinemann to manage the American operations of Carl Lindström's German company. Jazz recordings began with items by the New Orleans Jazz Band. Recordings by Mamie Smith established OKeh's primacy in the field, which was reinforced in 1921 by the setting up of a race series (until 1923 called the Colored Catalog). It became an important jazz, blues and gospel catalogue and included material by Clarence Williams (from 1921), King Oliver (1923), Louis Armstrong's Hot Five and Hot Seven (1925–9), Lonnie Johnson, Mississippi John Hurt, J.M. Gates and Bennie Moten's band (1923–5). Discs by Frankie Trumbauer, Bix Beiderbecke and Eddie Lang were issued in a general popular series, and there were also separate series for country music, calypso, Jewish music, European popular music (for post-war immigrants) and Mexican music. The company's activities were little affected when it was taken over by Columbia in 1926; Heinemann ran OKeh as a new subsidiary specializing in jazz, blues, gospel and popular music but also including violin solos by Eugene Ormandy and a huge novelty hit, the *Original Lauf-Aufnahme*. Control passed to ARC–BRC in August 1934; later that year the race series was discontinued after almost 1000 issues. ARC–BRC dropped the name OKeh but CBS, which acquired the company in 1938, revived it and continued the numerical series of the Vocalion label, pressing early issues anew with OKeh labels. In the early 1950s the label became CBS's main outlet for rhythm and blues.

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HOWARD RYE

Okeland [Hockland, Oclande], **Robert** (*fl* 1532–50). English church musician and composer. From August 1532 to January 1534 he was a lay clerk at Eton College, whence he moved immediately to the parish-church of St Mary-at-Hill, London, remaining there until August 1535 as Master of the Choristers and organist. By June 1545 he was a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal; he last appears there in April 1547, but his composition of music to

vernacular texts shows that he lived at least a few years longer. Morley, writing *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practical Musicke* (1597), mentioned Okeland as one of the composers whose work he had consulted.

Okeland's four-voice Kyrie occurs in a series of Kyrie and Alleluia settings in the Gyffard Partbooks (*GB-Lbl* Add.17802–5). In this freely composed work he demonstrated a fine technique within a clearly defined tripartite structure. His remaining works – the anthem *Prayse we the Father* and the prayer *Prayse we the Lord O our Souls* – are both contained in two of the earliest sources of Anglican music: the Wanley Partbooks (*c*1550; *Ob* Mus.Sch.E.420–22) and Day's *Certaine Notes* (1560, 2/1565). Although Okeland treated these texts syllabically, he indulged in a surprising amount of melodic movement, rhythmic variety and imitative part-writing. Both pieces were included in James Burns's *Anthems and Services* (London, 1847).

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S. DIANNE BISHOP/ROGER BOWERS

Okeover [Oker], **John** (*b* ?Wells; *d* Wells, by July 1663). English organist and composer. He was probably a son of John Okeover (*b* ?Worcester, ?1595; *d* Wells, *c*1649), organist and vicar-choral at Wells Cathedral from February 1620, and later Master of the Choristers there, who obtained the Oxford BMus in 1633. Okeover the younger became organist of Gloucester Cathedral on 25 April 1640 (his name appears in account books there as early as 1635). At this time the cathedral gained a new organ built by Thomas Dallam, and the instrument was appraised by Thomas Tomkins, who occasionally visited the cathedral between 1639 and 1641, and whom Okeover would have met. In 1642 Okeover married Mary Mills, and they had a son John in 1656. In 1651 Okeover's distressed circumstances had attracted attention; although he was sympathetic to the parliamentary cause, he became an almsman on the former cathedral foundation in 1655, and remained so until the Restoration, when he moved to Wells. In July 1663 the name of John Browne, his successor as organist at Wells, replaced his in the cathedral accounts. Between 1664 and 1665 Mary Oker received payment for their son, who was one of the choristers.

Okeover's reputation was evidently local rather than national: his consort music appears only in the manuscript collections of the Gloucester copyist, John Merro (*d* 1639), and at no point does Okeover's name appear in any Chapel Royal documents. However, he was clearly aware of the work of some of the foremost court composers, since anthems by Byrd, Gibbons and others occur in significant quantities in a manuscript partbook that he compiled while at Gloucester (in *GB-GL*).

Only one of Okeover's church compositions, the four-part full anthem *Grant, we beseech thee, merciful Lord*, survives intact. Significantly, several of the manuscript sources of his four surviving anthems have West Country associations, suggesting that, like his consort output, his sacred music was not widely circulated. None is preserved in contemporary printed anthologies such as John Barnard's *Selected Church Music* (London, 1641) and James Clifford's *The Divine Services and Anthems* (London, 1663), although one of the Gloucester sources is a manuscript copy of Barnard, to which some handwritten additions were made, including Okeover's incomplete verse setting of psalm 21, *The king shall rejoice*. So far as can be determined from the small quantity of his sacred music that survives, Okeover was quite conservative, building his structures out of a succession of well-turned imitative paragraphs, reminiscent of the work of his immediate predecessors, Morley, Gibbons and Weelkes, though without their idiomatic or compositional flair; the opening of *The king shall rejoice* closely resembles that of John Tomkins's full setting of the same text.

While not perhaps in the front rank of 17th-century English consort music, Okeover's work compares favourably with that of his more eminent contemporaries, Coprario, Ferrabosco, Lawes and Jenkins. His three-part fantasias are fine pieces, featuring memorable opening themes, subsequently developed in expertly crafted counterpoint and revealing a sound – though conservative – harmonic sense. Structurally these pieces are similar to his anthems, comprising a series of imitative paragraphs and typically reaching a climax of rhythmic activity about two-thirds of the way through. The influence of Gibbons's printed three-part consort fantasias is sometimes evident, for instance in terms of registral disposition of the forces and presence of sesquialtera episodes. Okeover's treble parts (in both the three- and five-part fantasias) generally lie quite well on the violin (as do those of, for instance, Gibbons and Tomkins), while his bass parts are notably active, at times traversing patterns more suggestive of the keyboard than the viol.

WORKS

God shall send forth, verse anthem, *GB-GL*, *Lcm*, *Ob*, *US-BEm*: all inc.
Grant, we beseech thee, merciful Lord, full anthem, *GB-GL*, *Lcm*
Hear my prayer, O God, full anthem, *GL*, *Lcm*: both inc.
The king shall rejoice, verse anthem, *GL*, *Lcm*: both inc.
17 fantasias: 10 for 3 viols, *Ob*; 7 for 5 viols, *Lbl*
2 pavans, 5 viols, *Lbl*

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JOHN IRVING, WYN FORD

Oketus (Lat.). *See* HOCKET.

Oktave (i) (Ger.). *See* OCTAVE.

Oktave (ii) (Ger.). *See under* ORGAN STOP (*Octave*).

Oktavflöte (Ger.). Piccolo. *See* FLUTE II, §3(i).

Oktavkoppelung (Ger.). *See* COUPLING.

Oktavzug (Ger.). *See under* ZUG (i).

Oktett (Ger.). *See* OCTET.

Oktōēchos (Gk.: 'eightfold sound'). The system of the eight 'church modes' (the 'musical' *oktōēchos*) in the medieval Latin, Byzantine, Slavonic, Syrian, Armenian and Georgian repertories of Christian liturgical chant. Also, by association, the practice of grouping chants by mode (the 'calendric' *oktōēchos*) so that they can be sung in numerical order over a period of time, usually one mode per week, proceeding to the next higher number each Sunday and beginning with the 1st mode again when the 8th is completed. And a book (the 'liturgical' *oktōēchos*) in which the chant texts are grouped by mode in numerical order to facilitate performance according to the calendric *oktōēchos* (*see* LITURGY AND LITURGICAL BOOKS, §IV, 3(viii)); books also exist in which chants are arranged according to mode but without regard to a calendar, notably the Western TONARY and the Byzantine HEIRMOLOGION).

Although many theories regarding the origins of the eight-mode system have been proposed, the earliest genuine evidence of the musical *oktōēchos* dates from the 8th and 9th centuries CE. The modes appeared during this period in all the Eastern and Western chant repertories that use them, and the evidence consistently points to an origin in the milieu of Greek-speaking Palestinian monasticism and the closely related liturgical tradition of Jerusalem. The earliest extant collections of modally ordered chants include a series of Proper chants for the Jerusalem Mass in *RUS-SPsc* (Thibaut, 1913, pp.17–30; text on pp.3*–11* of 'Documents' section) and a list of *prokeimena* ('gradual' chants; *see* PROKEIMENON) and *allēlouïaria* in the Palestinian appendix to the Typikon of the Great Church of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople (Mateos, 1963, pp.175–7). Eightfold cycles of chants for the Resurrection Office, celebrated every Sunday in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem, formed the nucleus of the liturgical book known as the Great Oktōēchos or Paraklētikē, traditionally ascribed to John Damascene (*d c*749), a monk at St Sabas monastery near Jerusalem. More securely connected to the milieu of John Damascene are the many *kanōnes* (hymns based on the biblical canticles; *see* KANŌN) composed by him and his fellow monks at St Sabas. The model stanzas (*heirmoi*) that provided the melodies for these chants were collected in the heirmologion.

The earliest manuscripts of the Georgian liturgical books corresponding to the Great Oktōēchos and the heirmologion are important witnesses to the processes by which these collections were assembled; the same is true of the Slavonic heirmologion. The origins of the Armenian *oktōēchos* appear to be connected with the importation of the *kanōn* repertory in the 8th century by Hellenophile Armenians. In the Syrian liturgical traditions the use of the eight modes was also originally associated with Greek genres of hymnody, and the *oktōēchos* is known to this day only in the two Syrian traditions that are most dependent on Greek models – the Melkite or Antiochian, and the West Syrian or Jacobite. The two other Syrian traditions – the Lebanese Maronite and the Assyrian or Nestorian – betray no evidence of the *oktōēchos*; nor does the Ethiopian liturgy, the only other Christian tradition based on a Semitic language. Theories that the *oktōēchos* was ultimately of Syrian or Semitic origin, therefore, cannot be sustained. The few Coptic sources that show an awareness of the *oktōēchos* are easily explained as reflecting Greek influence.

The eight modes first appear in Western sources in the St Riquier Tonary (*F-Pn* lat.13159) dated between 795 and 800 (Huglo, 1971, pp.25–9). Like the early Palestinian sources, it is a simple list of texts for the Proper of the Mass, arranged according to their modal number. The adoption of the *oktōēchos* in the West was clearly part of the Carolingian effort to standardize the melodies of the emerging Gregorian chant repertory. Other Latin chant traditions, such as the Old Roman and Ambrosian (Milanese), made no use of the musical *oktōēchos*, and no Western tradition has ever followed a calendric *oktōēchos*. The Western numbering of the modes differs from the Eastern practice (see Table 1), suggesting that the Latin Church had access to a rather primitive form of the *oktōēchos*, in which authentic and plagal modes alternate rather than being grouped separately (i.e. the authentic modes first, then the plagal). Some early Syrian sources are also organized according to the principle used in the West, but their numbering is different. Western sources preserve the earliest surviving evidence of the *ēchēmata* (*see* ĒCHĒMA), which in the Byzantine tradition may have been sung at the beginning of each chant to help the choir become attuned to the mode; the *ēchēmata* would thus have simultaneously fulfilled the functions of the Western intonation formulae and *differentiae* (*see* PSALM, §II).

Efforts to formulate a coherent music theory integrating the *oktōēchos* with terms and concepts borrowed from the writings of classical antiquity seem to have begun immediately in the West but only later in the East. The ultimate success of the Western synthesis created the false impression that the medieval *oktōēchos* was inherited directly from ancient Greece. A comparison of the Western theory with the two medieval Byzantine syntheses associated with the treatises known as the *Hagiopolitēs* and the PAPADIKĒ confirms the abundant musical evidence that the familiar modal names 'Dorian', 'Phrygian' etc., which medieval scholars attached to the modes of the *oktōēchos*, have nothing to do with the original use of these names to designate ways of tuning the ancient Greek lyre. Table 1 illustrates the different usage of the Greek names within the Western and Byzantine classifications.

There is no early evidence to suggest that numerology influenced the fixing of the number of modes at eight; the 4 × 2 structure of the *oktōēchos* is more probably the result of musical considerations. The musical characteristics of the Latin, Greek, Slavonic, Syrian and other modes have diverged so much that it is difficult to uncover the original logic of the modal system; yet the outlines of the earliest *oktōēchos* can be broadly defined. The core of this system may have been the four-note tetrachord with a semitone in the middle, corresponding to the modern pitches D–E–F–G; to complete the octave, this tetrachord was duplicated immediately above, on A–B–C–D. Melodies belonging to the Western 'authentic' or Eastern 'main' (Byzantine *kyrios*) categories of mode were those with a relatively high ambitus that ascended into the upper tetrachord; melodies that tended to remain in the lower tetrachord or that descended below it were classified as 'plagal'. In Byzantine chant to this day authentic melodies often cadence on a final in the upper tetrachord, and plagal melodies in the lower one. This pattern was also followed in early Western chant, but over the centuries the final in the lower tetrachord was gradually accorded

TABLE 1: The Eight Modes of the *Oktōēchos*

Final pitch	*D* or *a*	*E* or *b*	*F* or *c*	*G* or *d*	*D*	*E*	*F*	*G*
Ambitus type	authentic	authentic	authentic	authentic	plagal	plagal	plagal	plagal
Greek numbers	1 (α)	2 (β)	3 (γ)	4 (δ)	plagal 1 (πλ α)	plagal 2 (πλ β)	plagal 3 (πλ γ)	plagal 4 (πλ δ)
Slavonic/Syrian numbers	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Latin numbers	1	3	5	7	2	4	6	8
Greek names	*ēchos prōtos*	*ēchos deuteros*	*ēchos tritos*	*ēchos tetartos*	*ēchos plagios prōtos*	*ēchos plagios deuteros*	*ēchos barys* ('low mode')	*ēchos plagios tetartos*
Latinized Greek names	*authentus protus*	*authentus deuterus*	*authentus tritus*	*authentus tetrardus*	*plagis proti*	*plagis deuteri*	*plagis triti*	*plagis tetrardi*
Greek *ēchēmata*	*ananeanes*	*neanes*	*aneanes*	*hagia*	*aneanes*	*neanes*	*anes*	*nehagie*
Latinized *ēchēmata*	*noannoeane*	*noioeane*	*noioeane*	*noioeane*	*noeagis* or *noeane*	*noeagis* or *noeane*	*noeagis* or *noeane*	*noeagis* or *noeane*
Classical names (Latin)	*dorius*	*phrygius*	*lydius*	*mixolydius*	*hypodorius*	*hypophrygius*	*hypolydius*	*hypomixolydius*
Classical names *(Hagiopolitēs)*	*hypodorios*	*hypophrygios*	*hypolydios*	*dorios*	*phrygios*	*lydios*	*mixolydios*	*hypomixolydios*
Classical names (Papadikē)	*dorios*	*lydios*	*phrygios*	*mixolydios*	*hypodorios*	*hypolydios*	*hypophrygios*	*hypomixolydios*
English names	Dorian	Lydian	Phrygian	Mixolydian	Hypodorian	Hypolydian	Hypophrygian	Hypomixolydian

precedence. The other Eastern traditions appear to be less concerned with linking each mode to a specific final.

The original tuning of the modal tetrachords is a particularly vexed issue. The Western and Slavonic modes have become relatively diatonic, in keeping with the general characteristics of West European music; the use of B♭ in Gregorian chant is explained as a survival or revival of the *synēmmenōn* tetrachord of ancient Greek theory. Modern Greek, Syrian and Armenian chant, however, use microtones and other features that recall the *maqām* principle of Arab and Turkish music, although in Byzantine theory such characteristics are explained as deriving from the ancient Greek enharmonic and chromatic genera. The traditional opinion among Western musicologists that the Greek modes were originally diatonic, like their Western counterparts, and that their chromaticism is a recent development due to Turkish influence is probably overstated. Because of Islamic restrictions on music making, musicians in Ottoman courts tended to be Greeks and other Eastern Christians, who may thus have played a significant role in the creation of Middle Eastern musical cultures. And recent research into Western chant has drawn attention to the large number of chromatic and other modally ambiguous chants that circulated in the early Gregorian repertory. It seems that the *oktōēchos*, even in earliest Palestinian sources, was originally a descriptive system for classifying melodies that already existed. Only gradually did it develop into a prescriptive system governing the creation of new melodies, and in each tradition this process followed its own path. This explains why every tradition has supplemented the *oktōēchos* with additional categories for melodies that do not fit well into any of the eight modes, for example, the Western *parapteres*. Scholars of the Western chant traditions have been particularly keen to identify the musical characteristics that predate the importation of the *oktōēchos*: pentatonic (Chailley), recitation tone (Claire) and 'quartal and tertial chain' (van der Werf) structures have been variously discerned. Yet in each of the Eastern and Western traditions that adopted the *oktōēchos*, centuries of effort were expended by theorists, composers and editors seeking to make it into an all-encompassing system that fully accounted for the characteristics of the musical repertory. The *oktōēchos* has thus provided a dynamic impetus to the historical development of music in many cultures.

See also ARMENIA, §II; BYZANTINE CHANT, §5; COPTIC CHURCH MUSIC; ĒCHOS; GEORGIA, §II; MODE, §II, 1; PLAINCHANT, §2(ii); and SYRIAN CHURCH MUSIC.

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PETER JEFFERY

Okudzhava, Bulat (*b* Arbat region, Moscow, 1924; *d* Paris, 1997). Russian poet, writer and singer of Georgian origin. Okudzhava was the founder of a new popular genre known as *gitarnïye pesni* ('guitar songs') or *avtorskiye pesni* ('author's songs', songs composed by singer-songwriters) which became a new 'folk' tradition. Before *perestroika* these songs were published on cassettes by the underground *magnitizdat* or *samizdat* press and were widely sung by young people as an expression of opposition to authoritarianism. Okudzhava was one of a group of singer-songwriters or 'bards' (*bardy*) which also included Aleksandr Galich (1918–77) and Vladimir Visotsky (1938–80); they acknowledged Aleksandr Vertinsky (1889–1957) as the father of the new genre. At the beginning of the 21st century this genre continues to flourish, notably through the work of Zhanna Bichevskaya; her arrangements of village and urban Russian songs sound like American country music and have become a musical symbol of ideological opposition to official Soviet culture.

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IZALY ZEMTSOVSKY

Ólafsson, Björn (*b* Reykjavík, 26 Feb 1917; *d* Reykjavík, 31 March 1984). Icelandic violinist and teacher. From 1931 to 1939 he studied in Vienna with Franz Mairecker (violin) and Ernst Moravec (viola). In 1947 and 1948 he studied with Adolf Busch in New York. In 1939 he was appointed a professor of violin and head of the string section at the Reykjavík College of Music. As a performer Ólafsson was continually active in Icelandic musical life. He gave the first performances of many works by Icelandic composers, and was the leader of the Iceland SO from its inception in 1950 until 1973, when he resigned so that he could devote his time to teaching. He was a Grand Knight of the Icelandic Order of the Falcon and Knight of the Danish Order of Dannebrog.

AMANDA M. BURT/R

Olagnier [née Joly], **Marguerite** (*b* 1844; *d* Paris, 12 Sept 1906). French composer, novelist, poet and singer. She began her musical life as a singer at the Théâtre des Variétées in Paris, leaving to travel to Egypt with her husband Eugène Olagnier. Possibly while abroad she wrote both words and music of an exotic opera in four acts, *Le Saïs*, which was staged at the Théâtre de la Renaissance in Paris on 18 December 1881. Later in life she directed her own company, the Théâtre de l'Oratorio, in weekly performances of 18th- and 19th-century oratorios. Two more operas, *Le Persan* and *Lilipa*, were never performed, and a novel remains unpublished. Olagnier also wrote a number of songs.

Le Saïs is, in form and genre, a hybrid of late 19th-century operetta and *grand opéra*, comprising short, strophic numbers and longer, complex forms. The work also draws on traditions of French exotic opera composition: in the Scène du Hachich (1.v), as the cast sit at the foot of a pyramid drinking hashish, chant-like vocal lines, repetitive rhythms and drones conjure an image of the orient. Critics of the time saw *Le Saïs* as excessively erotic, a view which to some extent holds true today: the heroine, for instance, wears a transparent gown and in Act 2 tantalizingly steps off stage to take her bath.

LUCIE MIDDLEMISS

Olagué [Olaegui], **Bertolomeu de** (*d* Santiago de Compostela, Feb 1658). Spanish or Portuguese composer. His name suggests possible Basque origin. The only known facts about him are that on 20 June 1644 he was named *maestro de capilla* at Burgos Cathedral, and that he was appointed to the same position at the cathedral of Santiago de Compostela in March 1651. 24 organ pieces by him survive (*P-Pm* 1577, Loc. B, 5, *Libro de cyfra …*): 11 tientos (called 'obra' or 'registro'), five entradas, three sets of versets for each ecclesiastical tone, two hymns, one *jácara*, one *toada* and one *canção* (*canción*). All are transcribed by Hudson and one appears in M.S. Kastner, ed.: *Silva ibérica de música para tecla de los siglos XVI, XVII y XVIII* (Mainz, 1954), i. There is also at least one Missa (for 9 voices), and an inventory of *c*1715 lists another one for eight voices (both in *E-Zac*; the latter has not been confirmed). He also composed three Christmas villancicos. Additional works are reported at *E-SE*.

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BARTON HUDSON

Olah, Tiberiu (*b* Arpăşel, Maramureş district, 2 Jan 1928). Romanian composer. At the Dima Conservatory, Cluj (1946–9), he studied theory with Juliu Mureşianu, harmony and counterpoint with Max Eisikovits and the piano with Gheorghe Halmoş; he continued his studies at the Moscow Conservatory (1949–54) under Yevgeny O. Messner (composition) and Dmitry R. Rogal-Levitski (orchestration). In addition he participated in the Darmstadt summer courses (1966–72), where several of his compositions (e.g. *Columna infinită, Invocatii)* were performed. In 1969–70 he was composer-in-residence at DAAD, Berlin, where he embarked on a study of time and space in music.

Olah's music is based on an original modal system. He uses numerical sequences and proportional structures that join in an homogenous whole, leaving free certain characteristics of traditional Romanian music. His works use a continuous variation technique capable of generating work cycles such as *Brâncuşi* and *Harmonies*. In *Harmonies II* (1976) processed material is superimposed on original ideas, enabling the work's superposition on itself. In *Harmonies I* and *III*, using tape or a second orchestra, new material is interspersed with passages from works of the same cycle. This conception of musical space and time is discussed in his studies of the music of Webern and Enescu.

Olah has played an important role in the development of national cinematography. Two of his film scores, *Răscoala* ('The Uprise', based on a 12-note sequence G♭, B♭, D, F – A, C♯, E, G♯ – C, E♭, G, B) and *Mihai Viteazul* ('Michael the Brave') were highly acclaimed at the International Film Festival, Moscow, and have subsequently become successful concert pieces in their own right. Olah's musicological writings include a study of polyheterophony in Enescu's music and the organization of Webern's pre-serial harmonic language; both display a highly original point of view. He was awarded the Prize of the Romanian Academy (1965), the Koussevitzky Prize (1997) and first prize of the Romanian Composers' Union (1993) for a lifetime's achievement and several prizes of the Romanian Composers Union.

WORKS

(*selective list*)

DRAMATIC

Geamgii din Toledo [The Glaziers of Toledo] (television opera, B. Andor), 1970 [from puppet theatre, 1959]

Film scores: The Avalanche, 1959; Străzile au amintiri [Street memory], 1961; Sărutul [The Kiss], 1964; Comoara din Vadul Vechi [The Treasures of Vadul Vechi], 1965; Castelanii [The Castle-Owners], 1966; Meandre [Meanders], 1966; Zodia fecioarei [Virgo], 1966; Răutăciosul adolescent [A Mischievous Adolescent], 1969; Mihai viteazul [Michael the Brave], 1970; Puterea şi adevărul [Power and Truth], 1971; Decolarea [The Take-Off], 1971; Moartea lui Ipu [Ipu's Death], 1972; Pe aici nu se trece [No Trespassing], 1974; Osânda [The Condemnation], 1976; Trecătoarele iubiri [The Passing Loves], 1977; Independenţa [Independence], 1977; Munţii în flăcări [The Burning Mountains], 1980; La răscrucea marilor furtuni [At the Crossing of the Great

Storms], 1980; Convoiul [The Convoy] 1981; Cine iubeşte şi lasă [Who Loves and Leaves], 1982

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Orch: Sym. no.1, 1956; Brancuşi: Coloana fără sfîrşit [The Endless Column], 1961, Poarta sărutului [The Gate of the Kiss], Masa tăcerii [The Table of Silence]; Translaţii; Perspective, Crescendo, 1966–72; The Time of Memory, 1973; Harmonies: I, 1975, II, 1976, III, 1978, IV, 1981; Sym. no.2, 1986; Sym. no.3, 1989; Musica concertante, fl, cl, orch, 1990; Obelisco per Wolfgang Amadeus, cl, sax, orch, 1991; Sinfonia giocosa, 1991; Muzică de concert, 16 brass, tape, 1993

Chbr and solo inst: Pf Sonatina, 1950; Str Qt, 1952; Trio, cl, vn, pf, 1954; Sonatina, vn, pf, 1955, rev. 1963; Equinox I, 1957; Sonata no.1, cl, 1963; Spatui si ritm [Space and Rhythm], 3 perc., 1965; Perspectives, 13 insts, 1969; Invocatie I, 1971; PaROdiSSINIana, musical joke, vc, db, tape, 1973; Equinox II, 1975; Invocatie II, 1975; Equinox III, 1976; Invocatie III, 1976; Sonata for flute, 1978; Sonata, vc, 1979; Sonata no.2 (Rhymes for the Revelation of Time), cl, or sax and tape 1982; Conc. notturno, vib, a sax, tape, 1984; Sonata, vn, perc, 1985; Sonata, cb, tape, 1986; 3 zboruri deasupra unui fluviu [3 Flies over a River], 1987; Conc. delle coppie, sax qt, 1988; Incontri spaziali, solo perc, tape, 1989; Peripeţii cu trisonuri majore [Adventures of Major Triads], 1992

Vocal: Cant. (Rom. trad.), 1957; Prind visele aripi [Winged Dreams] (cant., M. Banuş) 1959; Constelaţia omului [Man's constellation], orat, 1960; Ode (T. Utan), mixed chorus, 1962; E chipul tău [It's your Face] (T. Utan), 3-part chorus; Ţara lui Făt-Frumos [The Country of Prince Charming] (T. Utan), mixed chorus, 1964; Timpul cerbilor [The Time of the Stags] (choral sym., Pop verses), 1973; Vagues vagues, roses roses (T. Tzara), S, 2 fl, cl, 1974

Principal publishers: ESPLA (Bucharest), Editura muzicală (Bucharest), Salabert (Paris), Schott (Mainz)

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VIOREL COSMA

Ölander, Per [Pehr] **August** (*b* Linköping, 8 Jan 1824; *d* Stockholm, 3 Aug 1886). Swedish composer. He was largely self-taught as a composer, but took lessons with J.E. Nordblom while a student at the University of Uppsala. Although his main employment was as a civil servant, he was active as a music critic and as a violinist. He composed his first opera, *Blenda* (4, L. Josephson and E. Wallmark; *S-Skma**), for a competition organized by King Oscar II. It was staged at the Royal Opera, Stockholm, in 1876 but remained in the repertory only until 1879. The work met with some criticism, owing to its poor libretto (based on Schiller's *Die Jungfrau von Orleans*) and its lack of originality. However, the composer's lyric and melodic gifts as well as the dramatic power of certain scenes were much acclaimed, and unique in Swedish 19th-century opera. The opera deals with a war in the early medieval period between the Danish and the Swedish. Despite the Wagnerian overtones of the plot, Ölander skilfully sets the most dramatic scenes with precision, colourful orchestration and a sense of the musical drama. His lyricism and intensity are often reminiscent of Bellini. Ölander's other dramatic work, the operetta *Mäster Placide* (T. Merula, Stockholm, New Theatre, 1879, lost; ov. in *Skma*), was rather more successful than *Blenda*, perhaps owing to its lightness and comic verve – both rare in Swedish theatre. His other compositions include a Symphony in E♭; a *Missa solemnis*; two psalm settings for solo voices, chorus and organ; a string sextet; several quartets; men's choral songs and solo songs.

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ANDERS WIKLUND

Olatunji, Babatunde [Michael Babatunde] (*b* Ajido-Badacry, Nigeria, *c*1920). Nigerian drummer, composer and music organizer and promoter. Educated at the Baptist Academy in Lagos, he moved to the USA in 1950 where he took the BA at Morehouse College in Atlanta, Georgia, in 1954. He settled in New York in 1954, enrolling in a graduate programme at New York University, and later established the Center of African Culture in Harlem in the 1960s, a cultural performing arts school. He collaborated with artists such as John Coltrane, Max Roach, Yusef Lateef, Freddie Hubbard, Sonny Rollins, Jerry Garcia and Mickey Hart. His recordings and touring ensemble introduced countless audiences throughout North America and the world to West African performance traditions. In addition, he wrote about African music and composed several film scores. His association with Grateful Dead drummer Mickey Hart led to several recording projects and further performing opportunities.

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Soul Makossa, Paramount PAS 6061 (1973)

Dance to the Beat of my Heart, Blue Heron (1986) [re-issued as *Drums of Passion: the Beat*, Rykodisc RCD 10107 (1989)]

Drums of Passion: the Invocation, Rykodisc RCD 10102 (1988)

G. Stewart: 'The Beat Goes On: Olatunji', *Breakout: Profiles in African Rhythm* (Chicago, 1992), 87–96

GREGORY F. BARZ

Olcott, Chauncey [Olcott, Chancellor John] (*b* Buffalo, NY, 21 July 1858; *d* Monte Carlo, 18 March 1932). American singer, composer and lyricist. He toured with several minstrel and opera companies, then went to London for two years, where he studied singing and appeared in comic opera. He achieved fame after his return to the USA when he joined forces with Augustus

Pitou in 1893 and succeeded William J. Scanlan as the leading singer in Pitou's productions of sentimental operettas on Irish themes. His success, founded on his sweet tenor voice and his ingratiating acting and appearance, led to his concentrating on Irish roles for the remainder of his career.

He contributed librettos, songs and lyrics to many of the works in which he appeared, and wrote the complete scores of *Sweet Inniscarra* (1897), *A Romance of Athlone* (1899), *Garrett O'Magh* (1901), and *Old Limerick Town* (1902). His song *My Wild Irish Rose* (1899) and the lyrics *Mother Machree* (1911) and *When Irish Eyes are Smiling* (1912), both with music by Ernest R. Ball, have attained lasting popularity. He made a few recordings of Irish-American ballads between 1913 and 1920, but his popularity waned after World War I and he retired in 1925. Olcott was considered neither a great singer nor actor, but at the height of his popularity commanded a large and loyal audience among the Irish-American community. His life was the subject of the Hollywood film *My Wild Irish Rose* (1947).

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D. Carroll: *The Matinee Idols* (New York, 1972)

MICHAEL J. BUDDS

Olczewska, Maria. *See* OLSZEWSKA, MARIA.

Oldfield, Mike [Michael] (*b* Reading, 15 May 1953). English rock composer and guitarist. At the age of 19 he recorded the instrumental album *Tubular Bells*, funded by Richard Branson's Virgin record shops. In 1973 it became Virgin Records' first release and sold more than ten million copies over the next eight years. Written with the help of David Bedford, it was a quasi-minimalist piece at the melodic end of progressive rock. From this position he subsequently wrote and performed music for the eve of the Prince of Wales's wedding in 1981 and film music for Puttnam's *The Killing Fields* (Virgin, 1984).

The achievement of *Tubular Bells* was such that in 1992 he released *Tubular Bells II* (WEA), which showed an attempt to evade the new-age tag his music had acquired; this was strengthened by a remix by dance outfit The Orb. Between these two, Oldfield recorded a dozen largely instrumental albums: *Hergest Ridge* (Virgin, 1974) was in the style of *Tubular Bells*; the more lively *Ommadawn* (Virgin, 1975) showed some influence of Celtic melody; the single *Guilty* (1979) toyed with disco; *The songs of Distant Earth* (WEA, 1994), based on Arthur C. Clarke's novel of the same name, made use of Gregorian and Central Asian chant. He has worked with musicians on the cusp of the divide between pop and classical music, including Bedford, Morris Pert and Jon Anderson, and also those involved with progressive rock, such as Kevin Ayers and Roger Chapman, and has successfully jumped the chasm opened by punk. He is somewhat introverted and largely uninterested in the theatrical possibilities of live performance, not touring until 1979. Like many of his generation, Oldfield has retained a strong following in Germany, Spain and France.

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ALLAN F. MOORE

Old Hall Manuscript. The most important manuscript collection of English sacred music of the late 14th and early 15th centuries, until 1973 at the college of St Edmund, Old Hall, near Ware, Hertfordshire, and now *GB-Lbl* 57950.

1. Compilation and contents. 2. Date and provenance. 3. Musical styles.

1. COMPILATION AND CONTENTS. The main compilation (OH-I) was put together between about 1415 and 1421 by a single scribe and presents for the first time an English repertory largely tied to named composers: Leonel Power, with 20–26 compositions, Pycard, Typp, Byttering, Oliver, Chirbury, Excetre, Cooke, Roy Henry, Queldryk, Tyes, Aleyn, Fonteyns, Gervays, Lambe ..., Mayshuet, Pennard, Rowlard and Swynford (in approximate descending order of representation). Antonio Zacara da Teramo can be added on the strength of continental concordances: a Gloria elsewhere ascribed to him with a texted contratenor may have been imported through the Council of Konstanz, where English musical prowess was noted. Mayshuet (probably Matteo de Sancto Johanne, in England in 1369: Wathey, 1990) is credited with one of the two *Deo gratias* substitute motets that end the manuscript; he may also have written the other, also preserved in a younger English choirbook (Bent, 1984) and textually connected to a *Post missarum solemnia* in *I-IV*. Harrison's suggestions for other foreign identities are thinly based: that Rowlard may be Philippus Royllart, composer of the motet *Rex Karole/Leticie pacis*, and that Fonteyns may be a canon of the Ste Chapelle in Paris. Aleyn has been identified with Johannes Alanus, the English composer of *Sub Arturo plebs* (probably a royal chaplain who died in 1373), but the Old Hall composer's initial, for an erased Agnus, appears to be W. Equally uncertain is whether the 'J de Oxonia' of that motet is the same as the royal clerk John Excetre (1372–97) or the Old Hall composer. Later additions (OH-II) in some seven hands, of music by Damett, Sturgeon, Cooke, Burell, Forest and Dunstaple, were made in the early 1420s on openings left blank by the main scribe and on leaves newly inserted.

The collection is arranged by liturgical category: settings of the Gloria, of antiphons and sequences in score, of the Credo, Sanctus and Agnus Dei, and of isorhythmic motets including *Deo gratias* substitutes. Within each section devoted to the Mass Ordinary, settings in score precede those notated in parts. There is further evidence of planning within sections, notably the ordering of Sanctus and Agnus Dei settings according to their plainchants. Roy Henry's two compositions, a Gloria in separate parts and a Sanctus in score, head their respective sections. The later scribes made their additions as far as possible in accordance with this plan, which follows the order of Mass (thus physically separating musically related movements which in later manuscripts tend to be grouped together). Even the motets of this 'second layer' which are 'misplaced' in the Sanctus section might be treated as Sanctus sequels. (*See* DAMETT, and STURGEON, N.)



Opening of the Gloria by Roy Henry from the Old Hall Manuscript (GB-Lbl Add.57950, f.121v)

Barclay Squire dismissed the possibility of making a bibliographical collation, but this has now been established with almost complete certainty. The details in many cases disprove older hypotheses about the order of compilation and associated datings, and establish beyond any doubt which leaves were later additions to the original book and how many leaves have been lost – the latter being a minimum estimate, since there may originally have been a gathering of Kyries. Discounting this possibility, the manuscript was originally planned to have at least 121 folios, 98 of which survive, though 15 of these were used for later additions instead of the pieces intended by the original scribe. 14 out of at least 16 inserted leaves remain, making an original total of 137 folios of which 112 are left. The original scribe was responsible for about three-quarters – the first layer – of the manuscript as it now survives. The later contributors, notably Damett and Sturgeon or their agents, did not collaborate in the original compilation. The second-layer scribes themselves used the music of the first layer, as

their alterations to it show. Substantial rewriting activity by these later scribes on their 'own' music, and the simultaneous membership of four of them of the Royal Household Chapel of Henry V, suggest that some pieces were autograph. The composers affected are Damett, Sturgeon, Cooke and Burell. (Although the Forest and Dunstaple works also have their own scribes, similar evidence of personal intervention is lacking.)

2. DATE AND PROVENANCE. Discussion of the early history of the manuscript has been plagued by misunderstandings, including failure to distinguish between the date of composition of the music and the date of copying of the manuscript; confusion between the layers of activity led to the inverted notion that Damett and Sturgeon may have been actively concerned in the original compilation; and confusion between the Royal Free Chapel of St George in Windsor Castle and the peripatetic Royal Household Chapel of the king (exacerbated by Damett's and Sturgeon's associations with both at various dates): this led the manuscript, entirely by virtue of the later additions, to an unjustified association with the Chapel Royal. While a Chapel Royal association for the second layer is almost certain, the nature of the interruption of the original plan pointed to an origin for the first layer outside the royal chapel.

Interest and controversy have surrounded the identity of ROY HENRY. Henry VI (Squire) and Henry IV (Harrison) can now be ruled out in favour of Henry V (Bukofzer; Bent, 1984), who was king at the time of writing, especially since the discovery that LEONEL POWER (Bowers) was a member of the chapel of Henry V's brother Thomas Duke of Clarence (*d* 1421), for whose chapel the manuscript can now be presumed to have been prepared and whence it passed to that of Henry V, whose chaplains stayed on to attend the infant Henry VI, adding their own compositions. Some of these may be autograph, and they include three motets by Damett, Cooke and Sturgeon whose titles correspond closely to a contemporary chronicle account of the London festivities following the Agincourt victory in 1415 (Bent, 1967–8). But it is the royal anchorage of OH-I that invites a marginally later dating of the copying than that previously proposed; the absence of Dunstaple (except for the sole later, anonymous addition of his four-part *Veni Sancte Spiritus*) becomes more surprising as the date of the manuscript has to be advanced, given that he served various members of the royal family and was certainly composing by this time. He is, however, prominent in the aforementioned comparable but fragmentary royal choirbook of slightly later date (Bent, 1984; *see also* DUNSTAPLE, JOHN), which has significant overlaps with and repertorial advances on Old Hall.

The relationship between the early part of the repertory and its fragmentary English concordances and that between the later music and its mainly continental copies give an opportunity for relative stylistic definition which is lacking for the much more fragmentary and chronologically diffuse Worcester Fragments of *c*1300 (*see* WORCESTER POLYPHONY). The only earlier English repertories of comparable completeness are in the 11th fascicle of *D-W* 628 (677) = W1. The earlier date of manuscripts containing concordances to the oldest styles confirms their late 14th-century origin; the distribution of these concordances by provenance, and the geographical implications of some composers' names, suggest that the repertory was drawn from the widest possible field and was in no sense a local or provincial product, even though it may have included some individual local or provincial pieces. Many of the most complex and virtuoso pieces in the manuscript are *unica*, indicating a small circle of high cultivation that was also open to simpler styles culled from a wider range.

The provenance of the manuscript cannot be established from its subsequent history. There is some evidence to support ownership by James Strangman, a member of the Elizabethan Society of Antiquaries who died in 1595/6. It was bought in 1813 by John Stafford Smith, at the sale of the Rev. John Parker's library. The manuscript has flourished capitals in alternating gold leaf and blue. 19 were excised in the 19th century, including more decorative ones at heads of sections, causing loss of music on both sides of the affected leaves. Replacement patches were provided in the late 19th century, and some second-layer pieces received their first capitals at the same time, in spaces that had remained blank (Bent, 1966). The manuscript descended to E.W. Tordiffe, who donated it to St Edmund's College in 1893. On 29 July 1973 a private sale to the British Library was announced, after the manuscript had failed to reach the reserve price at Sotheby's.

3. MUSICAL STYLES. Stylistic classifications were made by Bukofzer and Hughes (1967), with subsequent refinements. The music notated in score (an English peculiarity at this date) includes chant-based (English discant) and free (cantilena) settings, though the range from homophonic to complex rhythmic styles embraces both. Where present, the plainchant is often in the middle part, cultivating contrary motion with the lowest voice but sometimes migrating to it; occasionally it is paraphrased in the top part. A chant may be used strictly, or freely paraphrased; the dividing line between 'discant' and 'cantilena' is a soft one. Imperfect time with major prolation is the most common mensuration, rarely signed unless, as in a few pieces, there is a mensural change. With the use of coloration and increasing rhythmic complexity, such pieces (e.g. Cooke's Gloria, no.7, and *Ave regina*, no.52, Oliver's Sanctus, no.119) might well have been notated in separate parts. Texting beneath the lowest part is aligned for singers, not for musical score-reading. Score pieces are always, here, in three parts; in two cases, an additional contratenor is notated separately. Two-voice score, found in other English sources, is here confined to a few internal duets.

The music notated in choirbook format, or separate parts, includes a number of mass movements that, although physically separated in the manuscript, can be paired on grounds of musical technique or structure. Pairs may have related chants but no common tenors. Tenor chants are proper to the text of the movement concerned, except in isorhythmic compositions, where they may be alien; a few pieces paraphrase their chant in the top part. Isorhythm is used for all the motets and some mass movements. It ranges from the fairly mechanical imposition of a short talea on a long tenor (as in no.85, which has 19 rhythmically similar sections), through flexible structures in which colour and talea do not always coincide (as in Leonel's paired Gloria and Credo, nos.24 and 84), to pieces fully isorhythmic in all parts with

successive colour reductions; this is at its most regular in the motets of OH-II.

Of seven canonic works (all in OH-I and several by Pycard) one is a double canon and two incorporate a canon 3 in 1 into a five-part piece. The exceptional number of five-part pieces here reflects the English predilection for multi-voice sonority; there is even one 3rd in a final chord (Leonel, no.21). Several compositions are essays in mensural and proportional virtuosity, with a wide range of colorations including black, red and blue full and void forms, reversed and coloured signatures, half-coloured notes and special signs, presupposing a high degree of sophistication among the intended users, the members of Clarence's chapel including Power himself.

Much of the remaining music notated in parts is dominated by a texted songlike top part, often quite florid, supported by a grammatically essential tenor paired with a contratenor in the same range. In other styles, text declamation is shared (sometimes in alternation) between two upper parts, supported by an accompanying tenor, with or without a contratenor. There is some textual compression by telescoping, but no omissions.

The music of OH-II displays the suave consonance and melodic elegance associated with the generation of Dunstaple and often labelled the *contenance angloise*. There is a higher proportion of duet writing, and withdrawal from the extreme rhythmic complexity of OH-I works by Leonel and Pycard.

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J.D.C. King: *Texting in Early Fifteenth-Century Sacred Polyphony* (diss., U. of Oxford, 1996)

MARGARET BENT

Oldham, Arthur (William) (*b* London, 6 Sept 1926). English choirmaster and composer. He studied composition with Howells at the RCM (1943–5) and privately with Britten. The first of his works to attract public attention was the ballet *Mr Punch*, given by Ballet Rambert at Sadler's Wells. Since that time he has worked as a choirmaster with the Scottish (later Edinburgh) Festival Chorus (from 1965), the Scottish Opera Chorus and the LSO Chorus (1969–76). Also in 1976 he was responsible for the formation, in Paris, of the choir of the Orchestre de Paris, and later the chorus of the Concertgebouw Orchestra. An early compositional career under the shadow of Britten (inevitably so, when both were concerned to write choral music of immediate appeal) was interrupted in 1952 by a nervous breakdown. He recovered and began to compose again towards the end of the 1950s, at about the time he entered the Catholic Church. He was made an OBE in 1989. Much of his music is intended for children. The harmony is largely diatonic, its vitality deriving from an original use of dissonance and unexpected key juxtapositions.

WORKS
(*selective list*)

Orch: Variations on a Carol Tune, chbr orch, 1949; Divertimento, str, 1951; Circus Parade [suite from ballet Circus Canteen], 1952; The Apotheosis of Lucius, sym. study, 1952; Sinfonietta, wind band, 1974
Stage: Mr Punch (ballet), 1946; The Sailor's Return (ballet), 1947: Circus Canteen (ballet), 1951; ed., Love in a Village (op), 1952; Bonne bouche (ballet), 1952; The Land of Green Ginger (op), 1965
Choral: My Truest Treasure, SATB, 1951; 4 Occasional Anthems, 1952; Missa in honorem Santi Thomae Mori, SATB, 1958; Missa Sanctae Mariae Virginis, congregation, chorus, org, 1960; 2 Carols, SA, org, 1961; Laudes creaturanum (cant.), S, children's chorus, chorus, org, str, 1961; Hymns for the Amusement of Children, S, chorus, org/chbr orch, 1962; Remember, O thou Man, SSATBB, 1962; Blind Audley's Carol, SSATBB, 1965; Quem vidistis, STB, 1966; Sacerdos et pontifex, SATB, org, 1966; Now is the Time for Mirth and Play (C. Smart), unison vv, 1967; O Queen of Virtues, SA, 1967; Psalms in Time of War, Bar, chorus, orch, 1976; Epithalamium (Smart), chorus, org, 1989; Le testament de Villon, 3 solo vv, chbr choir, chorus, orch, 1997
Vocal: 5 Chinese Lyrics, 1v, pf, 1949; Summer's Lease (W. Shakespeare), T, str orch, 1950; The Commandment of Love, 1v, pf, 1951; Cantique de cantiques, 1v, fl, 1980; 5 Noëls, 1v, fl, 1997; 2 villancicos de Santa Teresa de Avila, S, Mez, pf
Chbr: Sonata, vn, pf, 1950
Arrs.: 5 Burns Songs, chorus, 1958; 6 Scots Songs of the XVIII Century, 1v, pf, 1959; 4 Noëls, SSA, 1963

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MSS in *GB-Lmic*

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M.-F. Castarède and C.M. Guilini: *Le miroir sonore: essai sur le choeur* (Lyons, 1989) [incl. interview]

RICHARD COOKE/R

Oldham, Kevin (William) (*b* Kansas City, MO, 30 Aug 1960; *d* Kansas City, MO, 11 March 1993). American

composer and pianist. He studied at Northwestern University and at the Juilliard School, where his teachers included Herbert Stessin and Sascha Gorodnitzki. He made his orchestral début with the Detroit SO under Kunzel in 1980, and throughout that decade presented highly regarded piano recitals in New York, Chicago, Washington, DC, and Los Angeles. In 1988, upon learning that he was infected with HIV, he abandoned the concert stage and devoted the rest of his life to composition. He checked himself out of a New York hospital to rehearse and perform his Piano Concerto with the Kansas City SO under William McGlaughlin in January 1993. The following day he was readmitted to a local hospital, where he died six weeks later.

Oldham's neo-romantic style combined the lush virtuosity of early 20th-century Russian music (by composers such as Rachmaninoff and Prokofiev) with a jaunty American manner that owed much to film scores and music theatre. The simple and haunting Andante tranquilo from his Piano Concerto has been especially admired. Several of his works have been recorded.

WORKS

Stage: Therese Raquin (op), unfinished; Titanic (musical theatre), unfinished

Vocal: 5 Songs, op.2: I am your Friend; Do I Know Why; Intermezzo, pf; Prelude, pf; Song Without Words in C; Gaspard de la nuit, 3 songs, op.3, S, pf: Ondine, Le gibet, Scarbo; 2 Waltzes, op.4, 3 S, pf, str qnt: Dingbat Waltz, Vocalise Waltz; 4 Songs, op.5: Will You Ever Dance to My Songs Again?, Pretending, All My Thoughts of You, Give me a Break; 4 Songs, op.11, S, unfinished; 5 Songs, op.12, Bar, unfinished; 3 Spirituals, op.13, unfinished; The Boulding Chorales, op.16, pubd: Can I Imprisoned; Small Flowers; Are there No Armies; My Lord, Thou Art in Every Breath I Take; 3 Carols, op.20, pubd: Away in a Manger, Joy to the World, Silent Night; 3 Pss: cxxi, cxxx, cl

Inst: Toccata, op.1, pf; 2 Inst Pieces, op.6; Variations on a French Noel, op.7, pf, pubd; Fuge, op.8, s cl, a cl, cel, pf; Sym. no.1, op.9, org, pubd; Pf Conc., op.14, pubd; 2 Nocturnes, op.15, pf; Ballade, op.17, pf, pubd; Prelude, Saraband and Toccata, op.19 [Toccata completed by S. Cohen] [see also VOCAL: 5 Songs, op.2]

Transcrs. of works by Bach (Sinfonia, D, BWV29; Fugue, G; Prelude and Fugue, D, BWV532), M. Duruflé (Org Suite, op.5)

TIM PAGE

Oldis [Oldys], **Valentine** (*b* 1620; bur. London, 22 June 1684). English apothecary, poet and amateur composer. His father, also Valentine, had him educated at Cambridge. According to Anthony Wood he was 'an Apothecary in the Blackfriars in London in the time of the rebellion'. He published a poem in praise of the Restoration, and contributed to other collections, including Alexander Brome's *Songs and other Poems* (London, 1664). He was made a Cambridge Doctor of Medicine by the king's warrant on 6 October 1671, and became an honorary member of the College of Physicians in 1680. He was buried in St Helen Bishopsgate. Apart from two two-part suites in Playford's *Court Ayres* (RISM 1655[5]), all of his music is found in a Bodleian Library manuscript (*GB-Ob* Mus.Sch.G.612; for details see *DoddI*), which Edward Lowe noted was 'given mee by the Author 24th march 1659 [?1660] at ye Legge in Kings-Street Westminster'. It contains four suites for two trebles and bass, a fifth for three trebles and bass, the bass part of a sixth, and a seventh suite of three-part 'ayres alamode made in ye yeare 1674' added later by Lowe. Lowe copied the first six suites into another manuscript (*Och* Mus.382–4), and the 1674 suite also appears elsewhere (*Ob* Mus.Sch.C.44 and E.451). Oldis's music is fluent and attractive in an old-fashioned idiom reminiscent of Jenkins's lighter middle-period works.

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PETER HOLMAN

Oldman, C(ecil) B(ernard) (*b* London, 2 April 1894; *d* London, 7 Oct 1969). English librarian and bibliographer. He read Greats at Oxford and entered the British Museum in 1920 as an assistant keeper in the Department of Printed Books, working there until his retirement in 1959. Through general scholarship and an outstanding capacity for administration, he rose to be head of the department, as principal keeper, for the last 12 years of his service.

Oldman's early interest in music brought him to the notice of Barclay Squire, who encouraged him to specialize in the bibliography of music, especially the music of Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven. Of Mozart in general he ultimately acquired an encyclopedic knowledge, and his work was recognized in 1950 by the award of the silver medal of the Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum. One of the most notable results of Oldman's intensive study was 'Musical First Editions' (1934), an exceptionally lucid statement of principles and aims, with particular reference to the Classical period. But the pressures of departmental work grew continually in the 1930s and the problems that arose through war damage and postwar reconstruction made it difficult for him to complete any substantial work. He was however generous in sharing his knowledge with others working in the same field.

During his term as principal keeper, Oldman acted as honorary curator of the Royal Music Library, for which he was appointed CVO in 1958. For his work as principal keeper he received the CB in 1952, and his services to musical scholarship were recognized by an honorary doctorate from Edinburgh University in 1956. From 1945 to 1969 he guided the affairs of the British Union-Catalogue first as treasurer and from 1951 onwards as chairman. From 1962 until his death he was chairman of the UK committee for *RISM*. He was on the council of the Central Music Library in London from its foundation in 1946, and its chairman from 1964. He gave 37 years' service to the Royal Musical Association, as a member of its council and later as a vice-president, and was honorary librarian of the Royal Philharmonic Society from 1947 to 1969.

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ALEC HYATT KING

Oldovini, Paschaly Caetanus (*fl* 1758–77). Portuguese organ builder. An inscription on the organ built for Évora Cathedral in 1758 confirms that he was of Italian origin. His work in Portugal, displaying a mixture of Portuguese and Italian traditions, is of a high quality and not much influenced by the then prevailing Baroque style. He apparently worked in Évora for a number of years on projects at the cathedral, where he restored the Renaissance organ (built by Heitor Lobo), and constructed two other organs, one in 1758 and a smaller Positiv of *c*1760. A small organ built for Crato parish church is dated 1769, and an impressive instrument, similar in design to the 1758 organ for Évora Cathedral, was installed in Elvas Cathedral in 1777. There is considerable evidence to suggest that the historic organ in Faro Cathedral was repaired by Oldovini, who, at the same time, may have installed its unusual *Brustwerk*. Faro Cathedral contains another small organ built by him, and an instrument in the chapel of Senhor dos Passos, S Matriz, Viana do Castelo, is almost certainly his work. For further information, see G. Dodener 'Eine portugiesische Kleinorgel des 17. Jahrhunderts', *Studia organologica: Festschrift für John Henry van der Meer*, ed. F. Hellwig (Tutzing, 1987), 45–56.

W.D. JORDAN

Old Roman chant. Old Roman chant is a liturgical repertory of melodies that survives in certain manuscripts dating from between the 11th and 13th centuries, but it must have existed in some form or other centuries before. Because of the nature of the source material, musical and historical, most scholarly discussions of Old Roman chant have related the repertory to the better-known Gregorian chant.

1. GENERAL. Three graduals and two antiphoners survive: one gradual from the church of S Cecilia in Trastevere in Rome written in 1071 (*CH-CObodmer* C 74); one gradual perhaps from S Giovanni in Laterano, Rome, from the 11th or 12th century (*I-Rvat* lat.5319); one gradual from S Pietro in Rome from the 13th century (*Rvat* S Pietro F 22); one antiphoner from an unknown Roman church, perhaps S Croce in Gerusalemme, written in the 12th century (*GB-Lbl* Add.29988); and one antiphoner from S Pietro, Rome, from the 12th or 13th century (*I-Rvat* S Pietro B 79). All the manuscripts are thus of Roman origin.

Textually and liturgically they conform to Gregorian sources except for minute but specific divergencies. The melodies are, in most cases, variations of the corresponding melodies in Gregorian chant. Thus we should speak of two chant traditions rather than of two bodies of chant. The textual and liturgical peculiarities of the five Roman manuscripts recur in some liturgical manuscripts without melodies (missals and ordinals); and on this basis it has been claimed that the existence of the Old Roman tradition can be traced back to the end of the 8th century. Some of the unnotated 'témoins indirects' (Huglo, 1954) are of non-Roman or northern provenance, and their relevance as witnesses of Old Roman chant has been challenged (Frénaud, 1959).

In the critical literature there is no single view as to what this chant tradition should be called. The name 'Old Roman chant' ('Altrömischer Gesang'), was introduced by Bruno Stäblein; initially he contrasted it with 'New Roman chant' ('Neurömischer Gesang'), but he later replaced this by returning to the concept of 'Gregorian chant'. Others speak of 'Urban Roman' and 'Gregorian' (Schmidt), 'special' and 'standard' (Apel), 'divergent' and 'normal' (Jammers), 'Old Roman' or 'Roman' and 'Frankish' (Hucke) traditions of Gregorian chant.

2. THE ORIGIN OF THE TWO TRADITIONS. The authors of the introduction to *Le répons-graduel Justus ut palma* (PalMus, 1st ser., ii, 1891/*R*), who published a melody of the Old Roman tradition for the first time, regarded this tradition as a later, urban Roman distortion of the Gregorian melodies. In 1912 Andoyer proposed the opposite view that older, pre-Gregorian versions of Gregorian melodies were preserved in the Old Roman tradition. Scholarly discussion of the Old Roman tradition was reopened in 1950 by Bruno Stäblein. According to Stäblein the Old Roman tradition represents what was sung at the time of Pope Gregory the Great, that is, the true 'Gregorian' chant. Under Pope Vitalian (657–72) these melodies were subjected to an 'ingenious reshaping', the result of which is what we know as Gregorian chant.

The dating of this reshaping in the pontificate of Vitalian rests first of all on a tradition, repeated by various chroniclers since the 12th century, according to which Pope Vitalian was active in the field of liturgical chant. The second basis for this dating is a list, contained in an 8th-century Frankish manuscript (*Ordo romanus XIX*), of persons who had done much for the cause of Roman chant. The list starts by enumerating popes and closes with the names of three abbots (Catolenus, Maurianus and Virbonus) who were presumably affiliated with the basilican monasteries around S Pietro in Rome at the time of Vitalian. These three abbots were supposed by Stäblein to have taken part in the reshaping of Old Roman into Gregorian chant. The suggestion of Jammers that the transformation of the Old Roman melodies into Gregorian chants during the pontificate of Vitalian was occasioned by the introduction of drones (*ison*-singing or

diaphonia basilica) from Byzantium rests on no reliable evidence.

According to Van Dijk the relationship of Gregorian chant to Old Roman chant should not be considered solely from a musical point of view: above all it is a question of two different rites. In most of the papal services in the 13th century Gregorian chant was sung, while elsewhere in Rome, especially in S Pietro, the Old Roman rite was used with Old Roman melodies. Van Dijk offered circumstantial evidence that the special papal liturgy stretched back much further than the 13th century and that it had been connected with Gregorian chant from time immemorial. Gregorian chant was supposed (by Van Dijk) to have developed from the pontificate of Vitalian onwards and to have been codified by Pope Gregory II (715–31); Pope Vitalian supposedly founded the Roman Schola Cantorum.

Smits van Waesberghe, on the other hand, argued that the Old Roman chant was the chant of the papal liturgy, and that during the 7th century this chant was transformed into Gregorian chant in the monasteries that were linked with Roman basilicas. In connection with the liturgical and historical investigations of Huglo and with his own study of the graduals, Hucke formulated the thesis that the Old Roman chant was the Roman version of Gregorian chant and that 'Gregorian chant' originated in the Frankish Empire in about 800 with the introduction of the Roman liturgy there. He believed that, given the conditions of the 8th and 9th centuries, the transplantation of a vast and highly developed repertory of Gregorian melodies into a completely different musical culture was highly unlikely; in fact, the literary evidence relating to the introduction of the *cantus romanus* into the Frankish Empire speaks time and time again of difficulties and misunderstandings. Hucke's research into the antiphonal psalmody of the Old Roman sources indicates that the system of the eight psalm tones was not adopted by Old Roman chant until late, and then only incompletely. This would be inexplicable if Gregorian chant had arisen in Rome and been transmitted there since the 8th century alongside Old Roman chant. The system of the eight psalm tones, related directly to the eight church modes, is first attested in the Frankish Empire in about 800. It is clearly one of the achievements of the Carolingian Renaissance. The stylistic differences between old Roman and Gregorian chant must be explained by their different places of origin and by the adaptation of the Roman melodies to the system of the eight church modes.

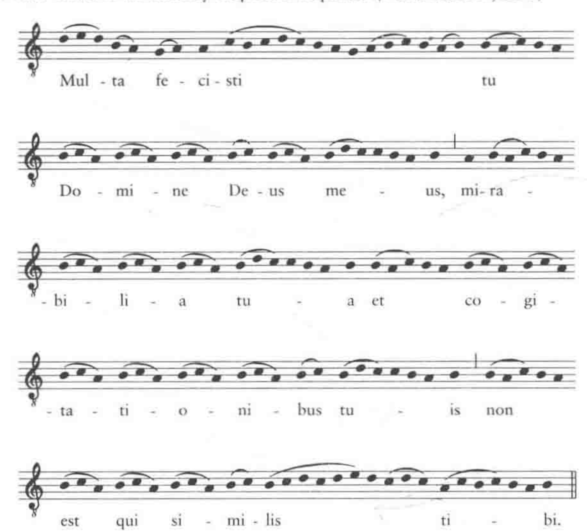
According to Hucke, after the separation of the Frankish tradition in about 800 the Roman tradition continued to develop until the 11th century and underwent changes in some parts of the repertory more than in others. He maintained that the way in which the Old Roman tradition made Frankish elements its own excludes the possibility that the two traditions originated in the same place and in the same musical culture and co-existed from the beginning. The Old Roman tradition, exposed to the growing pressure of the Frankish tradition spreading from the Frankish Empire, was finally ousted by Gregorian chant in Rome in the high Middle Ages. Apel and Snow also accepted the Frankish origin of Gregorian chant, as did Cutter who, however, later pointed out that the relationship of the two traditions to each other could not be explained in all parts of the repertory by a revision of Old Roman melodies in the Frankish Empire. He suspected that Old Roman chant was transmitted orally for a long time and that this oral tradition was recorded in various Roman churches independently of each other.

Despite the fact that the liturgical practices of the papal court, of the urban churches and of the Roman monasteries each had distinctive features (Van Dijk), that alone would be insufficient evidence for the cultivation of two divergent musical styles in the same city. Apart from whatever apprenticeship training in music might have been available in the Roman tituli (*see* ROME, §II, 1), there existed in Rome only one singing school, the papal Schola Cantorum (Dyer, 1993). Gregorian chant must be, therefore, in some degree 'Frankish', although no agreement has yet been reached about the details of the process that created it. Some regard Gregorian chant as representative of 8th-century Roman chant imported into Charlemagne's realm and 'frozen' in the memories (and later manuscripts) of Frankish cantors. Others believe that a process of oral tradition continued for a time, as it most certainly did in Old Roman chant, preserved in written form only from the 11th century.

Various studies (Cutter, Nowacki) have demonstrated the fluidity of detail in the Old Roman melodic tradition, presumably the result of separate, independently written redactions of the oral tradition. Nowacki's investigation of antiphon texts set to different type melodies (Gevaert's 'thèmes') in the Old Roman and the Gregorian traditions led him to conclude that the reason for this phenomenon is not to be sought in Frankish confusion or error, but in the extended period of oral transmission at Rome. The process by which Old Roman chant was displaced by Gregorian chant at Rome must have been a gradual one, perhaps already underway when the *graduale* of S Cecilia in Trastevere was written (1071). The reformed canons of the Lateran and the papal court might have adopted this 'international' repertory during the 12th century, and there is some reason to suppose that it formed part of the liturgical reforms of Pope Innocent III (1198–1216). According to a late 14th-century report (Radulph de Rivo), the Old Roman rite and its music were officially suppressed during the pontificate of Nicholas III (1277–80).

3. OLD ROMAN CHANT STYLE. In speaking of the stylistic peculiarities of the Old Roman tradition the question must be answered as to whether these peculiarities are common to the different classes of chant or whether they occur predominantly or even exclusively in specific classes of chant. For example, the manner of recitation, often cited as being characteristic of the Old Roman tradition, in which a two-or three-note ornamental figure is reiterated continually (ex.1), occurs predominantly in the offertories. Generally the melodic style of Old Roman chant, like other Italian chant dialects, favours intricate, often repetitive melodic motion within a narrow pitch range; it makes considerable use of varied or literal reiteration of small melodic elements. The gentle rise and fall of the typical Old Roman melody contrasts strongly with the more angular and assertive Gregorian melodic profile. It seems clear that Old Roman chant relied heavily on formulaic construction, even if individual pieces stray from strict adherence to the formulae (Cutter, Connolly, Hucke, Nowacki).

A stylistic characteristic in the Old Roman tradition, or at least in the larger part of its repertory, seems to be the tendency to allow melismas and phrases to flow over the



Ex.1 Versus of the offertory *Exspectans exspectavi* (*I-Rvat* lat.5319, f.62*v*)

caesura and to link each with the following one, so that the continuation of the melodic flow is apparent rather than the melodic structure. There is a need to investigate the extent to which this is a question of the style of performance and the extent to which the musical notation should be understood as an indication of melodic structures or as a suggestion for a method of performance. In the Old Roman tradition the care taken in recording the melody is palpably less, and the frequency of variations in the transmission of the same melody is virtually a characteristic. Another hallmark of the Old Roman tradition as opposed to the Gregorian is a different feeling of tonality. This difference is noticeable in the manner in which Gregorian psalm tones were taken over by the Old Roman tradition.

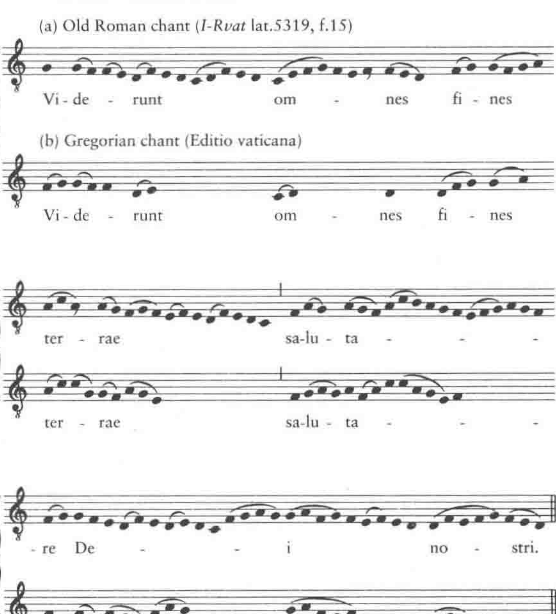
4. The relationship between the Gregorian and Old Roman melodies of the Mass. An initial general survey of the relationships between the chants of the two traditions has been made by Snow (1958). Among the introits some pieces in the two traditions show a very close relationship, while most correspond only generally. Differences of text occur more frequently in the offertories than in other classes of chant. Here the traditions differ from each other more in the melodies of the verse than in those of the refrains. A peculiarity of the Old Roman offertories is the occurrence of unusually long melismas that differ stylistically from the melismas of the alleluias. In addition, there is a manner of recitation that occurs in the offertories whereby a three-note ornamental figure is reiterated for successive syllables of text (see above, ex.1).

The number of Old Roman alleluia melodies is smaller than in the Gregorian chant repertory. Of the Old Roman alleluias, 11 have their own melodies, while the remainder utilize seven standard alleluia formulae and correspond more or less in their verses. Ten Old Roman alleluias have a ‘melodia secunda’, that is, an extension of the alleluia jubilus when it is repeated after the verse. A special study of the tracts of the 2nd mode has been made by Schmidt. The number of standard formulae is smaller in the Old Roman tradition, and in the Gregorian the formulae are not so consistently applied. On the other hand, the terminations are more strictly regularized. In the tracts of the 8th mode the divergence between the two traditions is greater. Four tracts of the 8th mode, namely the *cantica* of Holy Saturday, are almost identical in the two traditions, and here it is clear that the Old Roman tradition has adopted the Gregorian melodies.

Among the graduals (which have been investigated by Hucke) most of the Gregorian melodies are consistent adaptations of the Old Roman ones. The structure of the melodies was preserved but the melodic flow was radically transformed in a different style. Even where the Old Roman melody is palpably corrupt, the Frankish adaptation has attempted to follow the model closely. Thus it cannot be explained away as an adaptation based on a different aesthetic: rather it gives the impression of being a translation from a foreign musical language. The revised Gregorian melodies were handed down from the beginning with astonishing accuracy. The Old Roman tradition on the other hand shows traces of the subsequent formation of variants and then of later normalization. In some cases, a gradual in the Old Roman tradition has later received another melody.

Of the Old Roman communion antiphons, 30 have also come down to us as Old Roman *responsoria prolixa* for the Night Office. Until now the Gregorian variants of these communions have been only partly authenticated as responsories, while on the other hand there are communions that are authenticated as responsories in the Gregorian tradition but not in the Old Roman. Two further Old Roman communions are late adaptations of responsories. The relationship between the communion melodies of the two traditions is more varied and complicated than that of the graduals (ex.2 and ex.3). In many communions the melodic ductus of the two traditions is very similar. Often the Old Roman melody seems to be an ornamented version of its Gregorian counterpart: sometimes a specific connection between the corresponding melodies of the two traditions is detectable only at individual, isolated points in the melody, and in some cases it is uncertain whether we have before us a true connection or merely a

Ex.2 Communion *Viderunt omnes*



Ex.3 Communion *Dominus virtutum* (for Monday after Passion Sunday)



Communion *Redime me, Deus* (for Tuesday after Passion Sunday)



In Old Roman chant *Dominus virtutum* has adopted the beginning of *Redime me*

melodic similarity. The terminations of the communion antiphons are regularized differently and more rigidly in the Old Roman tradition than in Gregorian chant. The Old Roman tradition has borrowed the Gregorian antiphonal psalm tones for the psalm verses of the communion and also for those of the introit. The Old Roman melodies of the Ordinary of the Mass appear to have been taken over wholesale from Gregorian chant.

5. The relationship between the Gregorian and Old Roman melodies of the Office. The divergencies of the Old Roman repertory from the Gregorian repertory are much greater in the Office than in the Mass; and in addition, the two extant Old Roman antiphoners differ considerably. According to Snow they contain altogether 636 *responsoria prolixa*, of which a considerable proportion is transmitted in only one of the two manuscripts. Thus the extensive production of new responsories in Gregorian chant between the beginning of the 11th century and continuing through the 12th century and the 13th did not occur in the Old Roman tradition. Some Old Roman responsories have been taken over from Gregorian chant. While most of the responsory verses in Gregorian chant were sung to standard psalmodic formulae and others had their own melodies, all the Old Roman responsory verses used eight standard psalmodic formulae.

The responsories of the 2nd mode have been examined by Cutter: of 80 responsories, 51 are found in both traditions. The standard melodic formulae used in these responsories appear in both traditions with corresponding variants. The number of these formulae is, however, smaller in the Old Roman tradition; in addition, the formulae of Gregorian chant show a greater tendency to variant forms, and less standardized melodic material is used. The recitation tones of the two traditions also differ. Despite certain similarities, the melodies of the two traditions show evidence of a different stylistic character. A striking characteristic of the Old Roman responsories is the fact that the individual melodic phrases flow directly into each other: often the cadence of the first part is only completed by the opening of the second part. As a whole, the responsories of the 2nd mode in the Old Roman tradition are more uniform and consistent.

In the case of Office antiphons (according to Snow), most of the standard melodies of Gregorian chant recur in the Old Roman tradition, but only about 60% of the antiphons common to both traditions use the same melody in both. Nowacki has investigated the antiphons in greater detail. Of the antiphons contained in the tonary of Regino of Prüm, a witness of the Frankish tradition at the turn of the 9th and 10th centuries, about 56% recur in *I-Rvat* S PietroB 79: on the other hand, the 12th-century antiphoner *I-Lc* 601 contains about 69% of the Old Roman antiphons. Jammers postulated that the joint corpus in Italy was enlarged by later compositions from the 9th and 10th centuries. But only about half of the antiphons have the same melody. In the antiphons for Lent, which probably belong to the oldest corpus, the traditions deviate from each other more considerably. Cutter has drawn attention to the fact that standard antiphon melodies, used for different texts, appear in the Old Roman tradition with ever new and different variants; and that, in addition, they deviate markedly from one another in both Old Roman antiphoners. Therefore the relationship of the Office antiphons in each of the two traditions offers a different picture from that of the responsories.

Old Roman psalmody has been investigated by Hucke. In the Old Roman graduals, variants of the eight Gregorian psalm tones are used for the introit and communion; however, the system of *differentiae* is not used methodically. By contrast, the antiphonal psalmody of the chant books for the Office does not follow the system. Of the antiphons, almost 90% use one of three psalm tones – those that recite on D, C and A and correspond to the 7th, 8th, and 1st Gregorian psalm tones. Of the psalms, about 5% are sung to an equivalent of the 6th Gregorian tone, the remainder to a number of variants of the 2nd and 4th tones or to irregular formulae.

Not all of the many psalm tones and *differentiae* are evenly distributed throughout the repertory. In part they

are used for single feasts or for the octaves of feasts, but in some cases a specific succession of antiphons belonging together liturgically will consistently have the same tone and *differentiae*. Quite clearly Old Roman chant did not originally know the system of psalm tones. Between the 11th and 13th centuries, when the surviving sources of Old Roman chant were written, the Frankish system of eight psalm tones was adopted for the antiphons of the Mass (and this presupposes at the same time the regularizing of the introit and communion antiphons) and also for the responsories of the Office. The system was not at that time introduced into the Roman antiphonal psalmody of the Office.

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HELMUT HUCKE/JOSEPH DYER

Old Vic. London theatre opened in 1818 as the Royal Coburg Theatre and occasionally used for musical performances. *See* LONDON, (i) §VI, 1(i).

Old Way of Singing. Term used from the 18th century for a slow, heterophonic style of unaccompanied congregational hymn singing found in rural Protestant churches in Britain and the USA. It is also variously called the 'Common Way' or the 'Usual Way', to distinguish it from 'Regular Singing'. The practice is orally transmitted. The tempo is extremely slow, lacking rhythmic drive and precision. Singers may diverge on their way from one tune note to the next, resulting in heterophony that is

sometimes perceived as conscious embellishment. In some cases a harmonic element is present.

The origins of the 'Old Way' are uncertain. Similar practices have been noted among German-speaking groups tracing their descent from the 16th-century Anabaptists (*see* AMISH AND MENNONITE MUSIC), and in several Scandinavian countries. This gives rise to the possibility that it preserves an ancient, pre-Reformation mode of popular singing that was once prevalent in northern Europe. In Britain and North America it has generally been associated with LINING OUT: the practice of reading (or later, chanting) each line of a hymn or metrical psalm by a parish clerk or precentor before it was sung by the congregation. Lining out was first discussed in the 1640s but may have existed before. Contemporary descriptions of the 'Old Way of Singing' tend to be pejorative. The earliest representation in music notation dates from 1686.

The 'Old Way of Singing' was quickly suppressed when organs, rehearsed choirs, or band instruments were introduced into worship, as they were in most denominations during the 18th century. It had probably disappeared from Anglican churches by about 1770. The practice survived longest in remote areas where such facilities were not available, and in theologically conservative sects that still maintained the Puritan ban on all aids to singing in worship. It can be heard today in Free Presbyterian churches in the Western Isles of Scotland and in Primitive and Regular Baptist churches in southern Appalachia.

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NICHOLAS TEMPERLEY

Olearczyk, Edward (*b* Rawa Ruska [now Rava-Russkaya], 4 March 1915). Polish composer and conductor. He studied the piano with Zbigniew Drzewiecki at the Warsaw Conservatory (1934–8) and lived in the former Soviet Union from 1939 to 1945. After the war he returned to Poland and became musical director of the Polish Army Ensemble.

Olearczyk was one of several composers (together with Gradstein, Lutosławski and Witold Rudziński) who were the principal contributors to the genre of mass song during the period of socialist realism (1947–55). His style ranged from the portentous hymn (usually reserved for political topics) to the jaunty march. The most famous example of the latter is *Miliony rąk* (1950), a vision of the future in which millions of hands work to a single beating heart. Olearczyk's songs also demonstrate a lighter touch, as in the waltz *Na strażnicy* ('On the Watch-Tower', 1952), a love letter from a border guard to his girl back home. The greatest influence of popular light music is felt in *M.D.M.* (1952), an evocation of the massive Stalinist residential and commercial showpiece being built at the time in central Warsaw. Its perky rhythms and melody undoubtedly matched the capital's aspirations for a new life; but they are curiously out of kilter with the scale of the project, which is second only to the contemporaneous Palace of Culture and Science in its grandiosity.

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(*selective list*)

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ADRIAN THOMAS

O'Leary [née Strong], **Jane** (*b* Hartford, CT, 13 Oct 1946). Irish composer of American birth. She studied at Vassar College (BA 1968) and at Princeton University (MA 1971, PhD 1978), where her composition teachers included Babbitt and Randall. She taught at Swarthmore College (1971–2) and, after moving to Ireland with her Irish husband, at the DIT College of Music, Dublin (1974–7), and University College, Galway (1978–83). In 1976 she founded the contemporary music ensemble Concorde, with whom, as both pianist and artistic director, she has given many first performances of new Irish works. She has spoken and had her music performed at international congresses of women composers, and from 1986 to 1994 served on the executive committee of the International League of Women Composers.

In addition to her work as a composer and performer, O'Leary has been active in the administration and organisation of music in Ireland. She was a founder of Music for Galway in 1981 (chair 1984–92), and has served as a member of the board of directors of the Contemporary Music Centre, Dublin (1989–97), the Cultural Relations Committee at the Irish Department of Foreign Affairs and the Irish Arts Council. Her honours include membership in Aosdána (from 1981), a special commendation from Vienna Modern Masters (1992) for her orchestral work *Islands of Discovery* (1991) and the Marten Toonder Award for composition (1994).

Most of O'Leary's compositions written before 1983 employ dodecaphonic or serial techniques. Many of these are short movements for chamber ensemble, such as the Quartet for clarinet, bass clarinet, violin and violoncello (1969); a few are solo piano or vocal works. With her membership in Aosdána came a change in musical style. Turning away from strict 12-note procedures of a fragmentary character, she embraced long, fluid melodic lines and rich harmonic textures. Modal harmonies and folksong-like melodies show the influence of her adopted homeland. Poetry, especially of the Irish poet Brendan Kennelly, and the landscape of the Irish west coast have served as extra-musical inspirations.

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AXEL KLEIN

Olefsky, Paul (*b* Chicago, 4 Jan 1926). American cellist. He studied at the Curtis Institute with Daniel Saidenberg and Piatigorsky; later he worked with Casals and studied conducting with Karajan and Monteux. He was a member of several American orchestras, including the Philadelphia Orchestra and the Detroit SO, and appeared as a recitalist in North America and Europe in repertory ranging from the Bach suites to Kodály's unaccompanied Cello Sonata. He gave the premières of works by Kurt George Rogers, Virgil Thomson, Milhaud, Shapleigh and Alexander Tcherepnin, among others. In 1974 he was appointed professor of cello and chamber music at the University of Texas, Austin. Olefsky's playing was noted for its energy and sensitivity. His recordings include the complete sonatas of Beethoven and Brahms.

MARGARET DOUTT

Olenina d'Alheim [d'Al'geym; née Olenina], **Mariya Alekseyevna** (*b* Istomino, Ryazan province, 20 Sept/1 Oct 1869; *d* Moscow, 27 Aug 1970). Russian mezzo-soprano. Although she had lessons in 1887 with Yuliya Platonova and Aleksandra Molas, and later studied in Paris, she was never systematically trained. She made her début in Paris in 1896, singing music by Musorgsky, and in Russia (St Petersburg) in 1901. From then on she led a busy concert life in St Petersburg and Moscow. She and her husband, Pierre d'Alheim (1862–1922), a French writer, author of a book on Musorgsky and translator into French of his texts, were energetic advocates of Russian music in the West. In 1908 she founded in Moscow a so-called 'Maison du Lied' with the aim of spreading classical and contemporary vocal chamber music. The Maison, which existed until 1915, organized concerts, international competitions for song arrangements and for Russian translations of texts, and published a bulletin. In 1910 Olenina d'Alheim gave recitals in London, and in 1918 she moved to Paris. She last sang in Moscow and Leningrad in 1926 and returned to live in Moscow in 1959.

An outstanding recitalist, Olenina d'Alheim belonged, according to Stasov, to a group of artists with peculiarly Russian characteristics. Although her voice was neither particularly powerful nor particularly beautiful, she exerted a strong artistic influence. Her lofty inspiration and her grasp of the style and essence of a song made her performances totally compelling; her enunciation and declamation were beyond reproach, her phrasing noted for its expressiveness. In works such as Musorgsky's 'The Field-Marshal' (*Songs and Dances of Death*) and *Nursery* cycle, or Schubert's *Der Erlkönig*, she reached heights of tragic pathos. Her repertory included music by trouvères and Minnesinger, French and Italian Renaissance composers, Russian and west European classical and contemporary composers (often rare or new works), and folksongs. She published *Le legs de Moussorgski* (Paris, 1908) and the last interview with her, 'Tsel' moyey zhizni bïla znakomit' lyudey s russkoy muzïkoy' ('My life's aim was to acquaint people with Russian music'), was printed in *Literaturnaya rossiya* (12 September 1969).

I.M. YAMPOL'SKY

Oley, Johann Christoph (*b* Bernburg, bap. 3 June 1738; *d* Aschersleben, 20 Jan 1789). German organist and composer. There is some evidence that he studied with Bach for a short time in 1749, but none connecting him with the Thomasschule. In 1755 he became organist of the church in Bernburg, but moved to the church of St Stephan in neighbouring Aschersleben in January 1762 because of its superior organ. To augment his salary he assumed the duties of assistant schoolmaster as well. Contemporaries praised Oley's skill on the keyboard and organ, and his compositions attracted some interest. His organ writing reminded J.F. Agricola, another Bach pupil, of the glories of an earlier age. J. Beckmann, in a review of 1778, criticized carelessness in his harmony, giving credence perhaps to Gerber's statement that in the main Oley was self-taught. Bach's personal influence was probably insignificant: Emery has suggested that certain details in the copies of Bach's music that Oley made on his return to Bernburg, and later, reveal an unfamiliarity with his practice. Sietz mentioned some manuscript works by Oley in a private collection in Dessau, but only a set of 14 keyboard variations (published in Nuremberg, n.d.) and the four-volume *Variirte Choräle* (Quedlinburg, 1773–92) seem to be extant. The latter work contains 77 settings for organ solo (10 ed. W. Emery, London, 1958 and 1964; others ed. W. Syré, Locarno, 1987), two for solo oboe and organ, and six for organ and instrumental ensemble of flute, oboe, bassoon, horn, two violins, viola and cello (2 ed. F. Haselböck, Stuttgart, 1976). The most interesting combine his fondness for strict canon with passages in the more expressive style. Oley owned one of the four extant copies of the Schübler chorales (in *A-Wn*, with Bach's corrections), but in spite of speculation to the contrary he probably did not have access to Bach's estate.

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HUGH J. McLEAN

Oliac y Serra, Juan (*b* ?Barcelona, *c*1708; *d* Avila, 20 Jan 1780). Spanish composer. From an early age he showed exceptional talent as a conductor and composer and studied music with his uncle, Luis Serra, *maestro de capilla* of Pilar Cathedral, Zaragoza. At the age of 18 he was the winner of the competitions for *maestro de capilla* of the Salvador church in Zaragoza. In 1734 he was appointed to a similar position at Avila Cathedral, where he served until his death and where most of his compositions are preserved. Other works are in Santiago Cathedral and other Spanish archives.

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JOSÉ LÓPEZ-CALO

Oliphant (from Old Fr. *olifant*: 'elephant', properly *cor d'olifant*). Medieval end-blown ivory horn, sometimes finely carved, perhaps more often used as a token of land tenure or rights, and by churches as a reliquary, than as a musical instrument. Oliphants were made from the 10th century and particularly in the 11th, largely by Muslim craftsmen in south Italy and Sicily. There is no proof that Charlemagne or his knights possessed an oliphant and sounded it in battle, despite a mention in the *Chanson de Roland*, though among the surviving examples at least three are said to be the one Roland blew at Roncevaux. Unlike earlier specimens the 11th-century oliphants were left smooth in two places to accommodate metal bands which took a slinging chain. Some 60 of this type are known, including the 'horn of Ulf' in York Minster (see illustration). Ivory horns, usually highly decorated, continued to be made, especially in Benin (such instruments are known as 'Afro-Portuguese'), from the Renaissance to the 18th century; these horns were given as princely gifts from one potentate to another.

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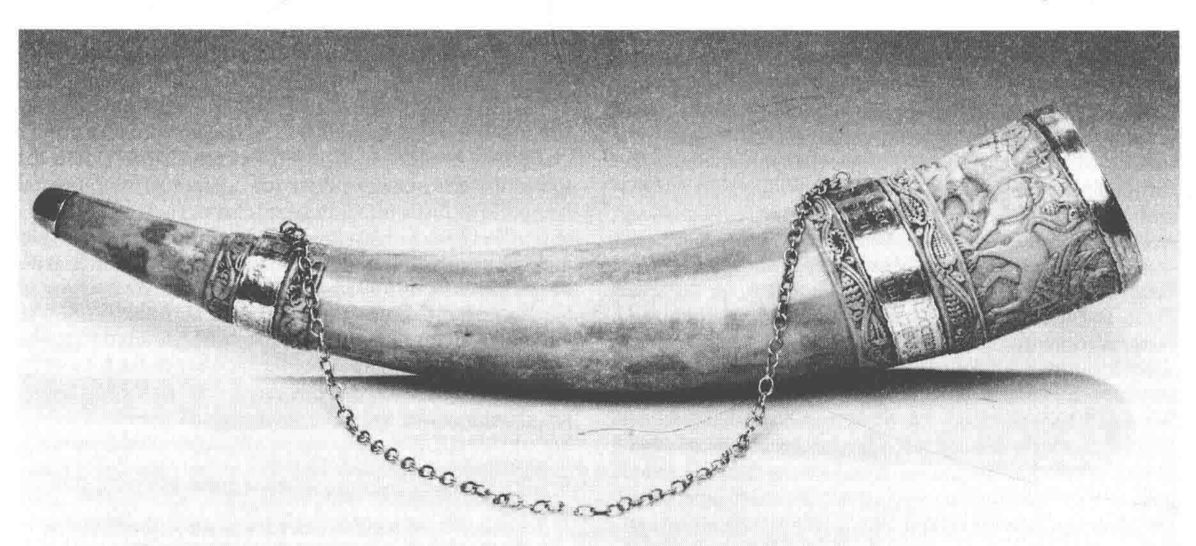
D. Ebitz: 'The Oliphant: its Function and Meaning in a Courtly Society', *Houston German Studies*, vi (1986), 123–41

D. Ebitz: 'Oliphant', *The Dictionary of Art*, ed. J. Turner (London, 1996)

ANTHONY C. BAINES/JEREMY MONTAGU

Oliphant, Thomas (*b* Condie, Perthshire, 25 Dec 1799; *d* London, 9 March 1873). Scottish musical author, editor and cataloguer. Educated privately and at Winchester, he entered the Stock Exchange, but abandoned commerce to follow a musical career. For over 40 years he was an active member of the Madrigal Society, of which he became honorary secretary in 1832. He seems to have held that office until 1871, when he was made a vice-president; he was elected president in 1872. His study of madrigals induced him to publish some 50 English and Italian works in popular editions and several cognate books. Many first and early editions of madrigals were in Oliphant's private music library, which was auctioned by Puttick & Simpson in 1873.

From November 1841 to July 1850 Oliphant was employed as a temporary assistant in the British Museum. Vigorous protests had previously been made to the trustees for allowing the music in their collections to accumulate uncatalogued. Oliphant's appointment was strongly criticized (notably in the *Musical World*) but, whether or not due to his membership of the influential Madrigal Society, it was of incalculable benefit to the museum. Oliphant not only cleared off the arrears but also laid the foundation for future expansion. Within a year he completed a catalogue of the MS music; he then turned his attention to the far greater quantity of printed works. Most of them had been received by deposit under the Copyright Acts, but there was also important earlier music acquired by purchase, a policy which was then in its infancy, but which Oliphant did much to develop. Ultimately he wrote over 24,000 catalogue entries, and then, with the support of Antonio Panizzi, the redoubtable Keeper of Printed Books (who had drawn up the rules for cataloguing music early in 1840), arranged the slips in 45 folio volumes for the use of readers. Such was the foundation of the catalogue of printed music, which has now expanded into the 62-volume *Catalogue of Printed*



Oliphant known as the 'horn of Ulf', 11th century (York Minster)

Music in the British Library to 1980 (1981–7) and its successor, the Current Music Catalogue database.

Oliphant's instinctive grasp of the principles of sound cataloguing was all the more remarkable since he worked at a time when professional training for librarianship was quite unknown. Early in 1850 he put forward a well-thought-out memorandum for the development of music in the collections. Panizzi, whose attitude to music was ambiguous and who certainly found Oliphant difficult, laid the memorandum before the trustees, but did not recommend its adoption. Oliphant resigned.

WRITINGS

Comments of a Chorus Singer, at the Musical Festival, in Westminster Abbey, 1834 (London, 1834) [written under the pseud. Solomon Sackbut]
A Brief Account of the Madrigal Society (London, 1835)
A Short Account of Madrigals (London, 1836)
La Musa Madrigalesca, or A Collection of Madrigals, Ballets, Roundelays, &c. chiefly of the Elizabethan Age: with Remarks and Annotations (London, 1837)
Catalogue of Manuscript Music in the British Museum, ed. F. Madden (London, 1842)

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DNB (W.H. Cummings)
Panizzi papers, *GB-Lbl*
A.H. King: 'The Music Room of the British Museum, 1753–1953: its History and Organization', *PRMA*, lxxix (1952–3), 65–79
C.B. Oldman: 'Panizzi and the Music Collections of the British Museum', *HMYB*, xi (1961), 62–7
A.H. King: *Printed Music in the British Museum* (London, 1979)

ALEC HYATT KING/R

Oliva (*fl* Ripoll, 1037–65). Catalan theorist, poet and mathematician. He wrote a *Breviarium de musica* (ed. in Anglès, 1976) at the request of a fellow Benedictine monk who asked for an explanation of the correct mathematical division of the monochord. It is dedicated to the abbot of Ripoll, also named Oliva, and is the earliest music treatise by a Catalan. The subject matter includes the three genera (diatonic, chromatic and enharmonic) and the eight tones or tropes. The autograph manuscript (in *E-Bac*) continues with parts of the *De institutione musica* of Boethius, the 9th-century *Musica enchiriadis* and its associated texts, and Hucbald's *De harmonica institutione*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

J. Villanueva, ed.: *Viage literario a las iglesias de España*, viii (Madrid and Valencia, 1821), 55–6, 222–3
R. Beer: *Bibliotheca patrum latinorum hispaniensis*, ii, ed. Z. Garcia (Vienna, 1915/*R*), 20–21
J. Millàs Vallicrosa: *Assaig d'història de les idees físiques i matemàtiques a la Catalunya medieval* (Barcelona, 1931), 224ff
H. Anglès: *La música a Catalunya fins al segle XIII* (Barcelona, 1935/*R*), 64ff
A. Olivar, ed.: *Sacramentarium rivipullense* (Madrid, 1964), 52–3
H. Anglès: 'El "Breviarum de musica" del monjo Oliva (segle XI)', *Scripta musicologica*, ed. J. López-Calo, iii (Rome, 1976), 1401–11
K.-W. Gümpel: 'Musica cum rhetorica: die Handschrift Ripoll 42', *AMw*, xxxiv (1977), 260–86, esp. 271–5

ROBERT STEVENSON

Olivares, Juan Manuel (*b* 12 April 1760; *d* 1 March 1797). Venezuelan composer, violinist, organist, pianist, educator and church musician. On 11 May 1789 he married Sebastiana Velásquez, sister of the composer José Francisco Velásquez. He composed mainly for Caracas Cathedral, in 1791 receiving 184 pesos for a collection of his sacred music; he was also employed by church confraternities. In October 1793, 1794 and 1796 he was in charge of the choral music for Caracas's feast of Naval; in 1797 his son Juan Bautista held this post.

WORKS

Sacred, all by 1791: 2 masses, 4vv, orch, 3vv, insts; Rogation Mass, 2vv, bn; Mass of the Dead – Response, 3vv, insts; Lessons of the Dead: 2 for 4vv, insts, 1 for S, 2 vn; Lamentations for Good Friday, T, orch; Miserere; Popule meus, motet; Quia educite, motet; Venite adoremus, 4vv, orch; Stabat mater, 4vv, orch; Invitatory, 3vv, insts; Villancico para la Virgen, 4vv, 8 insts; 3 villancicos to the Blessed Sacrament, 4vv, 8 insts; 8 Christmas villancicos, 3 solo vv, vn, hn
Sacred, all undated: 6 motets, 2vv: Gloria laus, In Monte Oliveti, Deus meus, Respice in me, Doleo super te, Alleluia; Salve, 3vv, orch; Vespers of Our Lady of Mercy; Vespers Psalms; Magnificat, ?spurious; Stabat mater, ?spurious
Sinfonia, orch

BIBLIOGRAPHY

J.A. Calcaño: *La ciudad y su música* (Caracas, 1958/*R*)
C.F. Duarte: 'Los Olivares en la cultura de Venezuela', *Revista musical de Venezuela*, no.19 (1986), 173–9

SHARON E. GIRARD

Oliveira, Fernando Correia de (*b* Oporto, 2 Nov 1921). Portuguese composer and theorist. He studied at the Oporto Conservatory with Cláudio Carneiro (composition) and Maria Adelaide Freitas Gonçalves (piano). In 1948 he studied in Venice with Hermann Scherchen. In the same year he formulated the principles of a composition system called 'sound symmetry' which includes 'symmetrical harmony' and 'symmetrical counterpoint'. This system, where chords are constructed from equal intervals above and below a central pitch, is the basis for his compositions. He also created a method of music teaching. He founded the Parnaso Academy for music, dance and theatre in Oporto.

WORKS
(*selective list*)

Stage: O cábula [The Truant] (children's op, 1, F.C. Oliveira), 1956; O planeta (op, 1, Oliveira), 1986
Orch: Lugar do feitiço, va, orch, 1949; Discurso de Platão, vc, small orch, 1951; Trovadores, str, 1952; Metamorfoses, bn, str, 1962; Suite, str, 1994; Suite juvenil, 1996
5 syms.: no.1, 1980; no.2, 1987; no.3, 1990; no.4, 1992; no.5, 1993
Chbr: Presto, fl, pf 4 hands, vn, perc, 1955; 3 danças, pf, perc, 1956; Pf Trio, 1958; Sonata, fl, pf, 1959; 8 peças progressivas, vc, pf, 1964; 6 peças progressivas, vn, pf, 1967; Estampida, 2 rec, perc, 1969; Duetos cortesãos, 2 rec, 1970; Tríptico, pf 4 hands, perc, 1971; Pf Qt, 1974; 7 peças, gui, 1976; 5 duetos de corte, medieval insts, 1981; Madrigal, 2 fl, 1991; 3 canções, vc, pf, 1996; Fuga, ob, cl, bn, 1996
Pf: O príncipe do cavalo branco, 1951, orchd 1954; 50 peças para os 5 dedos, 1952; Variações, 1953; 20 peças em contraponto simétrico, 1957; 7 estudos, 1958; Nocturnos, pf 4 hands, 1976; 3 valsas de além túmulo, 1979; Sonata, 2 pf, 1990
Choral: 3 cantigas de amigo (D. Dinis), female chorus, 1950; Pater noster e Ave Maria, chorus, 1950; Pai nosso, male chorus, 1982; Saudação a S.S. o Papa João Paulo II (Oliveira), male chorus, 1991
Solo vocal: 3 sonetos metafíscos (A. de Quental), Bar, pf, 1950; O ratinho RA–TU–DI, 1v/children's chorus, pf, perc, 1952; 3 sonetos líricos (de Quental), Bar, pf, 1957; Cantigas de Santa Maria (Alfonso X), S, rec, hpd, 1970; Cantares de triste amor, S, A, T, Bar, B, 1971; Cuidados e danos de amor, Bar, rec/t viol, hpd, 1972; Redondilhas (L. de Camões), Bar, pf, 1972; 3 poemas de Fernando Pessoa, Bar, pf, 1980; Canções sem palavras, 1v, pf, 1981; 12 poemas (L. de Camões, Pessoa, de Quental), S, chbr orch, 1993; Bailia, 1v, rec, 1995

Principal publisher: Parnaso (Oporto)

WRITINGS

Harmonia simétrica (V.N. Gaia, 1950)
'A simetria sonora', *Arte musical*, xxix/July (1964)
Simetria sonora/Sound Symmetry (Oporto, 1969, 2/1990)
Música minha (Oporto, 1993)

JOSÉ CARLOS PICOTO/ADRIANA LATINO

Oliveira, Jamary (*b* Saúde, Bahia, 21 March 1944). Brazilian composer and teacher. He studied the flute, the viola and the tuba, and theory and composition with Ernst Widmer at the Federal University of Bahia, taking a composition diploma in 1969. In the USA he studied composition with Shapero, Shifrin and Arthur Berger at Brandeis University (MFA 1979), and with Korte, Grantham and Pinkston at the University of Texas at Austin (DMA 1986). He is a founder-member of the Grupo de Compositores da Bahia (1966). Returning to the university in Bahia, he became an assistant instructor (1966–77), then an adjunct professor from 1983 until his retirement in 1994, after which he continued as the coordinator of graduate studies in music and a graduate instructor in theory, composition and computer applications in music. Throughout the 1970s and 80s Oliveira was active in national music organizations, serving as president of ANPPOM (National Association of Research and Graduate Study in Music) and as a founding member of the Sociedade Brasileira de Música Contemporânea, among others. He became a life member of the Academia Brasileira de Música (1994), and has received several fellowships and prizes.

Oliveira has purposely avoided subscribing to any compositional dogma. He began by adhering to some aspects of musical nationalism in a highly dissonant style, then cultivated an unorthodox 12-note technique incorporating aleatory and other methods. His output, numbering 39 works over the period 1963–96, reveals a skilful, serious and highly concentrated creative individual. His research into computer applications in music theory and composition won him the post of senior researcher at the National Council for Scientific and Technological Development. As well as *Informática em música: o parâmetro altura* (Salvador, 1995), he has written many articles on subjects ranging from Stravinsky to computer music in publications and journals including the *Latin American Music Review*.

WORKS
(*selective list*)

Orch: Ponteio, str, 1963; O sertão, 1964; Grocerto, 1967; Preambulu, 1968; Tonal-a-tonal, 1969; Pseudópodes, 1971; Delta, 1971; Pseudopódes II, 1985

Vocal: Nu, nar, chorus, b drum, 1966; 4 poemas opus nada, 1v, pf, 1968; Conjunto IV, chorus, bottles, 1969; 3 canções tristes, 1v, str qt, 1970; Sanctus, 10vv, chorus, 10 metronomes, 1971; IRR-3, nar, 1v, handclaps, 1990

Chbr and elec: Ritual e transe, perc ens, 1964: 4 movimentos de jazz, wind ens, 1966; Pf Trio, 1967; Sonata, D, vn, pf, 1969; Noneto, wind qnt, str qt, 1969; Iterações, fl, cl, tpt, hn, pf, vc, db, pf, 1970; Congruências, hn, pf, amp, 1972; Str Qt, 1978; Chbr Music, fl, cl, hn, pf, 1979; Simetrias, cl, pf, 1982; Festa, Fairlight cptr, 1984; Reminiscências, vn, pf, 1985

Pf: 8 peças, 1966; Burocracia, 1968; Variações variadas, 1980; Pf Piece [1984], 1984; Mesmamúsica, 1988; Estudo polirrítmico mixolídio, 1996

Principal publishers: Ricordi Brasileira, FUNARTE

BIBLIOGRAPHY

L. Biriotti: *Grupo de compositores de Bahia* (Montevideo, 1971)
G. Béhague: *Music in Latin America: an Introduction* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ, 1979)
U. Dibelius: *Moderne Musik II: 1965–1985* (Munich, 1988)
V. Mariz: *História da música no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1981, 4/1994)
C. Perrone and others: *A música de Jamary Oliveira: estudos analíticos* (Porto Alegre, 1994)

GERARD BÉHAGUE

Oliveira, João Pedro (Paiva) (*b* Lisbon, 27 Dec 1959). Portuguese composer, organist and teacher. He studied at the Instituto Gregoriano in Lisbon (organ with Antoine Sibertin-Blanc and composition with Christopher Bochmann). He also frequented the seminars given by Emanuel Nunes at the Gulbenkian Foundation. He continued his studies in the USA at Brooklyn College with Charles Dodge and at Stony Brook University, where he studied electronic music with Arel and Semegen (PhD, 1990). He was appointed to teach at the music department of the University of Aveiro.

He has a richly mystical vision of the process of composition, in which the composer transcends his own ego in an attempt to capture and develop fleeting impressions that pass by him. Stylistically, his music owes much to his American training, with a clearly atonal language. There is a strongly logical rhetoric, sustained through constant transformation and variation, from which moments of religious ecstasy emerge. His works are often arranged in large cycles.

WORKS
(*selective list*)

Op: Patmos (Bible: *Revelations*), Fine Arts Center, Stony Brook, New York, Dec 1990, 1990 [partial perf]

Orch: Tessares, 1991; A cidade eterna, orch, tape, 1997

Vocal: Images de la memoire (St Augustine), S, str sextet, 1992; Visão (Book of the Prophet Joel), S, orch, tape, live elecs, 1992; Requiem for the Planet Earth, solo vv, chorus, orch, tape, 1993–4; A viagem dos sons, solo vv, ens, tape, 1998

Chbr and solo inst: 7 visões do Apocalipse, org, 1982; Integrais I–IV, various solo insts, 1986–9; Threads I, ob, eng hn, va, pf, cel, db, 1987; Threads II, 13 insts, 1987; Pirâmides de Cristal, pf, 1993; Peregrinação, str qt, 1995; Harmonias e ressonâncias, org, 1996; Le Voyage de Sons (Upanishads), str sextet, S, Mez, Ct, tape, 1998–9; '. . . there are those who say that life is an illusion . . .', fl, ob, tpt, perc, vn, vc, tape, 1999

Elecs: Psalmus, 1986; A cidade eterna, 1988; Tríptico, 1991–2; Silence to Light, 1992; Atlas, 1998; Azul profundo, 1998; Rumo ao futuro, 1998

CHRISTOPHER BOCHMANN

Oliveira, Jocy de (*b* Curitiba, Brazil, 11 April 1936). Brazilian composer, pianist and multimedia artist. The most prominent woman composer in Brazil, she began her piano studies in São Paulo under José Kliass (1946–53) and continued them in Paris under Marguerite Long (1953–60). In 1963 she moved to St Louis, Missouri, with her husband, the conductor Eleazar de Carvalho, and studied composition with Robert Wykes at Washington University, earning her MA in 1968. She taught at the University of South Florida and at the New School for Social Research in New York.

As both a pianist and a composer, Oliveira has promoted contemporary music in Brazil on various fronts. Numerous major composers such as Berio, Xenakis, Lejaren Hiller and Santoro have written pieces for her. She played Stravinsky's *Capriccio* under the baton of the composer and was soloist with major orchestras such as the Boston SO, the Brooklyn PO, the Los Angeles PO, the Orchestre de la Radio-France, and many others in Europe and Latin America. She has recorded about 16 discs, released in the USA, Brazil, Mexico, Britain and Germany, performing all the major piano works of Messiaen, her own compositions and other contemporary works.

Her compositions include five major operas and music theatre works which have been acclaimed through several productions in different countries. In 1993 she began an opera trilogy with *Inori, à Prostituta Sagrada*, presented during an entire month at the Bank of Brazil Cultural Centre in Rio de Janeiro. The second opera, *Illud tempus*

(1994), selected by the newspaper *O Globo* as one of the ten best musical events of the year, was produced with great success in Rio and São Paulo as well as at the Haus der Kulturen der Welt, Berlin (1995). Her magic opera *Fata Morgana* (1987) was first performed at the Museum of Modern Art in Rio. Of her multimedia works, *Space Liturgy* (1988) was presented before an open-air audience of 15,000 in Rio, and the planetarium piece *Música no espaço* was performed in the 1980s at the Hayden Planetarium in New York and other planetariums in Miami, Rio and São Paulo. The variety of media used since the 1960s emerged from her conviction that sound expression is universal in all life.

WORKS
(*selective list*)

Ens: Estória II, 1v, perc, tape, 1967; Happenings, 1970; Polinterações I and II, 1970; Dimensões, 4 teclados, amp pf, amp hpd, el org, el pf, 1976; Wave Song, pf, tape, 1977; Estória IV, vv, el vn, perc, gui, db, 1978, rev. 1980; Música no espaço, multimedia, 1982; Fata Morgana (magic op), 1987, Rio de Janeiro, Museum of Modern Art, 1987; Space Liturgy, multimedia, 1988; Inori, à Prostituta Sagrada (op), actors + dancers, 2 S, vv, fl, roopill reeds, mukha-vīṇā, p'iri, ob, trbn, perc, ajaeng, synth, 1993, Rio de Janeiro, Bank of Brazil Cultural Centre, 1993; Illud tempus (multimedia op), 1994, Rio de Janeiro, 1995

WRITINGS

O 3. Mundo (São Paulo, 1959)
Apague meu Spotlight (São Paulo, 1961)
Dias e caminhos, seus mapas e partituras/Days and Routes Through Maps and Scores (Rio de Janeiro, 1984)

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M. Marcondes, ed.: *Enciclopédia da música brasileira: erudita, folclórica, popular* (São Paulo, 1977, 2/1998)
V. Mariz: *História da música no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 4/1994)
G. Béhague: *Sonidos de las Américas Festival: Brasil*, New York, 1996 [American Composers' Orchestra; programme book]

GERARD BÉHAGUE

Oliveira, Manoel Dias de (*b* São José del Rei [now Tiradentes], *c*1735; *d* São José del Rei, 19 Aug 1813). Brazilian composer, organist and conductor. He was active in the province of Minas Gerais during the late colonial period and worked as a scribe in several brotherhoods in São José del Rei and São João del Rei. In the register of death certificates and wills at the church of S Antônio in his native city he is described as 'mestre compositor de muzica'. According to research by J.M. Neves, Oliveira was also a captain and a mulatto. His rather extensive output includes a Mass, Te Deum, *Magnificat*, novenas, litanies and motets. The works are preserved chiefly in the archives of the Lira Sanjoanense Orchestra and the Lira Ceciliana, though few of the manuscripts are autograph. Several of his pieces were recorded in the 1980s. (J.M. Neves: *Música sacra mineira: catálogo de obras*, Rio de Janeiro, 1997)

GERARD BÉHAGUE

Oliveira, Willy Corrêa de (*b* Recife, 11 Feb 1938). Brazilian composer. After early studies in music with local private teachers he studied theory and composition with Olivier Toni in São Paulo until 1961. He taught at the Lavignac Conservatory in Santos (1962) and worked as music director and composer for Jotafilmes (until 1964) and two other publicity agencies. Under a scholarship from the Brazilian and German governments he spent several months in Europe in 1962, attending the Darmstadt summer courses and studying with Henze, Stockhausen and Boulez. Subsequent sojourns in Europe allowed him to study with Pousseur, Berio and others. He taught information theory and poetics at the Escola Superior de Propaganda in São Paulo (1969) and then composition at the University of São Paulo. From the mid-1960s he participated in the annual New Music Festival (at Santos, and later in São Paulo), where several of his works were first performed. In 1973 he undertook research in Buenos Aires on the work of Shreker, then gave lectures in Rio de Janeiro on modern compositional techniques. A year later he gave an introductory course on contemporary musical thought within the First International Music Biennial of the University of São Paulo. His first compositions (1955–9) are based on features of north-east Brazilian folk music. After about 1961 he began working with 12-note and 'total serial' techniques, later developing an interest in aleatory procedures but maintaining a tight control of all parameters. In the late 1970s he suffered an existential crisis, questioning the meaning and aims of art-music composition, especially the music of the 'bourgeois avant garde'. He wrote very little and dedicated himself more to theory and teaching. Since the early 1980s he has been writing music for commercial films, documentaries and plays, and piano pieces of a deliberate simplicity.

WORKS
(*selective list*)

Orch: Preludio e fuga, 1959; Ouviver a música, str, pf, 1965; Sinfoniasignos, 1968; Adagio, 1973

Choral: Paixão de Cristo, solo vv, chorus, str, 1958; 3 canzonetti, 1958; Semi di Zucca, 1961; Um movimento, 1962; Life, madrigal, 1971

Solo vocal: 2 canções, B, fl, tpt, cel, bongos, va, vc, 1960; Homage to Joyce, 1v, hpd, str, 1964; Divertimento, spkr, female announcer, orch, str qt, 1967; 3 canções, A/B, pf, 1969; Und wozu Dichter in dürftiger Zeit, S, str qt, gui, db, 1971–2; Phantasiestück, A, hn, trbn, 1972; Cicatristeza, S, 1973; Cantio ad laudem Sancti Francisci, S, vn, 1991

Chbr: Invenção, str trio, 1957; Mùsica per Marta, pic, eng hn, tpt, trbn, perc, 1961; Duo, fl, gui, 1974; Phantasiestück no.2, wind qnt, 1974

Solo inst: Cinco kitsch, pf, 1967–8; Impromptu per Marta, pf, 1971; 2 intermezzi, pf, 1972; Claviharpsicravocembalochord, hpd, 1974; Materiales, perc, 1980; In memoriam Andrei Tarkóvski, pf, 1988; Pequena peça zen, pf, 1989; Recife, infânica: espelhos, pf, 1989; Estudio in memoriam Hans Eisler, pf, 1990; Lendo Thomas Wolfe, pf, 1992

Principal publisher: Ricordi (São Paulo)

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G. Béhague: *Music in Latin America: an Introduction* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ, 1979)
J.M. Neves: *Músic contemporânea brasileira* (São Paulo, 1981)
V. Mariz: *História da música no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 4/1994)
G. Mendes: *Uma odisséia musical: dos mares do sul à elegância pop/art déco* (São Paulo, 1994)
M. Marcondes, ed.: *Enciclopédia da música brasileira: popular, erudita, folclórica* (São Paulo, 2/1998)

GERARD BÉHAGUE

Oliver [Olyver] (*fl c*1410). English composer. His four surviving compositions are in the old layer of the Old Hall Manuscript, although internal evidence suggests that they arrived after much of the other music had been copied. Although they are all in score, they have more in common stylistically with the second-layer music than with the first-layer descant settings.

WORKS

Edition: *The Old Hall Manuscript*, ed. A. Hughes and M. Bent, CMM, xlvi (1969–73) [OH]

Credo, 3vv, OH no.59
Sanctus, 3vv, OH no.119 (San melody Sarum 2, migrant)
Sanctus, 3vv, OH no.120 (San melody Sarum 5 in i)
Agnus Dei, 3vv, OH no.142 (Ag melody Sarum 6 in i)

For bibliography *see* OLD HALL MANUSCRIPT.

MARGARET BENT

Oliver (Pina), Angel (*b* Moyuela, Zaragoza, 2 Jan 1937). Spanish composer and organist. While training as a teacher in Madrid, he studied music at the Real Conservatorio Superior de Música (Jesús Guridi organ prize, 1964; first prize in composition, 1965), where his teachers included Victorino Echevarría, Calés, Cristóbal Halffter and Guridi; he later studied in Rome (Spanish Rome Prize, 1965) with Petrassi and Porena, and at Darmstadt (stipend 1973, 1975) with Stockhausen, Ligeti and Aloys Kontarsky. From 1956 to 1966 he was organist at the church of the Ciudad Universitaria of Madrid, and from 1964 he directed the choir of the Colegio Alemán. He was appointed to a post at the Madrid Conservatory in 1965. His many honours include the Arpa de Plata prize (1974), the Cristóbal Halffter prize for organ composition (1980) and the Queen Sofía prize (1987). His long-term commitment to music education is reflected in his numerous writings.

Oliver's extensive catalogue betrays his particular fondness for chamber and vocal music; church music also occupies an important position in his oeuvre. His compositional style, which is based on serial techniques and a thorough grasp of musical theory, has been described as 'moderate Modernism' (Cabañas Alamán, 1991). He has avoided sensationalism and experimental pursuits in favour of carefully crafted statements in a calculated musical language, as exemplified by his attention to timbre in *Nunc* (1979–86) for divided string orchestra. Isolated from the dominant aesthetics of the Spanish avant garde, his music is not well known outside of Spain.

WORKS
(*selective list*)

Vocal: Domine non sum dignus, TB, org, 1967; El siervo de Yavhé (Bible: *Isaiah*), Bar, SATB, orch, 1969; ¡Alegraos, cantad!, vv, org, 1973; ¡Alegrémonos!, vv, org, 1973; El Señor vive, vv, org, 1973; Madre del Redentor, vv, org, 1973; Miranos, señor, vv, org, 1973; Salus infirmorum (Misa inconclusa), 1–2vv, org, 1973; Salve Regina, SATB, org, 1982; Stabat mater (G. da Todi), A, T, SATB, orch, 1986–9; El pastorcico (San Juan de la Cruz), spkr, S, A, T, Bar, SATB, orch, org, 1989–90; Himno a San Juan de la Cruz, solo vv, SATB, org, 1990; 3 sonetos de amor (P. Neruda), SATB, kbd, chbr orch, 1991–2; Letanías de Madrid, spkr, SATB, orch, 1994–5; a cappella choral works; solo vocal works

Orch: Riflessi, 1968; Pequeña suite al estilo antiguo, fl, str orch, 1975; Proemio, 1978; Nunc, str orch, 1979–86; Oda, 1981; Va Conc., 1983; Esquejes sinfónicos, 1992; Música para tres iniciales, 1994

Chbr and solo inst: Str Trio, 1967–8; Interpolaciones, wind qnt, 1970; Epitafio para Gerardo Gombau, vn, pf, 1971, rev. 1979; Omicron 73, 10 insts, 1973; Dúos, fl, pf, 1974; Grupos de cámara, 9 insts, 1975; Pequeña suite al estilo antiguo, fl, pf, 1975; Psicograma III, pf qt, 1975; D'improvviso, va, pf, 1976; Versos a cuatro, vn, cl, pf, perc, 1976; Aoristo (Pretérito indefinido), 7 insts, 1977; Piel de toro, pf, perc, 1977; Laisses, pic, 4 cl, 1978; Planctus, hn, org, 1978; In memoriam Angel Arteaga, 8 insts, 1984; Canción y danza montañesas, vc, pf, 1986–7; Str Qt, 1986; 2 cantos portugueses, vc, pf, 1987; Invocación, ricercare y postludio, 2 tpt, org, 1989; Trío-fantasía, pf trio, 1990; Bagatelas, 2 vc, 1994; Omaggio, cl, vc, pf, 1994; Una página para Radio Clásica, pf trio, 1995; solo kbd works, works for other solo insts

Electronic music: Studium, tape, 1978

Principal publishers: Alpuerto, Editorial de Música Española Contemporánea, Mundimúsica, Real Musical, Revista Melodías

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F.J. Cabañas Alamán: *Angel Oliver* (Madrid, 1991)

CHRISTIANE HEINE

Oliver, King [Joe] (*b* ?New Orleans, 11 May 1885; *d* Savannah, GA, 8/10 April 1938). American jazz cornettist and bandleader. He is said to have begun to study music as a trombonist, and from about 1907 he played in brass bands, dance bands and various small black American groups in New Orleans bars and cabarets. In 1918 he moved to Chicago (at which time he may have acquired his nickname), and in 1920 he began to lead his own band. After taking it to California in 1921, he returned to Chicago and started an engagement at Lincoln Gardens as King Oliver's Creole Jazz Band (June 1922). This group was joined a month later by the 22-year-old Louis Armstrong as second cornettist. Oliver began recording in April 1923. Many young white jazz musicians had the opportunity to hear him then, either on recordings or live at Lincoln Gardens.

In February 1925 Oliver's reorganized band began a two-year engagement at the Plantation Cafe in Chicago, as the Dixie Syncopators. The group disbanded soon after a brief but successful engagement (from May 1927) at the Savoy Ballroom in New York, where Oliver remained. From 1930 to 1936 he toured widely, chiefly in the Midwest and upper South, with various ten- to 12-piece bands; he himself seldom performed during this period and he made no further recordings after April 1931. He spent the final months of his life retired from music in Savannah.

Like other early New Orleans cornettists, Oliver played in a clipped melodic style with relatively four-square rhythm (contrasting with the deliberate irregularity of the younger Armstrong and his imitators) and had a repertory of expressive deviations of rhythm and pitch, some verging on theatrical novelty effects and others derived from blues vocal style. He frequently used timbre modifiers of various sorts, and was especially renowned for his wa-wa effects, as in his famous three-chorus solo on *Dipper Mouth Blues* (1923, Gen.), which was learnt by rote by many trumpeters of the 1920s and 30s and which, as *Sugar Foot Stomp*, became a jazz standard. As a soloist he may best be heard in a number of blues accompaniments, notably with Sippie Wallace.

In contrast to his near-contemporaries Freddie Keppard and Bunk Johnson, Oliver integrated his playing superbly with his ensemble, and was an excellent leader; the Creole Jazz Band may have been successful largely because of the discipline he imposed on his musicians. Indeed, of the earlier New Orleans cornettists, only Oliver was extensively recorded in the 1920s with an outstanding ensemble, and the revival of New Orleans style, which began shortly after his death, owed much to the rediscovery of his early three dozen Creole Band recordings, which were internationally known by the 1940s. Among the best of these are *Chimes Blues* (1923, Gen.) and *Snake Rag* (1923, OK). After 1924 the quality of his recordings declined, partly because of recurrent tooth and gum ailments and partly because his style was at odds with that of his younger sidemen; but with a good band he was capable of coherent and energetic playing even as late as 1930. Almost all of his recorded performances have been reissued.

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R. Blesh: *Shining Trumpets: a History of Jazz* (New York, 1946, enlarged 2/1958/*R*)

E. Souchon: 'King Oliver: a Very Personal Memoir', *Jazz Review*, iii/4 (1960), 6–11; repr. in *Jazz Panorama*, ed. M. Williams (New York, 1962/*R*), 21–30
M. Williams: *King Oliver* (London, 1960); repr. in *Kings of Jazz*, ed. S. Green (South Brunswick, NJ, 1978), 241–72
L. Gushee: 'King Oliver', *Jazz Panorama*, ed. M. Williams (New York and London, 1962/*R*)
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L.O. Koch: 'Structural Aspects of King Oliver's 1923 Okeh Recordings', *JJS*, iii/2 (1976), 36–46
W. Balliett: 'For the Comfort of the People', *Improvising: Sixteen Jazz Musicians and their Art* (New York, 1977), 21–31
J.L. Collier: *Louis Armstrong: an American Genius* (New York, 1983; as *Louis Armstrong: a Biography*, London, 1984)
B. Bigard: *With Louis and the Duke*, ed. B. Martyn (London, 1985)
L. Wright and others: *Walter C. Allen & Brian A.L. Rust's 'King' Oliver* (Chigwell, 1987) [completely rev. version of Allen and Rust: *King Joe Oliver* (Belleville, NJ, 1955)]

LAWRENCE GUSHEE

Oliver, Paul (Hereford) (*b* Nottingham, 25 May 1927). English writer on jazz and blues. He wrote articles and reviews for *Jazz Journal* (1952–*c*1960), *Music Mirror* (1954–9) and *Jazz Monthly* (1956–70), columns for *Jazz Beat* (in the 1960s) and *Hi-fi News and Record Review* (from the 1960s to 1980), and many disc notes. He became particularly well known for his writings on early jazz and the blues; he also gave broadcasts for the BBC from 1954. Oliver successfully brought the techniques of ethnomusicology to the study of blues; he made field visits to Africa and the American South, and challenged many of the assumptions of such earlier writers on jazz as Rudi Blesh by finding a stronger kinship with the blues and early jazz in the music of the savannas than in that of West Africa. He has also conducted important research into the influence of the songster and sermon traditions on race records. In addition to his work as a writer he has given lectures on jazz at the University of Cambridge, and his drawings of jazz and blues musicians have appeared in *Jazz Journal* and *Radio Times*. He is also well known as an architectural historian and critic.

WRITINGS

Bessie Smith (London, 1959); repr. in *Kings of Jazz*, ed. S. Green (South Brunswick, NJ, 1978)
Blues Fell this Morning: the Meaning of the Blues (London, 1960, New York, 1961, repr. 1963 as *The Meaning of the Blues*; 2/1990)
Conversation with the Blues (London, 1965, 2/1997)
Screening the Blues (London, 1968/*R*; New York, 1970, as *Aspects of the Blues Tradition*)
The Story of the Blues (London, 1969/*R*, 2/1998)
Savannah Syncopators: African Retentions in the Blues (London and New York, 1970)
Blues off the Record: Thirty Years of Blues Commentary (New York and Tunbridge Wells, 1984/*R*) [collection of previously pubd items]
Songsters and Saints: Vocal Traditions on Race Records (Cambridge and elsewhere, 1984)
ed.: *The Blackwell Guide to Blues Records* (Oxford, 1989, 2/1991 as *The Blackwell Guide to Recorded Blues*, 3/1996)

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T. Mazzolini: 'A Conversation with Paul Oliver', *Living Blues*, no.54 (1982), 24–30

ROBERT GANNON

Oliver, Stephen (*b* Chester, 10 March 1950; *d* London, 29 April 1992). English composer. He studied with Kenneth Leighton and Robert Sherlaw Johnson at Oxford, where student productions of his first operas, notably *The Duchess of Malfi* (1971, later completely rewritten), soon brought him to wide attention. By the age of 24 he was able to subsist as a freelance composer, working mainly in the field of opera. Partly on the basis of *Malfi*'s success, Oliver was commissioned by Colin Graham to write *Tom Jones* (1975) for his English Music Theatre Company, while his last major work was a full-length opera for ENO, *Timon of Athens* (1991). But the bulk of his operatic output consists of smaller-scale and more individual dramatic structures, ranging from brief monologues and 'mini-operas' (his own term) to works with young or amateur performers in mind, such as *Three Instant Operas* (1973), *The Dong with the Luminous Nose* (1976) and the children's operetta *Jacko's Play* (1979). He also wrote a musical, *Blondel* (to lyrics by Tim Rice), and incidental music for a number of stage and television productions. Oliver was much associated with the Musica nel Chiostro festival at Batignano, Italy, where a number of his stage works received their first performances and for which his last work, an adaptation of Mozart's *L'oca del Cairo*, was written. By comparison with his operas, Oliver's instrumental music is less substantial, but includes a Symphony (1976, rev. 1983), a Recorder Concerto for Michala Petri (1988), five *Ricercare* for various chamber forces (1973–86) and secular and liturgical choral works; he also translated opera libretti into English performing versions, notably Sallinen's *The King Goes Forth to France* and *The Red Line*. Stylistically, Oliver's music is wide-ranging. He was as deft at pastiche in his music for the non-operatic stage and television as he was confident in the more personal musical language of his instrumental works and larger operas, where colour and gesture prevail; but his greatest legacy, perhaps, is the fluency with which he wrote for the human voice, where, as with his often straightforward harmonic language, communication is the key.

WORKS
(*selective list*)

DRAMATIC
for fuller list see GroveO

Ops (librettos by Oliver unless otherwise stated): All the Tea in China (1, W. Harvey), 1969; Slippery Souls (4 pts), 1969, rev. 1976, rev. 1988; A Phoenix too Frequent (1, C. Fry), 1970; The Duchess of Malfi (3, after J. Webster), 1971, rev. 1978; The Dissolute Punished (4 one-act ops), 1972; The Three Wise Monkeys (1, D. Pountney), 1972; The Donkey (1, Pountney), 1973; Three Instant Ops (children's ops), 1973; Past Tense (2 one-act ops), 1974; Bad Times (1), 1975; Tom Jones (3, after H. Fielding), 1976; The Great McPorridge Disaster (1), 1976; The Waiter's Revenge (1), 1976; Il giardino, 1977; A Stable Home (1), 1977; The Girl and the Unicorn (children's op, 3 pts), 1978; Jacko's Play (children's operetta, 1, after R. Smith) (London, 1980) [record to accompany book by Smith]; A Man of Feeling (1, after A. Schnitzler: *Der Empfindsame*), 1980; Euridice (3), 1981 [after J. Peri]; Sasha (3, after A.N. Ostrovsky: *Artists and Admirers*), 1983; Britannia Preserv'd (1, A.N. Wilson), 1984; The Ring (1, after TV serial: *Coronation Street*), 1984; La bella e la bestia (2, after Mme Le Prince de Beaumont), 1984; Exposition of a Picture (1), 1986; Waiting (1), 1987; Mario ed il mago (1, after T. Mann), 1988; Table's Meet (1), 1990; Timon of Athens (2, after W. Shakespeare), 1991; L'oca del Cairo (2), 1991 [after Mozart]

Other dramatic: Cadenus Observ'd (dramatic sketch, after J. Swift), Bar, 1975; Blondel (musical, 2, T. Rice), 1983; film scores, TV scores, incid music incl. Nicholas Nickleby (C. Dickens, dir. J. Caird and T. Nunn), 1980

OTHER WORKS

Orch: Luv, 1975; Sym., 1976, rev. 1983; O No, brass band, 1976, rev. 1985; Conc., rec, str, 1988

Choral: The Elexir (Ps li, J. Skelton, G. Herbert), 4vv, SATB, 1976; Mag and Nunc, SATB, 1976; A Dialogue Between Mary and Her Child (15th-century), S, Bar, SATB, 1979; The Child from the Sea (Oliver), Tr, SATB, orch, 1980; A String of Beads (Oliver), SATB, 2 ob, bn, str, 1980; Namings (old Scottish riddles, Oliver), SATB,

brass qnt, timp, 1981; Trinity Mass, SSAATTBB, 1981; O fons amoris (motet, T. à Kempis), SSAATTBB, 1981; This is the Voice (W. Hilton), 3-pt chorus, org, 1984; Seven Words (Bible, W.W. How), SATB, str, 1985; Forth in thy Name (C. Wesley, Ps xc), S, B, SSAATTBB, 1985; Festal Mag and Nunc, SSAATTBB, org, 1985; Prometheus (after Aeschylus), SATB, orch, 1988; The Vessel, S, T, B, SATB, orch, 1990

Chbr and solo inst: Ricercare no.1, cl, vn, vc, pf, 1974; Kyoto, 2 org, 1977; Sonata, gui, 1979; Study, pf, 1979; Brass Qnt, 1980 [based on incid music Nicholas Nickleby]; The Lord of the Rings, pf, 1981 [arr. of incid music]; Ricercare no.2, 2 ob, 2 cl, 3 bn, 2 hn, 1981; Peter Pan: 3 Souvenir Pieces, pf, 1982 [arr. of incid music]; Ricercare no.3, gui, va, vc, 1983; Ricercare no.5, tpt, hn, trbn, tuba, 1986; Character Pieces, 1991 [after Mozart: La clemenza di Tito]

Other vocal: Overheard on a Saltmarsh (H. Munro), 6 male vv, 1972; The Dong with the Luminous Nose (E. Lear), nar, 5 str qt, 1976; The Key to the Zoo (M. Kington), nar, 2 ob, hn, hpd, 1980; Ricercare no.4 (Hadrian), Ct, 2 T, Bar, 1986

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J. Glover: 'Stephen Oliver', *MT*, cxv (1974), 1042–4

P. Griffiths: 'Stephen Oliver', *New Sounds, New Personalities* (London, 1985), 140–47

M. Rye: 'Oliver's Timon of Athens', *MT*, cxxxii (1991), 228–30

Obituaries: J. Glover: *The Independent* (1 May 1992); A. Pollock: *Opera*, xliii (1992), 789–95; G. Vick, ibid., 787–8

MATTHEW RYE

Olivero, Betty (*b* Tel-Aviv, 16 May 1954). Israeli composer, active in Italy. She studied at the Rubin Academy of Music, Tel-Aviv University (BMus 1978) with Sadai and Leon Schidlowsky, and at Yale University (MA 1981), where her teachers included Druckman, Amy and others. In 1982 a Leonard Bernstein Scholarship enabled her to work at Tanglewood with Berio, whom she continued to study with in Italy (1983–6). While most of her music relates to Jewish musical traditions, her compositional style shows the influence of early Penderecki, as well as Berio. Throughout her career she has drawn upon traditional Jewish folksongs, and Sephardi and Middle Eastern Jewish folklore; in the mid-1990s she turned to Ashkenazi klezmer music as another source of inspiration. Folk material appears in her music in rich, nuanced arrangements, or is transformed through avant-garde techniques into contexts featuring dense heterophony and tone clusters. The pitch content, orchestration and rhythmic complexity of her works contribute to a coherent, non-eclectic style that nonetheless combines such diverse elements as Judeo-Spanish music, Arab tunes, klezmer melodies and European avant-garde techniques. Her compositions have been performed by leading orchestras, including the Chicago SO, the New York PO, the BBC SO, the London Sinfonietta and the Israel PO, and at major European festivals.

WORKS

(*selective list*)

Inst: Pan, 5 fl, 1984, rev. 1988; Batnun, db, chbr orch, 1985; Presenze, 10 insts, 1986; Ketarim [Crowns], vn, orch, 1989; Adagio, chbr orch, 1990; Tenuot, orch, 1990; Sofim, pf, 1991; Per viola, va, 1993; Carosello, children's chbr orch, str orch, perc, 1994; Mareot [Mirrors], fl, vn, 1994; Kavei Avir (A volo d'Uccello), 10 insts, 1996; Der Golem (Suite no.2), cl, str orch/qt, 1997–8; Mizrah, cl, str orch, perc, 1997; Kavei-Or [Lightlines], orch, 1999

Vocal: Makamat, 5 folksongs, female v, 9 insts, 1988; Behind the Wall (puppet theatre piece), Mez, 8 insts, 1989; Juego de Siempre, 9 folksongs, A, chbr orch/7 insts, 1994; Bakashot [Supplications], chorus, cl, orch, 1996; Masken, S, Mez, Bar + nar, vn, va, vc, perc, 1999

Principal publishers: Ricordi, Israel Music Institute

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Y. Mar-Haim: 'Hatzlakha be-khul, shtika ba-aretz' [Success abroad, silence at home], *Musica*, xxv (1989), 16–19

R. Fleisher: *Twenty Israeli Composers: Voices of a Culture* (Detroit, 1997), 271–9

RONIT SETER

Olivero, Magda [Maria Maddalena] (*b* Saluzzo, nr Turin, 25 March 1910). Italian soprano. She studied in Turin and made her début there in 1933 as Lauretta in *Gianni Schicchi*. Her early roles included Manon Lescaut, Mimì, Elsa, Liù, Violetta (Reggio nell' Emilia and Parma) and Butterfly (Modena and Naples). During the 1939–40 season she sang Adriana Lecouvreur in Rome, Naples, Venice and Florence, becoming Cilea's preferred interpreter of the role. She added the title roles in *Francesca da Rimini* and *Suor Angelica* and Zandonai's Giulietta to her repertory. In 1941 she married and retired, but at Cilea's urging she made her reappearance in 1951 as Adriana Lecouvreur at Brescia.

During the next 20 years Olivero became specially identified with Fedora, Tosca, Minnie and Mascagni's Iris. She made her London début in 1952 at the Stoll Theatre as Mimì and in 1963 sang Adriana Lecouvreur at the Edinburgh Festival. She sang in the USA at Dallas in 1967 as Medea, in New York in 1970 in *La voix humaine* and at the Metropolitan in 1975, when she was over 60, as Tosca. Her singular dramatic gifts and her finely articulated, sincere singing are captured on a film of her Tosca. She also made highly individual and compelling recordings of her Adriana, Liù and Fedora.

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M. Olivero: 'Cilea and "Adriana Lecouvreur"', *Opera*, xiv (1963), 523–8

R. Celletti: 'Magda Olivero, ieri, oggi, domani', *Discoteca*, no.87 (1969), 21–5 [incl. discography]

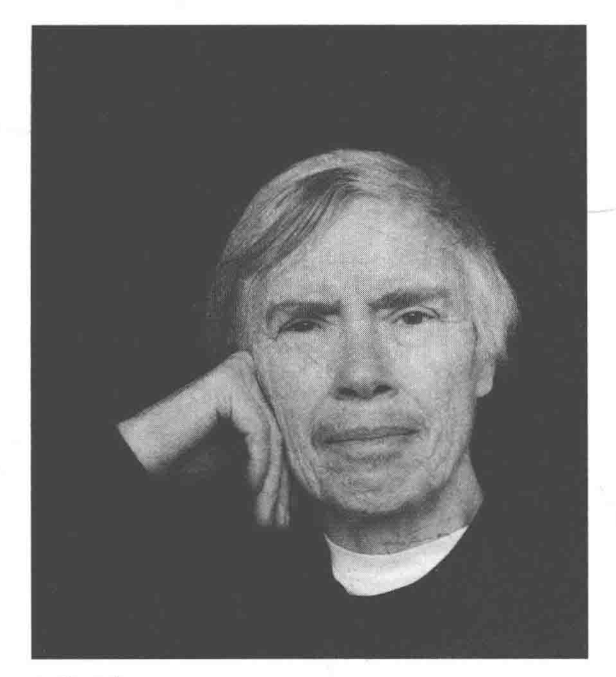
M. Morini: 'Magda Olivero: l'artista, le scelte, il personaggio', *Discoteca*, no.87 (1969), 16–20

V. Quattrocchi: *Magda Olivero: una voce per tre generazioni* (Turin, 1984)

HAROLD ROSENTHAL/ALAN BLYTH

Oliveros, Pauline (*b* Houston, 30 May 1932). American composer. She studied at the University of Houston (1949–52) and San Francisco State College (BA 1957); she also took private lessons with Robert Erickson. A founding co-director of the San Francisco Tape Music Center (1961–5) with Subotnick and Ramon Sender, she taught, from 1967, at the University of California, San Diego. In 1981 she resigned her post to become a freelance composer and in 1985 she became director of the Pauline Oliveros Foundation in Kingston, New York. Among the rewards she has received are the Guggenheim Fellowship for Composition (1973) and the NEA Composer's Fellowship (1990). She has also served as composer-in-residence at Northwestern University (1996) and Mills College, Oakland, California (1999).

Oliveros's earliest music was conventionally notated, in an abstract but idiosyncratic style. Following these notated compositions, she explored tape and electronic music techniques. The major and enduring shift in her work came in the mid-1970s when her studies of native American cultures and Eastern religions led to a kind of meditative improvisation as a way of teaching people to recognize their own musicality. Her compositions began to introduce meditation practices within larger ritualistic or ceremonial forms, as well as to explore concepts such



Pauline Oliveros

as the self as a non-autonomous entity and to value as qualities such as intuition commonly thought to be feminine. These diverse elements can be seen in *Crow Two* (1974), a text score in which the performers are asked to communicate telepathically with the audience, members of which are invited to participate on stage. Subsequently Oliveros has occasionally returned to notation, the rigour of which is combined with the freedom of improvisation. Examples of this include *Tree/Peace*, though even in such works no system appears to underlie the composition process.

Many of Oliveros's musical, social, and feminist concerns coalesce in *Njinga the Queen King* (1993), a music-theatre work to words by Ione. The piece centres on Njinga, the 17th-century regent of Ndongo (now Angola), who passed as a man and managed to keep marauders and slave-traffickers at bay through her skills as a warrior and diplomat. In this and other works, Oliveros has cultivated a music-making and perception which she calls 'deep listening', still rooted in the practices of improvisation and meditation, and with the aim of self-realization. Oliveros has also become interested in exploring the sonic properties of spaces employing acoustic instruments and digital delays.

WORKS
(*selective list*)

STAGE

Seven Passages, dancer, mobile, 2-track tape, 1963; Apple Box Conc., pfmrs, amp apple boxes, 1964; Seven Sets of Mnemonics (mixed media), 1965; Double Basses at 20 Paces, 2 db, tape, slides, cond. + referee, 2 pfmrs, 1968; The Dying Alchemist Preview, nar, vn, tpt, pic, perc, slides, 1969; Sonic Meditations, vv, insts, pfmrs, 1971–2; Postcard Theater (multi-media event), 1972; What to Do, pfmrs, sonic and mixed media, 1972; Crow Two (ceremonial op), 1974; Theatre of Substitution, 1975; Theatre of Substitutions: Blind/Dumb/Director, 1977

Theatre pieces: George Washington Slept Here Too, 4 pfmrs, 1965; Pieces of Eight, wind octet, tape, 1965; Theater Piece for Trbn Player, garden hoses, tape, 1966; Please don't shoot the piano player, he's doing the best he can, 1969; Bonn Feier, 1977; The Yellow River Map, 50 or more pfmrs, 1977; Travelling Companions, dancers, perc ens, 1980; Njinga the Queen King, 1993

INSTRUMENTAL

Orch: To Valerie Solanas and Marilyn Monroe in Recognition of their Desperation, orch/chbr ens, 1970; Tashi Gomang, orch, 1981; Lion's Eye, gamelan orch/synclavier, 1985; Tasting the Blaze, perc, elecs, trbn, vc, cl, 4 accdn, gagaku orch, 1985

Chbr: Trio, cl, hn, bn, 1955; Variations for Sextet, fl, cl, tpt, hn, vc, pf, 1960; Trio, fl, pf, page turner, 1961; Outline, fl, perc, db, 1963; Duo, accdn, bandoneon, opt. mynah bird, 1964; Engineer's Delight, pic, 7 cond., 1967; Circuitry, 5 perc, lights, 1968; 1000 Acres, str qt, 1972; Horse Sings from Cloud, hmn, accdn, bandoneon, concertina, 1975; Double X, meditation, pairs of like insts with overlapping compasses, 1979; Gone with the Wind, assorted ens, 1980; Monkey, chbr ens, 1981; Mother's Day, 2 concertinas, 1981; The Wheel of Time, str qt, 1983; Spiral Mandala, 4 cl, 8 crystal glasses, b drum, finger cymbals, 1984; Tree/Peace, pf trio, 1984; Wings of a Dove, 2 pf, double wind qnt, 1984; Portrait of Qnt of the Americas, fl, ob + eng hn, cl + b cl, 1988; Portraits for Brass Qnt, 1989; All Fours of the Drum Bum, drum kit, 1990; Grand Improvisation, ob, db, synth, 1990; From Unknown Silences, ens, 1996

Accdn: Rattlesnake Mountain, accdn, 1982; The Wanderer, acddns, 1982; The Seventh Mansion: from the Interior Castle, amp accdn, effects, 1983; Waking the Heart, accdn solo/ens, 1984; What If, accdn, 1991; Cicada Song, accdn, 1996

VOCAL

Choral: Sound Patterns, chorus, 1961; O HA AH, chorus, cond., 2 perc, 1968; AOK, chorus, accdn, vns, conds., 8 country fiddles, tape, 1969; Meditations on the Points of the Compass, 12 solo vv, chorus, perc, 1970; Angels and Demons, chorus, ens, 1980; Drama of the Five Families, nar, 1v, chorus, 1984; Legend, amp accdn, chorus, perc, 1985; Midnight Operas, chorus, 1992

Other vocal: 3 Songs, S, pf, 1957; The C(s) for Once, vv, fls, tpts, tape delay, 1966; SY*YdY=1, 4 spkrs, 4 vc, 4 bn, amp heartbeat, shakuhachi, 1969; Music for Tai Chi, vv, accdn, str, wind, perc, 1970; Horse Sings from a Cloud (Rose Mountain), 1v, accdn, 1977; The Wheel of Life, vv, 1978; The Wandering, 1v, digital delay, 1984; Oh Sister whose Name is Goddess, 1v, digital delay, 1984; Open Circuits om mani padme hum for 1984 Summer Olympics; Song of the Ancestors, 1v, shell tpt, didjeridu, 1984; The Chicken who Learned how to Fly, vv, nar, synth, 1985; The New Sound Meditation, vv, 1989; Deep Listening Pieces, 1v, ens, 1990; In Memory of the Future, 1v, 1991; Reflections on the Persian Gulf, 1v, accdn, 1991; Beyond the Mysterious Silence, 1v, cl, trbn, pf, accdn, 1996

ELECTRONIC

Time Perspectives, tape, 1961; Before the Music Ends, tape, dancer, 1965; Bye Bye Butterfly, oscillators, amps, tape, 1965; 5000 Miles, tape, elecs, 1965; Mnemonics III, IV and V, tape, elecs, 1965; Rock Sym., tape, 1965; Big Mother is Watching You, tape, 1966; The Day I Disconnected the Erase Head and Forgot to Reconnect it, tape, elecs, 1966; I, II, III, IV and V of IV, tape, 1966; Participle Dangling in Honour of Gertrude Stein, tape, mobile, work crew, 1966; Music for Lysistrata, tape, elecs, 1968; Live Electronic Piece for Merce Cunningham's Dance, 1969; Bog Road with Bird Call Patch, tape, 1970; Tara's Room, tape, 1988; Listening for Life, 1991

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Principal publishers: Deep Listening, Smith

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'Karl Kohn: *Concerto Mutabile*', *PNM*, ii/2 (1963–4), 87–99
Pauline's Proverbs (New York, 1976)
Initiation Dream (Los Angeles, 1982)
Software for People: Collected Writings 1963–80 (Baltimore, 1984)
ed. C.P. Smith: 'Cues', *MQ*, lxxvii (1993), 373–83
The Roots of the Moment: Collected Writings 1980–1996 (New York, 1998)

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E. Kefalas: 'Pauline Oliveros', *High Fidelity/Musical America*, xxv/6 (1975), MA24–5
W. Zimmermann: 'Pauline Oliveros', *Desert Plants: Conversations with 23 American Musicians* (Vancouver, BC, 1976)
H. Von Gunden: 'The Theory of Sonic Awareness in *The Greeting* by Pauline Oliveros', *PNM*, xix (1980–81), 406–16
H. Von Gunden: *The Music of Pauline Oliveros* (Metuchen, NJ, 1983)
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TIMOTHY D. TAYLOR

Oliver y Astorga, Juan (*b* Yecla, Murcia, 1733 or 1734; *d* Madrid, 12 Feb 1830). Spanish violinist and composer. He is probably the Oliver, mentioned by Eitner, who gave a concert in Frankfurt am Main on 18 April 1765 and appeared in London in 1767 as a virtuoso violinist. Under the name of Jean Oliver Astorga he published in London *Six sonates à violon et basse* op.1 (?1767, ed. L. Siemens Hernández, Madrid, 1991), *Twelve Italian Songs and Duets for Voice and Harpsichord with Accompagnement for a Guittar* op.2 (1768) and *Six Sonatas for Two German Flutes or Two Violins and a Bass* op.3 (?1769). Both sets of sonatas were dedicated to his patron, Willoughby Bertie, 4th Earl of Abingdon. He later returned to Spain, where he continued to compose, and on 30 March 1776 was appointed violinist to the royal chapel of Madrid. In 1789 he was appointed conductor of the Teatro de los Caños del Peral in Madrid, the theatre of the Italian Opera company, but Charles IV prevented him from taking up this post, wishing him to remain exclusively in his own service in the royal chapel. After about 1790 he was also a member of the King of Spain's chamber music, and he worked industriously for Charles IV, particularly on the occasion of the Prince of Parma's visit in 1807.

Oliver y Astorga's instrumental music is in the *galant* style typical of the period. The violin sonatas require considerable technical proficiency for performing double stops and other idiomatic devices but rarely go beyond 3rd position. Six sonatas for violin and cello and five for viola and cello are in Madrid (*E-Mp*). Eitner also attributed three cantatas to him (*B-Bc*).

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GUY BOURLIGUEUX

Olivier. Composer, possibly identifiable with MEIGRET.

Olivier, Jo(hannes) (*fl* late 14th century). French composer. Olivier may be the Johannes Olivier mentioned as a clerk of the diocese of Cambrai in a list of petitions to Pope Clement VII in 1378. His only extant work is the three-voice ballade *Si con cy gist mon cuer* (in *F-CH* 564; ed. in PMFC, xviii, 1981; CMM, liii, 1970, and in Koehler), which has complex syncopations in both cantus and contratenor; and the proportional relationships between voices, referred to in the text, give rise to 4 beats against 3, and 9 against 6 vertically.

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GILBERT REANEY

Olivieri [de Massini], **Angelo** (*fl* Rome, 1679–1702). Italian composer. He composed an oratorio, *Innocentia in Joseph exaltata*, for the Arciconfraternità del SS Crocefisso, sung at the church of S Marcello during Lent 1679, and a cantata, *La terra tributaria con le quattre stagioni al presepe di Nostro Signore* (libretto by Gaetano Monaci), performed at the Vatican on Christmas Eve 1680; the music of both these works is lost. Some of the nine secular cantatas by him in the Barberini collection (*I-Rvat*) are dated between 1680 and 1682. In January 1681 he set to music a comedy, *Dalla padella alla bragia*, by D.F. Contini for the wedding of Costanza Barberini and G.F. Caetani, Duke of San Marco (score in *I-Rvat*); it was performed in Palestrina and repeated shortly afterwards at the Collegio Clementino, Rome, for Queen Christina of Sweden. In 1684 Olivieri was commissioned by the Congregazione dei Musici di S Cecilia to compose a *Te Deum* to celebrate new papal constitutions, and in 1702 he was asked to write a requiem to commemorate King James II of England in S Lorenzo in Lucina. A four-voice motet, *Confitebor tibi*, is also extant (in *I-Rvat*, C.G.). Works such as the cantata *Pensieri d'amore*, for two sopranos, bass and continuo, show Olivieri's music to be charming and lively, and similar in style to that of the young Alessandro Scarlatti.

Olivieri was possibly related to two other musicians active in Rome in the late 18th century: Onofrio Olivieri, a bass singer, and the composer and organist Paolo Olivieri.

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JEAN LIONNET

Olivieri, Giuseppe (*d* ?Rome, ?1623). Italian composer and poet. He described the contents of his 1617 volume as 'youthful' products, and according to his 1620 volume he had been in the service of the Duke of Altaemps. He was *maestro di cappella* of S Giovanni in Laterano, Rome, in 1622, but his name had disappeared from the records by 1623. He seems to have composed some sacred music, but his only surviving pieces are the secular *La turca armoniosa*, for two and three voices and continuo (Rome 1617), and *La pastorella Armilla variamente cantata*, for

one to three voices and continuo (Rome, 1620). The 16 duets and five trios in the earlier volume show a fusion of the traditional polyphonic madrigal with the melodic features of the new monodic style; they include dialogue-like writing. (E. Schmitz: 'Zur Geschichte des italienischen Continuo-Madrigals im 17. Jahrhundert', *SIMG*, xi, 1909–10, pp.509–43, esp. 515)

NIGEL FORTUNE

Olivieri, Paolo (*b* ?Rome; *d* Rome, ?20/21 Sept 1683). Italian composer and organist. Nothing is known of his youth, but by 7 July 1660, when he accepted the boy castrato Francesco Picchino as a pupil, he was already *maestro di cappella* of the basilica of S Marco, Rome. Between 1667 and 1673 he regularly played the organ for the festivities on 25 August at S Luigi dei Francesi there. His wife was Orsola Foggia, daughter of Francesco Foggia. As a member of the Accademia di S Cecilia, Oliveri was given responsibility for important musical events, for example vespers on the feast day of the patron saint in 1669, and music for the monthly litanies in July 1678. From 1676 to 1683 he was an extra organist at S Giacomo degli Spagnoli. In July 1683 he received assistance from the Accademia di S Cecilia on account of an illness. A requiem mass was said for him on 22 September of that year in the church of the Maddalena, so he must have died some days previously. He was probably also *maestro di cappella* of S Maria in Trastevere at the end of his life.

It is not known whether Olivieri was related to the Giuseppe Olivieri who replaced Cifra at S Giovanni in Laterano in 1624, the bass Onofrio Olivieri, who was at S Maria Maggiore from January 1641 to October 1674, or the teacher Angelo Olivieri.

WORKS

Motet, 3vv, in *R. Floridus de Silvestris . . . istas alias cantiones* (Rome, 1668)
Motet, 2vv, in *R. Floridus de Silvestris . . . sacras cantiones* (Rome, 1672)

JEAN LIONNET

Olivo [Olivi], **Simpliciano** [Sempliciano] (*b* Mantua, 1594; *d* Parma, 20 Sept 1680). Italian composer. He probably received his musical education at Mantua. On 3 July 1631 he was appointed *maestro di cappella* of the Madonna della Steccata, Parma; he took up the post on 17 December in that year. He retired on 6 October 1679. The vocal writing in his op.2 psalms is typical of the polychoral style of the time, but he made the instruments unusually prominent by giving them independent interludes. His only surviving music is sacred; two operas, an equestrian entertainment and an oratorio are lost, as is a collection of madrigals attributed to him and dated 1681 by Fétis. Walther gave the date of the collection as 1618.

WORKS

SACRED VOCAL

Salmi di compieta, con litanie in ultimo, concertati, 8vv, 2 vn, violetta, vc (ad lib), op.2 (Bologna, 1674)
Salmi per li Vesperi di tutto l'anno con il cantico della Beata Vergine, 8vv, op.3 (Bologna, 1674)

Motet, 2vv, bc, 1620[2]

OTHER VOCAL

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Il ratto d'Elena (op, Morando), Piacenza, Teatro Nuovo, 1646, music lost
Op, 23 Feb 1664, lost
Giona (orat), Parma, Oratorio della SS Trinità, 16 March 1672, lost
Carcerata ninfa, madrigali a più voci (Venice, 1681); lost (attrib. Olivo, *FétisB*; dated 1618 by *WaltherML*)

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□

Ollone, Max(imilien Paul Marie Félix) d' (*b* Besançon, 13 June 1875; *d* Paris, 15 May 1959). French composer, conductor and critic. Born into an aristocratic family with a lengthy, distinguished military lineage, d'Ollone struggled to reconcile these inherited responsibilities with his Utopian, socialist perspective of music. Thoroughly committed to the deeper appreciation of music through public education, he strove to impress its pivotal role in the evolution of the human character. He developed this philosophy through the study of theology and symbolist literature, and projected it through opera, his preferred medium of expression.

A pupil of Gédalge, Lavignac, Lenepveu and Massenet at the Paris Conservatoire, d'Ollone reaped numerous honours there and throughout his lengthy career, notably the Prix de Rome (1897) for his cantata, *Frédégonde*. Twice honoured by the Légion d'Honneur (Chevalier in 1926, Officier in 1938), he was appointed director of the Concerts populaires d'Angers (1907–15), at the Ministry of Fine Arts (1916), professor at the Ecole Normale de Musique (1919), Paris Conservatoire (1922), director of the Fontainebleau Conservatory (1923), inspector of music education (1931–42) and director of the Opéra-Comique (1941–4).

D'Ollone espoused an essentially Romantic tonal language based on Wagnerian principles of continuous motivic development, governed by classical and Franckian strictures. As he gained prominence within the administration of French musical education, he led an attack on what he felt to be the institutionalized, progressive dehumanization of music, generated chiefly by the Second Viennese School. His voluminous writings, culminating in the treatises *Le langage musical* (1952) and *Le théâtre lyrique et le public* (1955), disclose a prodigious intellect nurtured by a profoundly ecumenical spirituality.

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(*selective list*)

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PAUL-ANDRÉ BEMPÉCHAT

Olmeda, Federico (*b* El Burgo de Osma, 1865; *d* Madrid, 11 Feb 1909). Spanish organist, composer and writer on music. He was a choirboy at Burgo de Osma Cathedral, where he studied with Damián Sanz and León Lobera, first the violin, then the organ and composition. In 1887 he was elected by competition organist of Tudela Cathedral, and in December that year became organist of Burgos Cathedral. In 1903 he was made deputy choirmaster at Burgos and in 1907 choirmaster of the Descalzas Reales in Madrid.

In his brief but stormy life Olmeda was notably active as a composer, organizer, conductor and publicist. After the *Motu proprio* of Pope Pius X, reforming church music, he dedicated himself untiringly to this cause, but his polemic spirit often rendered his efforts useless. His principal writings, apart from his numerous contributions to periodicals and magazines, are his *Memoria de un viaje a Santiago de Galicia* (1895), in which he wrote at length on the Calixtine manuscript, and his *Discurso sobre la orquesta religiosa* (Burgos, 1896). Also of significance is his *Folklore de Castilla* (Burgos, 1902), in which he collected a large number of popular songs. Apart from the masses, motets and psalms which he wrote for Burgos Cathedral, his most important works are chamber music, particularly his beautiful quartet in E♭, and some of his piano music, above all the *Rimas* and the sonatas. His extensive library, which included a large number of manuscripts, old editions of liturgical music and theoretical treatises, was acquired in 1911 by the Hispanic Society of New York.

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JOSÉ LÓPEZ-CALO

Olmstead [Olmsted], **Timothy** (*b* Hartford, CT, 12 Nov 1759; *d* Phoenix, Oswego Co., NY, 15 Aug 1848). American composer, tune book compiler, singing master and fifer. During the Revolutionary War he served as a fifer (1775–6) and played in a regimental band (1777–80). After the war he apparently settled in Connecticut and worked as a singing master. He served in the War of 1812, and in his later years lived in Whitestown, New York.

Olmstead compiled *The Musical Olio* (Northampton, MA, 1805, 2/1811), which was devoted mostly to European pieces and favoured the Methodist style, but also contained 25 of his own compositions. Drawing on his experience as a bandsman he also compiled *Martial Music* (Albany, NY, 1807), a collection of instrumental marches and dances, including nearly a dozen of his own. Olmstead's range as a musician was unusual for Americans of his generation. As a psalmodist, he composed in both the indigenous New England idiom and a more Europeanized style, and he also wrote with some skill for instruments.

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RICHARD CRAWFORD/DAVID W. MUSIC

Olmütz (Ger.). *See* OLOMOUC.

Olof, Efraim (*b* nr Warsaw, 1685; *d* Toruń, 15 April 1735). Polish theologian and musician of German origin. He was the son of a Protestant pastor, Marcin Olof (1658–1715), who was active mainly in Warsaw and Toruń, and was the compiler of a Polish religious folksong collection, *Zbiór kantycznek* ('Collection of Psalm-Books', Toruń, 1672). Efraim Olof was educated in Toruń and Leipzig and was active as a Protestant preacher in Elblag and Toruń. His work of historical value is *Polnische Lieder Geschichte von polnischen Kirchen Gesängen* (Danzig [now Gdańsk], 1744), which is in three parts: a list of the names of authors of songs, with information about their lives; a survey of the history of Polish ecclesiastical song;

and a list of songs. Among his other works is *Pieśni niektóre z niemieckiego na polski język przetłumaczone* ('Some Songs Translated from the German to Polish', Toruń, 1727).

ALINA NOWAK-ROMANOWICZ

Olof, Theo (*b* Bonn, 5 May 1924). Dutch violinist. His earliest lessons were from his mother; he gave his first performance when he was five years old. From 1933 he studied in Amsterdam with Oskar Back, and his Dutch début was in 1935. After 1945 he made extensive concert tours through Europe, the USA and the USSR. From 1951 to 1971 he was leader of the Residentie-Orkest, The Hague, a post that for a number of years he shared with Herman Krebbers, with whom he also formed a violin duo; Badings, Frid and Kox wrote double concertos for them. Olof gave first performances of violin concertos by Maderna, Ton de Leeuw, Henkemans and Van Vlijmen. From 1974 to 1985 he was leader of the Concertgebouw Orchestra, Amsterdam. He also formed a violin and piano duo with Janine Dacosta. He has written a number of books, including two volumes of autobiography, *Daar sta je dan ...* (The Hague, 1958) and *Daar sta je dan opnieuw* (Nieuwkoop, 1980), and has published rhythmic exercises for string players. He taught at The Hague Conservatory and is an Officer of the Order of Oranje Nassau.

TRUUS DE LEUR

Olofsen, Arnoldus (*b* Elburg, 1695/6; *d* Amsterdam, bur. 14 May 1768). Dutch music publisher and bookseller. On 8 May 1732 Olofsen gave notice of his intended marriage to Dirkje Jacobs in Amsterdam. He was received into the Amsterdam guild of booksellers on 9 August 1734, four days after he had settled up his burghership. In 1742 his annual income was fixed at 800 guilders, while he had his bookshop in Gravenstraat. In 1743 Olofsen was charged with the printing and selling of a 'defamatory' text. Later on he was imprisoned for the dissemination of libellous publications; he was released on 19 November 1749. In the late 1750s the imprint on Olofsen's editions changed to 'Aan [At] de Nieuwe Kerk, over de Voorburgwal'. His widow was buried in Amsterdam on 28 January 1780.

A catalogue of 1755 contains about 80 titles; among them are Olofsen's own printings of chamber music, concertos and vocal pieces of Dutch composers such as J.P.A. Fischer, Leonard Frischmuth, Hurlebusch, Mahaut, F.G. Michelet and Radeker. Besides original Dutch treatises of Leonard Frischmuth, S.T. van Loonsma and Lustig, Olofsen published theoretical works, translated into Dutch by Lustig, of Quantz (1754), Werckmeister (*Orgelproef*, 1755) and the Bach pupil J.M. Schmidt (*Musico-Theologia*, 1756).

Olofsen sometimes used passe-partout title-pages (Scheurleer, 90). As a whole he produced a list of some importance, but owing to his vicious attacks on colleagues (among others the young J.J. Hummel, with whom he had collaborated in 1754–5), Olofsen was not a credit to the guild.

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PAUL VAN REIJEN

Olomouc (Ger. Olmütz). Town in Moravia, Czech Republic. It was the capital of Moravia from 1182 until 1642; from 1777 it was the residence of the archbishop. After the Thirty Years War the musical activities of the town centred on the cathedral of St Václav (founded 1109), which had an organ by 1258, the parish church of St Moritz (Mořic), 1257, the Jesuit college, and the Augustinian and Premonstratensian orders in nearby Hradisko. Valuable medieval choral manuscripts are preserved in the cathedral chapter archive. Many of the cathedral Kapellmeister were active as composers: P.J. Rittler (1678–90), T.A. Albertini (1691–1735), V.M. Gurecký (1736–43), J.A. Gurecký (1743–69), Anton Neumann (1769–76), Josef Puschmann (1778–94), Pavel Křížkovský (1872–83), who carried through Cecilian reforms, and Josef Nešvera (1884–1914). Beethoven's *Missa solemnis* was intended for the consecration of Archduke Rudolph as archbishop in 1820, though the work was not finished until 1823.

The violin makers Johann Strobl (1700–53) and Martin Brunner (1724–1801) were active in Olomouc. In 1745 the organ builder Michael Engler of Breslau completed his greatest instrument for St Moritz: a three-manual organ with 41 registers. It was rebuilt with five manuals and 94 registers in 1961, since when it has been used for an annual international organ festival. Other valuable instruments are that of Johann Gottfried Helwig (1730, rebuilt 1977) in the Maria Schneekirche (Panna Maria Sněžná), and the cathedral organ by the Rieger brothers (1886). Important hymnbooks published in Olomouc were the *Kancionál český* of Jan Kunvaldský (1576), the *Kancionál* of Jan Rozenplut (1601) and the *Písně katolické* of Jiří Hlohovský (1622).

From the mid-16th century the Jesuits staged rhetorical declamations and school plays in their university hall, with music before and after. In 1770 a Königliches Städtisches Nationaltheater was erected; in 1830 opera was first accommodated in a new theatre building. Early in 1883 Mahler conducted there for three months. In 1918 the Městské Divadlo (City Theatre) was established (it was renamed Divadlo Oldřicha Stibora in 1958). Karel Nedbal directed the opera there from 1921 to 1928; later conductors were Emanuel Bastl (1928–32), Adolf Heller (1932–40), Nedbal again (1940–45), Iša Krejčí (1945–58), under whose regime nearly 50 operas by Czech composers were produced, Zdeněk Košler (1958–62), Pavel Pokorný (1963–71), Miloš Konvalinka (1972–6) Reginald Kefer (1977–90) and Martin Dubovic (1991–).

There were town musicians (Kunstpfeifer) in Olomouc from 1557 on. Among the most distinguished were Georg Finger (probably related to Gottfried Finger) and Bernard Němec (1683–1751), who possessed as many as 90 different instruments. From 1770 a collegium musicum arranged weekly public concerts. German musical societies established in the 19th century promoted symphonic and choral concerts; these included the Dilettantenverein (1817), the Männergesangverein (1847), the Musikverein (1850), which also supported a public music school, and the Kirchenmusikverein (1869). A Czech musical society, the Žerotín (founded 1880), put on choral concerts, opened its own music school (1888) and staged operas from 1891. It was to the Žerotín that Dvořák dedicated his oratotio *Svatá Ludmila* (1886). In 1945 Czech orchestral players from the former German theatre formed

a new orchestra, the Moravská Filharmonie (Moravian PO). The first conductor, Dalibor Doubek, was succeeded by František Stupka (1946–56), Milivoj Uzelac (1956–60), Jaromír Nohejl (1960–87), Stanislav Macura (1987–92) and Jiří Mikula (from 1992). A chair of musicology was established at Palacký University in 1945; professors have been Robert Smetana (to 1973), Vladimír Hudec (1972–80) and Jan Vičar (from 1980).

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JIŘÍ SEHNAL

Olsen, Ole (*b* Hammerfest, 4 July 1850; *d* Oslo, 9 Nov 1927). Norwegian composer and military musician. He studied with Fredrik and Just Lindeman in Trondheim (1865–9) and with David, Paul and Reinecke in Leipzig (1870–74). From 1874 he worked as a music teacher in Christiania [now Oslo], where he also conducted the Christiania Artisan's Choral Society (1876–80), the Music Society (1877–80) and the freemasons' orchestra (1894–1908). In 1884 he was appointed music director of the Akershus 2nd Brigade, and in this position he built up a repertory of Norwegian marches, many of them based on folktunes that he had had a hand in collecting. His concert and stage works are also representative of the nationalist tradition; some of them enjoyed great popularity. The operas were influenced by Wagner's ideas.

WORKS
(*selective list*)

Stage: Stig Hvide (op, Olsen), 1872–6; King Erik XIV, incid music, perf. Vienna, 1882; Svein Uraed, incid music, perf. Christiania, 1890; Lajla (op, Olsen), 1893, Christiania, 8 Oct 1908; Stallo (op, Olsen), 1902; Klippeøerne (op, Olsen), 1904–10

Choral: Ludvig Holberg, cant., 1884; Griffenfeldt, cant., 1897; Nidaros, orat, 1897; Broderbud, cant., n.d.; Fanevakt, male chorus, n.d.; I jotunheimen, male chorus, n.d.

Orch: Sym., G, 1878; Åsgårdsreien, 1878; Petite suite, pf, str, 1902; Hn Conc., 1905; Vaeringetog, n.d.; Ritornell, n.d.; Romance, vn, orch, n.d.; Tarantelle, vc, orch, n.d.

Piano pieces, many military marches

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N. Grinde: *Norsk musikkhistorie* (Oslo, 1971, 3/1981, abridged 4/1993; Eng. trans., 1991)

D.Y. Torkildsen: *Svein Uraed av Ole Olsen* (diss., U. of Oslo, 1987)

H. Herresthal: *Med spark i gulvet og quinter i bassen: musikalske og politiske bilder fra nasjonalromantikkens gjennombrudd i Norge* [With kicks on the floor and fifths in the bass: musical and political images from the breakthrough of national romanticism in Norway] (Oslo, 1993)

KARI MICHELSEN

Olsen, Poul Rovsing [Rovsing Olsen, Poul] (*b* Copenhagen, 4 Nov 1922; *d* Copenhagen, 2 July 1982). Danish composer and ethnomusicologist. He studied solfège and the piano as a child in Randers, and had organ lessons from Georg Fjelrad (1940–42) while studying law in Århus. Still continuing law studies, he attended the Copenhagen Conservatory (1943–6), where his teachers were Jeppesen (harmony and counterpoint) and Christiansen (piano). On completing his legal training in 1948 he went to France for studies with Boulanger (composition) and Messiaen (analysis). The next year he returned to Copenhagen, where in 1950 he took the conservatory examinations to qualify as a music teacher. He was music critic for the *Morgenbladet* (1945–6), *Information* (1949–53) and the *Berlingske tidende* (1954–74), also working for the Danish Ministry of Education (1949–60), and became archivist of the Dansk Folkemindesamling in 1960. As an ethnomusicologist he took part in expeditions to Greenland and the Persian Gulf, and he taught ethnomusicology at the universities of Lund (1967–9) and Copenhagen (from 1969). In 1967 he was appointed to the executive board of the International Folk Music Council and was its president from 1977. He was chairman of the Danish Composers' Union from 1962 to 1967, serving on its executive board thereafter. In addition, he was chairman of the Danish section of NOMUS (the committee for musical cooperation among Nordic countries, 1963–72) and in 1974 became chairman of the music section of Statens Kunstfond.

In early works Olsen's style reflected Bartók, Stravinsky and Nielsen. The Trio op.18 shows a growing interest in traditional musics, and his experimental concerns were stimulated by his participation in the 1952 American Seminar in Salzburg, led by Babbitt. He first used 12-note principles in the Symphonic Variations op.27; subsequently he employed serial techniques in various ways, notably in *Prolana* op.33 and the Inventions op.38. The Passacaglia op.45 submits to total serial organization, and at the same time it was his last consciously serial work. In the 1960s, in such works as *A l'inconnu* op.48 and *Patet* op.55, his ethnomusicological research began to influence some of his compositional attitudes: rhythm became a primary feature, its simple organization (often based on non-Western formal concepts) presenting contrasts between free movement and patterns that are metrically complex and often long. This stylistic approach was integrated with a 12-note technique in his two operas *Belisa* (1964) and *Usher* (1980) and in orchestral and chamber works such as *Au fond de la nuit* (1968) and the string trio *A Dream in Violet* (1982). Among the awards he received are the Lange-Müller Stipend (1955), the Anckerske Legat (1956), the KODA Prize (1960), the Carl Nielsen Prize (1965) and awards from Statens Kunstfond (1966, 1970, 1974).

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(*selective list*)

Opera: Belisa (F.G. Lorca, Danish trans.), op.50, 1963–4, Copenhagen, Royal Theatre, 3 Sept 1966; Usher (E.A. Poe, Danish trans.), op.83, Århus, Jutland, 3 Feb 1982

Orch: Sym. Variations, op.27, 1953; Pf Conc. op.31, 1954; Sinfonia I, op.40, 1958; Sinfonia II 'Susudil', op.53, 1966; Au fond de la nuit, op.61, 1968; Lux caelestis, op.82, 1978

Choral: Songs, op.43, male vv, 1959; A Song of Mira Bai, op.69, chorus, 3 tpt, perc, 1971; Fortid and Nocturne, op.71, 1971

Chbr: Sonata, op.4, vn, pf, 1946; Pf Trio, op.18, 1950; Prolana, op.33, cl, vn, pf, 1955; Patet, op.55, 9 insts, 1966; Str Qt no.2, op.62, 1969; Shangri-la, op.64, fl, va d'amore, pf, 1969; Rencontres, op.67, vc, perc, 1970; Concertino, op.73, cl, pf trio, 1973; Poème, op.74, accdn, gui, perc, 1973; Partita, op.75, vc, 1974; Trio II, op.77, pf trio, 1976; Nostalgie, op.78, gui, 1976; A Dream in Violet, str trio, 1982

Solo vocal: 4 Songs (W. Blake), op.7, 1947; 2 Prophetic Songs (Blake), op. 16, 1950; 4 Light Songs (M. Gards), op.19, 1951; Schicksalslieder (F. Hölderlin), op.28, S/T, 7 insts, 1953; Alapatarana, op.41, Mez, perc, 1959; A l'inconnu, op.48, T/S, 13 insts, 1962; Air, op.76, Mez, a sax, pf, 1976; Planeterne, op.80, Mez, fl, va, gui

Pf: 6 Little Pieces, op.5, 1946; Theme and Variations, op.6, 1947; Krydstogt, op.32, 1954; Medardus, op.35, 1956; 5 Inventions, op.38, 1957; Images, op.51, 1965; 3 études, op.63, 1969; Many Happy Returns, op.70, 1971

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WILLIAM H. REYNOLDS/JENS BRINCKER

Olsson, Otto (Emanuel) (*b* Stockholm, 19 Dec 1879; *d* Stockholm, 1 Sept 1964). Swedish organist and composer. At the Swedish Royal Academy of Music he studied organ with Lagergren (examination 1896) and theory and composition with Dente (examination 1899). Subsequently he joined the conservatory staff, teaching harmony (1908–24) and organ (1924–45, from 1926 as professor). He also held the post of organist at the Gustav Vasa church in Stockholm. One of the great organ virtuosos of his time, he had a particular reputation for French music, in which he continued the tradition of Emil Sjögren. His teaching influenced several generations of Swedish church musicians, and he helped to develop church music in Sweden, after a long period of decline, as a member of official committees set up to supervise the liturgy and hymnology.

In his compositions Olsson was strongly influenced by French organ music, but he had a sure feeling for counterpoint and so was able to give a firm foundation to his late Romantic style. A growing interest in earlier music is displayed in the six *Gregorianska melodier* op.30 (1910), in which the plainchant themes are treated with a well-balanced interplay of spare counterpoint and melodic-harmonic fullness. The *Sex latinska hymner* op.40 for chorus (1919) also show a firm combination of polyphony with conventional harmonic progressions, though Olsson's use of polytonality brings them to a stage of technical advance not found in other Swedish choral works of the period (nor in any other compositions of his). His largest and best-known work is the *Te Deum* op.25 for chorus, string orchestra, harp and organ (1906), a masterpiece of Swedish church music.

Apart from this, Olsson's best pieces are for the organ, the earliest of them being the Suite in G op.20. The Fantasy and Fugue op.29, a composition in Phrygian E on the chorale *Vi lofva dig, o store Gud*, introduced a new style into Swedish organ music, notably in its polyphonic treatment of an old church hymn. The development initiated by this work culminated in the *Credo symphoniacum* op.50, a three-movement symphony on Gregorian themes written for the ecumenical meeting at Uppsala in 1925. Other pieces, such as the great Sonata in E op.38 and the three preludes and fugues, show Olsson retaining late Romantic traditions. His remaining works include a fine quartet (op.10) and other instrumental pieces; some of his folksong arrangements and original pieces for male chorus have remained in the repertory.

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(*selective list*)

Choral: TeD, op.25, chorus, str, hp, org, 1906; 6 körsånger, op.32, unacc., *c*1909; Advents- och julsånger, op.33, chorus, org; 6 latinska hymner, op.40, unacc., 1919; *c*25 pieces and arrs. for male vv

Songs: 3 psalmer av David, op.41; 3 bröllopssånger, op.57, 1942

Chbr: 3 str qts: G, op.10, G, op.27, a, op.58, 1950; pf pieces

Org: Miniatyrer, op.5, 1895–?1900; 5 kanon, op.18, 1903–10; Suite, G, op.20, 1904; 5 pedalstudier, op.26; Fantasy and Fugue, Phrygian E, op.29, 1909; Gregorianska melodier, bk 1, op.30, 1910; 12 orgelstycken över koralmotiv, op.36; Sonata, E, op.38, ?1910; Prelude and Fugue, c♯, op.39, 1910; Variationer över 'Ave maris stella', op.42; 5 trios, op.44, ?1911; Gregorianska melodier, bk 2, op.47, ?1912; Credo symphoniacum, op.50, 1925; Prelude and Fugue, f♯, op.52, 1918; Prelude and Fugue, d♯, op.56, 1935

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HANS ÅSTRAND

Olsvai, Imre (*b* Budapest, 2 April 1931). Hungarian ethnomusicologist and composer. He studied at the Liszt Academy of Music under Kodály, Szabolcsi, Lajos Bárdos and Endre Szervánszky, taking diplomas in musicology (1956) and composition (1958). In 1958 he became a research fellow of the Folk Music Research Group (later a department of the Institute of Musicology of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences) and worked with Pál Járdányi on the systematization of Hungarian strophic

folksongs (1958–66), developing a strictly musical method based on tune types. On the basis of this system he edited the sixth and seventh volumes of the Corpus Musicae Popularis Hungaricae. In 1966 he spent nine months in Egypt, studying Egyptian folk and art music. His research has centred on the development of variants of basic melodic patterns in Hungarian folk music, particularly in that of the Trans-Danubian area. His intensive fieldwork (1947–65) resulted in the transcription of about 8000 tunes from 150 villages in Hungary and Hungarian-speaking areas of Slovakia and Yugoslavia. His compositions include a Rondo for violin and piano (1954), a Piano Sonata (1956), some choruses, and arrangements of folksongs, mostly with folkdance choreography.

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'West-Hungarian (Trans-Danubian) Characteristic Features in Bartók's Works', *SMH*, xi (1969), 333–47
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MARIA DOMOKOS

Olszewska [Olczewska], **Maria** [Berchtenbreitner, Marie] (*b* Ludwigsschwaige, nr Donauwörth, 12 Aug 1892; *d* Klagenfurt, 17 May 1969). German mezzo-contralto. She studied in Munich and made her début as a Page in *Tannhäuser* at Krefeld in 1915. After an engagement at Leipzig she sang at the Hamburg Opera, where she took part in the joint première (with Cologne) of Korngold's *Die tote Stadt* (1920). She sang regularly in Vienna (1921–30). She also appeared frequently at the Staatsoper in Munich, and at Covent Garden (1924–32), where her performances in such roles as Fricka, Ortrud, Brangäne, Octavian, Orlofsky (*Die Fledermaus*) and Herodias (*Salome*) drew the highest critical acclaim. Her Carmen and Amneris were less successful. She sang in Chicago (1928–32) and at the Metropolitan (1933–5). Olszewska possessed a rich, beautiful voice and great dramatic temperament; Ernest Newman wrote that 'she makes us feel for the moment that the whole drama centres in her'. She made a number of recordings, including the role of Octavian in the renowned 1933 abridged version of *Der Rosenkavalier*.

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HAROLD ROSENTHAL/ALAN BLYTH

Olthof [Althof], **Statius** (*b* Osnabrück, 1555; *d* Rostock, 28 Feb 1629). German composer and teacher. The son of a pastor, he studied theology in Brunswick. After a brief stay in Lübeck he moved in 1579 to Rostock where he remained until his death. There, he served first as Kantor, then as *cantor primarius*, and finally from 1593 as Konrektor. He retired in 1614. Olthof's importance as a composer is for his contribution of 40 four-voice homophonic pieces to a new, annotated edition of the *Psalmorum Davidis paraphrasis poetica* at the request of the editor, Natan Chyträus. These Latin psalm paraphrases, written by the Scotsman George Buchanan, originally appeared in Antwerp, Paris and Strasbourg in 1566. The new edition by Chyträus, a Rostock professor (later Rektor of the Bremen Gymnasium), was published simultaneously in 1585 in Frankfurt and Herborn – then a centre of German Calvinism. It was reprinted at least 17 times in Herborn up to 1664 and once in Bremen in 1618. During the 17th century it was widely used in German schools for humanistic studies, often in place of the Horatian ode settings that Buchanan had taken as the model for his own paraphrases. Many churches and schools specified the regular use of the Chyträus-Althof (sic) psalm settings in their services and exercises. The pieces contributed by Olthof were not all his own: four, for instance, are by Martin Agricola and even some of his own are based on existing melodies.

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WALTER BLANKENBURG

Olympus the Mysian (*fl* ?*c*700 BCE). Ancient Phrygian aulete and composer. Possibly a legendary figure, he was credited with the introduction of instrumental music into Greece (Pseudo-Plutarch, *On Music*, 1132f), and specifically of auletic *nomoi* (*see* NOMOS), which became established in public worship. It is unclear whether this Olympus is a descendant of the one supposed to have been taught by MARSYAS or whether the two figures named Olympus are one and the same (*On Music*, 1133d–f; cf *Suda*, see under 'Olympos'). In any event, according to Aristoxenus (as quoted in Pseudo-Plutarch's *On Music*) he 'invented' the enharmonic genus, the Lydian mode and rhythmic patterns such as the prosodiac, choreic and bacchic (1134f–1135a, 1136c, 1141b and 1143b).

The figure of Olympus is evidently shadowy; to him were attributed the historical innovations, uncertainly comprehended in later times, which were introduced into Greek music from Asia Minor and especially from Phrygia around the end of the 8th century BCE. After that time 7th-century art shows that the aulos came into general

use, and certain auletic *nomoi* gained lasting acceptance. Three centuries later poets still referred to compositions of this type as the work of Olympus (Aristophanes, *Knights*, 9; Telestes of Selinus: Edmonds, frags.2–3), and philosophers praised them for their acknowledged power to influence the ETHOS of men with a sense of the divine (Plato, *Symposium*, 215c1–6; Aristotle, *Politics*, 1340a8–12). Pseudo-Plutarch attributed several famous *nomoi* to Olympus (1133d–f), described the general simplicity of his style (1137a–b) and analysed the ethos of the Athena *nomos* (1143b–c).

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WARREN ANDERSON/THOMAS J. MATHIESEN

Olyver. *See* OLIVER.

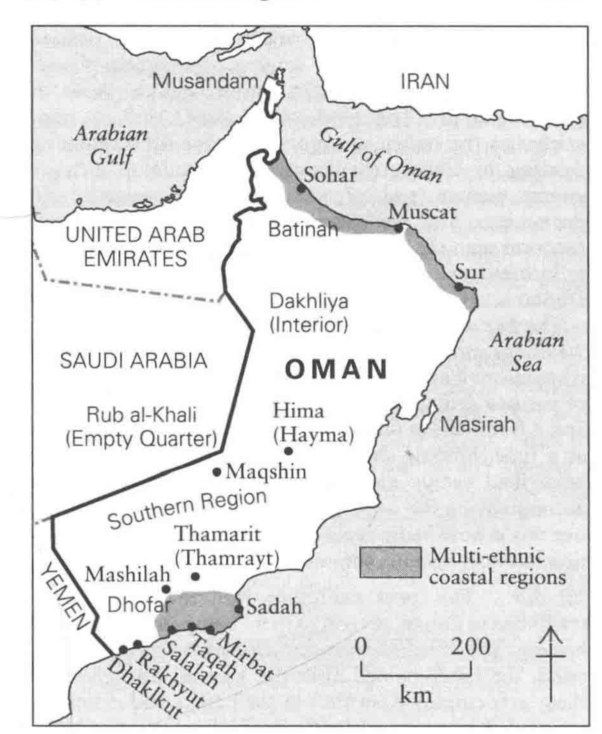
Oman. Country in south-eastern Arabia.

1. Introduction. 2. Cultural regions: (i) The Dhofar (ii) Sur (iii) The interior provinces (iv) The Batina. 3. Performers and performance events. 4. Musical instruments. 5. Documentation and research.

1. INTRODUCTION. The current territory of the Sultanate of Oman constitutes the core of a former empire of possessions and coastal trade routes that flourished in the first half of the 19th century. This declined into progressive isolation until 1970 when, following the discovery of oil, the present state was consolidated and gradually opened to global relations. The richness and diversity of performing practices in Oman in the late 20th century reflects historical trade relations and population movements, particularly those that brought substantial numbers of Africans and Baluchis to eastern Arabia. Omani society is transforming from a weakly governed tribal system into an Arab nation-state. The ongoing processes of negotiation among heterogeneous ethnic groups have drawn expressive behaviour into the centre of personal, social and national concerns; performances that combine music, poetry and dance are particularly important. Recent innovations also include a symphony orchestra in the capital, Muscat, and the legalization of dish antennas that give access to global television broadcasts.

2. CULTURAL REGIONS. Within Oman there are several broad cultural regions with distinctive characteristics (fig.1). The coastal areas are culturally and ethnically oriented towards the sea. Substantial populations of Baluch, Iranian and African origin on the north-eastern coastal plain (the Batina) have maintained specific practices, side-by-side with dominant sedentary Arabs and sedentarized Bedouins. The port city of Sur, on the central Omani coast, formerly a hub of the African slave trade, has its own heavily African traditions with strong Sudanese elements. The same applies to coastal Dhofar around the ports of Salala and Mirbat.

The interior, known as 'Inner Oman', is orientated towards the desert and adjoins the 'Empty Quarter' shared with Saudi Arabia. The population is almost exclusively Arab, with much emphasis on Bedouin values, tribal descent and an Islamic orthodoxy which discourages most



1. *Map of Oman*

musical performances and particularly proscribes the ownership and use of musical instruments. The mountains and southern coastal regions which border on Yemen have a proto-Arabic population practising distinct musical forms. The Musandam peninsula, the northernmost Omani exclave on the entrance to the Gulf of Oman, also has an autochthonous population with local musical traditions.

Regional characteristics have to be seen against pervasive commonalities that cross regions and genres. Dances with weapons in which two facing lines of dancers antiphonally recite poetry – much of it panegyric – or march in a procession, wielding guns, swords or sticks, are widespread. They are known as *'āzī*, *ayyāla*, *wahhābīyya*, *razfa* or *razḥa* in the north, and as *hubbūt* (for the processional form) in the south. These dances are associated with the Arab/Bedouin element that is culturally hegemonic in the evolving nation-state. Together with the recitation of Bedouin/Arab poetry in the assembly of men (*majlis*) and the performance on camel-back of Bedouin songs (*wanna* and *ṭaghrūd*), they have become the symbolic expression of Omani identity. This is privileged in state television broadcasts and at national events, to the exclusion of most other ethnically marked forms. Noteworthy exceptions are the 'sea arts' (*funūn al-baḥr*), which are folklorized revivals of sailors' work songs that recall the erstwhile Omani domination of the Indian Ocean. These have predominantly African characteristics and are performed by Omanis of African descent.

(i) The Dhofar. The towns of Salala and Mirbat are important centres for arts performed by professionals of African descent, many of them patronized by the sultan's court. The *rabūba* or *rabābab* (probably from *rabāb*, spike fiddle) is a dance in which two facing lines of men and

women pass through each other in a highly stylized pattern, accompanied by singing, drumming, hand-clapping and ululation. The drums include those of *musundu* type. The *shubāniyya* (fig.2), an art that celebrates the return of sailors, calls for the alternating dancing of elaborately dressed and made-up girls or young women and of men, to men's singing and drumming. The *shubāniyya*, having lost its original function with the disappearance of sailing ships, is being folklorized, as are several other African-Omani arts in the Dhofar and in Sur.

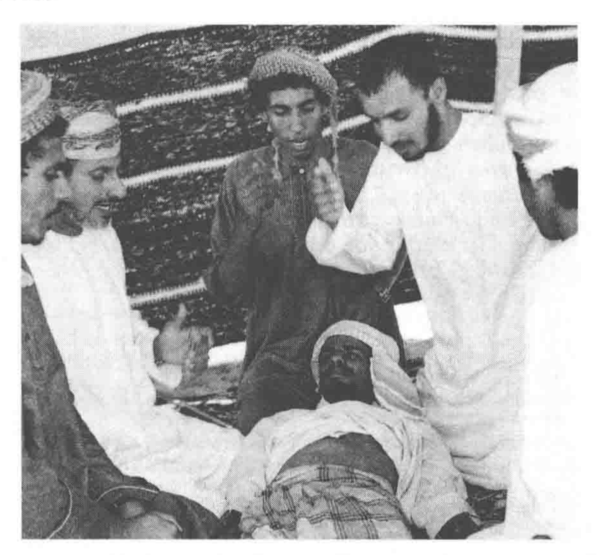
The *bar'a* in contrast, continues as an integral part of weddings and votive events. In this art a chorus of women responds to a male lead singer (*muṭrib*) within the texture of various drums including the small cylindrical *mirwās* and a frame drum (*daff*). Male spectators dance one pair at a time, holding short daggers and moving in tightly prescribed jumps and turns. The melodic instrument accompanying the *bar'a* was formerly the flute (*qaṣāba*), but this is now being replaced by the *'ūd* lute. Amplification has now become common.

(ii) Sur. This port maintains the strongest African traditions in Oman, several of them being associated with healing. These include *maydān*, *mikwāra*, and *ṭanbūra* or *nūbā*, the latter named after the East African lyre. All these arts employ Kiswahili in their texts and drums of *musundu* type along with cylindrical drums.

(iii) The interior provinces. West of the coastal belt, all of Oman is characterized by arts with predominantly Arab/Bedouin traits that correspond with those found elsewhere among Arabs in Southern Arabia. We find men's dances with weapons, the use of short strophes, a narrow melodic range (rarely exceeding a 5th), and overlapping cycles of metric patterns, melodic-textual phrases and dance movements. The most significant element of these arts is the versed poetry (*shalla*) in dialectic Arabic. This praises the sultan, *shaykh*s or a locality, or alternatively may narrate historical events or impart moral or practical advice. The Bedouin healing ritual (*ra'ba*) is enacted to treat snake bites and malaria (fig.3). It consists of the responsorial shouting of short, narrow-ranged melodic phrases by men kneeling closely along the stretched-out patient (*see* YEMEN, §I, 1(vi)).



2. Folklorized performance of shubāniyya dance formerly used to welcome returning sailors, Mirbat, 1991



3. Bedouin healing ritual (ra'ba), Maqshin oasis, 1991

(iv) The Batina. This wide northern plain, and in particular its coastal palm belt, houses a very diverse population, the result of migrations from the inner Gulf, southern Iran, Baluchistan and East Africa, and the progressive sedentarization of Bedouin nomads. Performance groups and arts mirror the ethnic situation. The masked dance and hand puppet theatre (*pakit*) of the Ajam people with poetry in a Persian dialect is found only in Sohar and Sahham. In Sohar, Sahham and the adjoining Muscat and Zahirah regions men and women participate in the *laro* dance. We also find the Baluch *sayrawan* performance, and the *mālid* religious ritual performed in its Shi'a and Sunni forms by long-settled Arabs. Certain repertories of women's songs (*ghinā' nisā'*) and men's dances (*kwāsa* and *liwā*) and the *zār* healing ritual are deemed to be the privilege of descendants of African slaves.

The arts with weapons, generically known as the *razīf* and associated with the Arab majority, represent tribal and residential groups through local variants of general Arab/Bedouin practices. In the *wahhābiyya* or *'ayyāla*, two lines of men face each other at a distance of ten to 15 metres, reciting in turn rhymed poetry over short phrases of narrow melodic range. Individual dancers (*zāfin*) carrying swords or other weapons circle counter-clockwise; they dance between the lines and may conduct sword duels. The accompaniment consists of at least the two cylindrical drums, *kāsir* and *raḥmānī*. The drummers, usually of African descent, 'visit' the lines in turn, whereupon the men lean on their long sticks, bow and hold their heads obliquely while nodding in synchrony with the drumbeats (fig.4). The cycles of melodic/poetic phrases, drumming patterns, drummers' visits and dance movements are of unequal length; they overlap and interlock, thus creating entities that are far greater than any of their components. In ex.1 two lines of dancers alternate in reciting the same text ('Greetings to our sultan, Qābūs bin Sa'īd') 12 times before they proceed to the next verse. The drum cycle is shorter than the melodic phrase/verse; the two come together only after eight repetitions. The movement cycle of the drummers and dancers (not notated here) is completed only after 24



4. *Wahhābiyya (or 'ayyāla) dance with individual dancers (zāfin) carrying weapons, Sohar, Oman, 1992*

verses. The underlying principle of multi-layered cycles is also found in other arts.

Women's songs (*ghinā nisā'*) are performed at weddings and circumcisions by groups known as *firaq al-dān*. These consist of a female or male lead singer (*muṭriba* or *muṭrib*), a chorus (*ḥarim*) and two drummers using *kāsir* and *raḥmānī*. Any member of a *firqat al-dān* may be male or female, although no males (apart from usually at least one drummer) are socially considered as men. Ḥalīma bint Amiīr leads the pre-eminent *firqat al-dān*, which consists solely of women of slave descent.

The *ghinī nisā'* texts consist largely of formulaic praise (*madīḥ*) of the celebrants, the locality or the sultan. They address ritual subjects during the application of henna and at other key phases of the wedding, and they may also draw on popular music of the Gulf region. Texts are presented in responsorial form, the chorus singing a refrain while hand-clapping or dancing. Since the mid-1970s amplification has become integral to the art.

Ex.1 Multi-layered performance of *wahhābiyya* dance with weapons: two lines of dancers alternate in reciting the same text, the drum cycle being shorter than the melodic phrase/verse (Sohar, 1990)

Voice
Qā - bū - s[i] bin Sa - 'īd yā sil - ṭā - n[i] - nā Qā - bū - s[i] bin Sa - 'īd
Drums: Kāsir (right, stick; left, stick); raḥmānī (right, stick, centre/rim; left, stick)
segue

Qa - bu - s[i] bin Sa - 'īd ya sil - ta - n[i] - na Qa - bu - s[i] bin Sa - 'īd
segue

Qa - bu - s[i] bin Sa - 'īd ya sil - ta - n[i] - na Qa - bu - s[i] bin Sa - 'īd
segue

Qa - bu - s[i] bin Sa - 'īd ya sil - ta - n[i] - na Qa - bu - s[i] bin Sa - 'īd
segue

Qurba is a new art which first appeared in Sahham in 1987. It evolved into a highly popular wedding entertainment particularly attracting young males. It is named after its lead instrument, the Scottish bagpipe, which 'sings' popular songs inspired by the Gulf repertory to the accompaniment of several drums and hand-clapping. *Qurba* also draws on other local arts, in particular *ghinā' nisā'*, *liwā*, and the *sūma* which, like *qurba*, permits individual male spectators to enter the performance circle with dance movements that include shoulder-shaking and emphasize the pelvis.

Mālid is a highly complex art that calls for the ability of 'readers' (*qurrā'*) to recite correctly from prose and rhymed writings about the life of the Prophet Muhammad, and for *hawwīm* to accompany their choral responses with stylized movements. The overlapping antiphony of readers and *hawwīm* in the *huwāma* section of the four-part *faṣil al-mālid* generates a form of polyphony highly unusual for West Asia.

The *Zār* (*see* SUDAN, §1 and YEMEN, §I, 7) ritual seeks to appease spirits (*rīḥ al-ḥammār* or *zār*) that have possessed individuals and afflicted them with maladies. It is enacted in various forms such as *'arabī*, *ḥabbash*, *sweḥlī*, each having different melodies, texts and rhythms and addressing different classes of spirits. In all cases, an *abū* or *umm al-zār* ('father or mother of *zār*') sings to the response of a chorus of men and women and over the loud beating of special *zār* drums of cylindrical or conical type which are believed to be inhabited by spirits. All elements of the *zār* cult, which is practised from the Sudan and Egypt to the Arabian Gulf, have prevailingly African characteristics.

3. PERFORMERS AND PERFORMANCE EVENTS. The Omani concept of performance is designated by the Arabic term *fann* (plural *funūn*; literally 'art'). This refers both to the enactment of expressive behavioural skills by an organized group on appropriate occasions and to the body of knowledge, rules and implements associated with such performances. *Fann* does not cover everything that outsiders might consider as 'music', such as the call to prayer (*adhān*), Qur'anic recitation, children's songs and work songs. On the other hand, *fann* extends to movement ('dance'), costumes and paraphernalia (e.g. weapons, incense-burners and amplification equipment), and also to norms of social behaviour.

The arts are enacted on appropriate occasions by formal invitation. The 'arts with weapons' (*razḥa*, etc.) are performed on National Day (18 November, as designated in 1970) and at the two major Muslim festivals, *'Īd al-fiṭr* and *'Īd al-aḍḥā*. This occurs by government order, directly in support of the national policy and hierarchy.

In this evolving nation-state the arts are an arena and medium for the negotiation of identity. Weddings and circumcision ceremonies call for enactments that differ regionally. In the Batina (northern coast) all weddings will have women's songs (*ghinā' al-nisā'*) including ritual henna songs, but additional arts depend on the ethnic identity the celebrants wish to project. If Bedouin, *razfa badawīyyah* is performed; if Baluch, the celebrants invite *laro* or *sayrawan* artists. If they wish to appear religious, there is a votive ritual in praise of the Prophet Muhammad (*mālid*, the local rendition of *mawlid*; *see* ISLAMIC RELIGIOUS MUSIC, §II, 4). The young and progressive patronize the *qurba* (see §(iv) below), while affluent urbanites seek to engage as many different groups as are available.

Performance of any art requires an organized group of people with the appropriate skills. The 'arts with weapons' are performed by teams (*firāq*, sing. *firqa*) that represent particular tribal or residential groups; they are not paid for their performances. Their leader (*ra'īs*, *'aqīd* or *mas'ūl*) and his helpers are usually determined by consent and confirmed by the respective *shaykh*; the general participants are volunteers from the male population. (In the Batina, circles of men who praise the Prophet Muhammad in performances of *mālid* are similarly constituted under a *khalīfa* and a *shawwūsh*.) YŪSIF AL-MAQBĀLI leads his village *wahhābiyya* team ('arts with weapons') and as a government functionary he organizes 'official' representation of Sohar province through the arts.

Other types of performance groups work for remuneration. They include men and women, almost always of African slave origin. These groups do not represent any larger social entity such as a tribe or village. They are also characterized by complex issues of ownership claimed through inheritance of the drums. ṬĀLIB BIN GHARĪB, who is of slave descent, is leader of a variety of slave-associated male arts.

Some slave-related professional groups include males known as *wilād al-hawā* ('sons of love') who are socially considered not to be men and may enter the spheres of non-related women. Women of slave descent have the freedom and privilege to perform before non-related men. This means that in gender-segregated events, performance groups containing 'slave' women and *wilād al-hawā* males may entertain and enact rituals in both the public/male and private/female domains.

4. MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS. The most prominent category of instruments, eponymic for enacting the arts, are the drums *ṭubūl*, (sing. *ṭabl*). 'Carrying the drums', 'making a (drum) beat', and 'having the drums' are all idiomatic expressions where *al-ṭabl* does not stand for a particular instrument but designates a social event (*ramsa*) at which music is performed. Several types of drums are common. Double-headed cylindrical drums in varying sizes have membranes which are tightened by lacing. They are usually played in pairs called *zāna* or *al-kāsir wa al-raḥmānī*. These terms refer to distinct musical functions, not necessarily to any particular size. The drums belong to an organological type found all over the Middle East and Europe. Of African origin are the conical drums usually called *musundu* or *msindu* whose single membrane is always attached with wooden pegs. Single-headed frame drums known as *ṭār* or *daff* are used in various forms or sizes, with or without attached rattles, by men or women; varying contexts include votive rituals, wedding and circumcision ceremonies and television entertainment. During weddings and circumcisions, they often appear together with pairs of small cymbals (*ṭūs*, sing. *ṭasa*).

Of the wind instruments, the double clarinet (*jifte*) is specific to the Baluch of the Batina. The oboe (*mizmār* or *ṣurnāy*) is the essential instrument of the *liwā* dance and is of the common West Asian type. The *jifte* and *mizmār* (which is difficult to play) are both being replaced by the Scottish bagpipe (*qurba*) introduced by military musicians, whose sound quality is perceived as similar. Side-blown trumpets (*barghūm*) made from antelope horns are on occasion used in the dances with weapons. The end-blown conch trumpet (*jim*), for which, locally, African

origins are claimed, is used in *liwā* and the *funūn al-baḥr*. The end-blown flute (*qaṣāba*) is reported only from the Dhofar and is now very rare, as is the spike fiddle *rabāba*. The six-string lyre (*ṭanbūra* or *nūbān*) of East African origin is played exclusively by musicians of African descent in Sur. The Egyptian and Lebanese type of short-necked lute (*'ūd*) is slowly expanding in popularity. In the south it has already replaced the flute and *rabāba*, and it is at the centre of a new performance genre, *'ūd*, that is finding its place in wedding celebrations.

5. DOCUMENTATION AND RESEARCH. The Oman Centre for Traditional Music in Muscat was established 1985. It conducts and sponsors research and houses a large and growing archive of video and audio documents relating to Oman traditional arts and crafts.

See also ARABIAN GULF; BEDOUIN MUSIC; and ISLAMIC RELIGIOUS MUSIC (with an illustration of *mālid*, fig. 4).

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DIETER CHRISTENSEN

Omar, Yusuf (*b* Baghdad, 1918; *d* Baghdad, 1986). Iraqi traditional singer. He was one of the greatest performers of the Iraqi *maqām* and the only professional singer in the 20th century to master the totality of its large repertory. He attended a Qur'anic school, then an elementary public school. He was brought up with a passion for the Iraqi *maqām* and took Mohammed al-Gubantchi as his model and master, following his performances and learning by observing him. Omar's musical tendency was naturally more conservative than his master's, and that led him to become a more traditional performer. In 1948 Omar joined the Baghdad radio station to present two concerts each month; this was the beginning of a lifelong and regular collaboration with the local media (both radio and television), and he remained the principal representative of traditional music until the end of his life. He presented almost all the *maqām*s on the television and illustrated them with explanations in a programme designed to introduce the *maqām* to the public. He participated in house concerts and was a regular performer in the religious rituals of *al mawled al nabawi* and the Sufi *dhikr*. He travelled extensively, invited either by Iraqi communities abroad or by Iraqi cultural centres, but remained unknown to the public who generally attended international festivals, as they were more used to *'ūd* performances. He preferred singing with the traditional *chālghī baghdādī* ensemble and the highly emotional quality of his interpretation often moved him and his audiences to tears. Three CDs published in France illustrate the quality of his art.

SCHEHERAZADE QASSIM HASSAN

Ombra (It.: 'shade'). A term used for an operatic scene involving the appearance of an oracle or demons, witches or ghosts. Such scenes can be traced back to the early days of opera and were commonplace in the 17th century in Italy (e.g. Monteverdi's *Orfeo*, Cavalli's *Giasone*) and in the French *tragédie en musique* (e.g. Lully's *Amadis*, Collasse's *Enée et Lavinie*). Operas based on the legends of Orpheus, Iphigenia and Alcestis provide numerous examples, extending well into the 18th century, including works by Jommelli and Gluck. Abert applied the term to certain accompanied recitatives by Hasse and Jommelli.

Ombra scenes proved popular with audiences not only because of the special stage effects employed but also because of the increasing use of awe-inspiring musical effects. By the end of the 18th century they had come to be associated with an elaborate set of musical features including slow sustained writing (reminiscent of church music), the use of flat keys (especially in the minor), angular melodic lines, chromaticism and dissonance, dotted rhythms and syncopation, pauses, tremolando effects, sudden dynamic contrasts, unexpected harmonic progressions and unusual instrumentation, especially involving trombones. Parallels can be drawn between these features and Edmund Burke's 'sublime of terror', thus placing *ombra* music in an important position in the context of 18th-century aesthetic theory.

Music incorporating *ombra* elements gradually began to appear outside opera, such as in oratorios (e.g. Handel's *Saul*), in parts of mass (especially requiem) settings and in instrumental music, most frequently in slow introductions to symphonies. It therefore provides a source for topical references for many composers. Mozart used the *ombra* style in his operas (e.g. the Oracle in *Idomeneo*, the Statue in *Don Giovanni*) and his instrumental writing (the slow introduction to the Prague symphony K504). Haydn's 'Representation of Chaos' in *The Creation* incorporates several *ombra* characteristics, as do the introductions to symphonies by Krommer and J.M. Kraus, among others.

Operas with supernatural scenes maintained their popularity into the 19th century, including Weber's *Der Freischütz*, Marschner's *Der Vampyr* and *Hans Heiling*, Berlioz's *Les Troyens* and various versions of Shakespeare's *Macbeth* and *Hamlet*. Schubert's *Der Doppelgänger* is a notable example of a song with *ombra* undertones. In the 20th century, *ombra* features can still

be found in opera, such as Britten's *The Turn of the Screw*, and the style has become a cliché in film music, most obviously in the horror genre.

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CLIVE McCLELLAND

O'Mara, Joseph (*b* Limerick, 16 July 1861; *d* Dublin, 5 Aug 1927). Irish tenor. He studied in Milan with Moretti and made his début at the Royal English Opera House, London on 4 February 1891 in the title role of Sullivan's *Ivanhoe*. After further study with Perini and Edwin Holland, he was engaged by Augustus Harris for a tour of the British Isles, singing Lohengrin, Walther, Don José and other roles. In 1896 he created Mike in Stanford's *Shamus O'Brien* at the Opera Comique, London. From 1902 to 1908 he was leading tenor of the Moody-Manners Company, and in 1910 joined Beecham's company at Covent Garden. In 1912 he founded the O'Mara Grand Opera Company, appearing often with it until 1924. In addition to producing the popular repertory, he mounted Catalani's *La Wally* and Kienzl's *Der Evangelimann*, given for the first time in English under the title of *The Apostle of St Omar* (1924, Dublin). O'Mara had a repertory of 67 roles.

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HAROLD ROSENTHAL/GEORGE BIDDLECOMBE

Omnitonic horn. A crooked horn, whereby all the crooks are incorporated into the instrument, enabling the player to select any key instantaneously. *See* HORN, §3(i).

ONCE. Group of American composers and avant-garde artists. The group evolved in the late 1950s in Ann Arbor, Michigan; its central figure was the composer Robert Ashley. Other composers who were members included Gordon Mumma, co-organizer with Ashley of the ONCE festivals, Roger Reynolds, who was active in the founding of the group and in the organization of the first festival, George Cacioppo, Donald Scavarda, Bruce Wise and, in later festivals, 'Blue' Gene Tyranny. Artists, filmmakers (notably George Manupelli), architects, poets and performance artists were all involved in ONCE mixed-media activities, and many guest composers and musicians took part. ONCE festivals were given annually during the period 1961–8, and the ONCE Group, a smaller performance art ensemble founded by Ashley, performed, recorded and toured from 1965 to 1969. After Ashley moved to California in 1969, ONCE activities declined in importance.

The most significant focus for avant-garde mixed-media activity in the Midwest during the 1960s, ONCE sponsored performances of works from the entire range of Cageian and post-Cageian experimental American music; its programmes also included music by prominent European contemporaries and works of the classic modernist repertory. The emphasis that ONCE played on mixed media had an influence on subsequent collaborative ventures in California and New York.

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JOHN ROCKWELL

Ondeggiando (It.). *See* ONDULÉ.

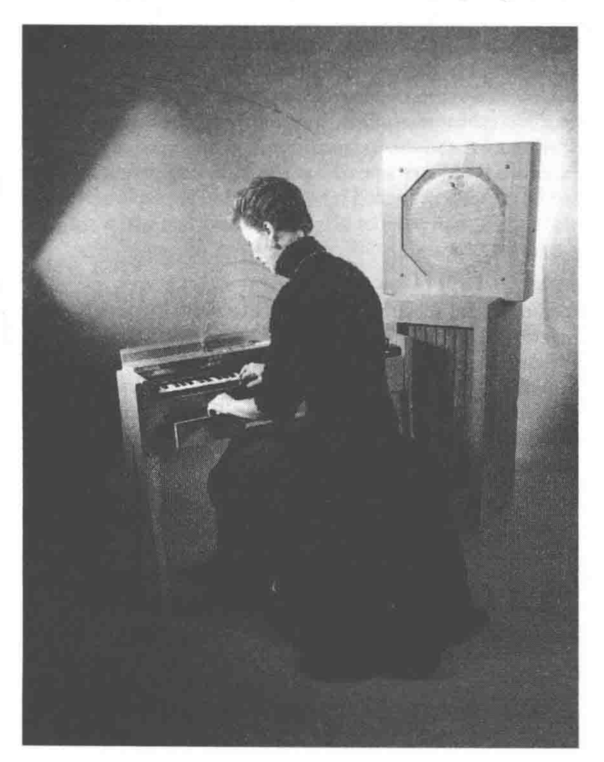
Ondes martenot (Fr. 'martenot waves'). A monophonic electronic instrument invented by Maurice Martenot (*b* Paris, 14 Oct 1898; *d* Clichy, nr Paris, 8 Oct 1980), whose original name for it was 'ondes musicales'. Martenot, who had studied piano, cello and composition at the Paris Conservatoire, first presented his instrument on 20 April 1928 as the soloist in Levidis's *Poème symphonique*. He was very active in promoting and developing the instrument (making a world tour in 1930–31), on which his sister Ginette became a leading performer (succeeded by Jeanne Loriod), and it soon found favour with a number of composers including Milhaud, Jolivet, Koechlin, Schmitt, Ibert and Honegger. Varèse first used it as a substitute for the sirens in a performance of *Amériques* (30 May 1929, Paris) and later replaced two theremins by ondes martenot in the revised version of *Ecuatorial*. Messiaen wrote for six ondes martenot in *Fêtes des belles eaux* (1937) and, more importantly, gave a prominent part to the instrument in the *Trois petites liturgies de la présence divine* (1943–4) and the *Turangalîla-symphonie* (1946–8), where the unmistakable association of the instrument with the human voice creates the impression of a goddess-like figure, without the human limitations of range or power. In 1947 Martenot established classes in the ondes martenot at the Paris Conservatoire, and in the same year Jolivet was the first of a dozen composers to write a concerto for it. Apart from concert works (over 700 by 1990) and much film music, it has also been employed in many French theatres, including the Comédie-Française, the Théâtre National Populaire and the Folies-Bergère. More than 70 performers in at least seven countries have at some time specialized in the instrument (with ensembles in France and Montreal), including the composers Pierre Boulez, Maurice Jarre and Gilles Tremblay (early in their careers), Paul Beaver, Tristan Murail and Thomas Bloch.

Some of the enthusiasm which composers felt for the instrument is conveyed by Honegger. In *Je suis compositeur* (Paris, 1951) he compared it with the double bassoon, writing 'The device known as ondes martenot could replace it with advantage. This instrument has power, a speed of utterance, which is not to be compared with those gloomy stove-pipes looming up in orchestras'. The ondes martenot is not specifically a bass instrument, however, for its range extends upwards beyond that of the piano.

The first two versions of the ondes martenot (1928) consisted of two units, in front of which the performer stood: the principal one had a 'pull-wire' operated by a ring for the right index finger, while the left hand manipulated controls on the other unit; a movable pointer above a dummy keyboard indicated the pitch. In the single console of the third version (1929) for a seated

player the pull-wire was replaced by a horizontal wire ribbon controller (*ruban*) incorporating the finger ring, in front of a dummy keyboard. The fourth version (1930) featured only a functioning keyboard and the fifth (1933) combined this with the ribbon controller. The right hand plays both the ribbon and the keyboard, of which each key is capable of slight lateral movement, microtonally shifting the pitch and enabling the performer to create a vibrato. Wide glissando sweeps and expressive portamentos are achieved by sliding the ribbon laterally by means of a ring for the index finger. The sound is produced by a beat-frequency oscillator, based on the heterodyne principle of a radio receiver; a further similarity may be seen in the movement of the pull-wire and ribbon, which, like that of the tuning dial in analogue radio sets, serve to open and close the interleaved plates of a variable capacitor inside the console. The left-hand controls, accessed from a pull-out drawer (seeillustration), feature switches and potentiometers that govern articulation, dynamics, envelope and timbre.

The instrument has been manufactured since 1929, briefly by Gaveau in Paris and from about 1931 by Martenot's own company, Laboratoire des Ondes Musicales Martenot (since the early 1950s called La Lutherie Electronique) at Neuilly-sur-Seine, near Paris. Following the more compact sixth version (1953) a transistorized version was introduced in 1974 and a digital one (designed by Christian Deforeit) in 1993. Non-professional models include one combined with a radio and turntable (*c*1950) and three simplified school models: with ribbon alone (*c*1950), with keyboard alone (1953) and with fewer controls (1980). Of striking design, the loudspeakers include three types based on resonated objects: the *palme* (sympathetic strings), the *diffuseur métallique* (tam-tam) and the *diffuseur à ressorts* (stretched coiled springs). The ondes martenot may be said to be one of the most successful electronic instruments developed before the synthesizer. Following Martenot's death the Association pour la Diffusion et le Développement des Ondes Martenot (ADDOM) was formed in 1981 in Neuilly-sur-Seine.



Ondes martenot played by Cynthia Millar, 1999

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RICHARD ORTON/HUGH DAVIES

Ondříček. Czech family of violinists.

(1) **Ignác Ondříček** (*b* Krušovice, 7 May 1807; *d* Prague, 8 Feb 1871). Violinist and conductor. He studied the violin with the village schoolmaster, Šimon Josef Antonín Pergler, who took him into his band. In 1839 he moved to Prague and later formed his own band (1855–70).

(2) **Jan Ondříček** (*b* Bělěc, 6 May 1832; *d* Prague, 13 March 1900). Violinist and conductor, son of (1) Ignác Ondříček. One of the most musically gifted of Ignác's children, he completed his violin studies with Mořic Mildner in Prague and studied theory under Dvořák (with whom he played in the famous Komzák ensemble). Like his father, he was a bandmaster; his ensemble reached a professional standard and formed the core of the orchestra with which the Czech theatre manager Pavel Švanda toured Bohemia. He also taught the violin and the piano. He had 15 children, six of whom outlived him as professional violinists.

(3) **František Ondříček** (*b* Prague, 29 April 1857; *d* Milan, 12 April 1922). Violinist and composer, son of (2) Jan Ondříček. From early childhood he played with his brothers in his father's ensemble. He studied the violin first with Mildner's pupil Jan Weber, and then at the Prague Conservatory with Antonín Bennewitz (1873–6). His accomplishments drew the attention of Wieniawski, who supported him during two years spent at the Paris Conservatoire under L.J. Massart; he left the Conservatoire with a *premier prix*. For two years he played at Pasdeloup's Concerts Populaires and performed elsewhere in France as well as in Brussels, Prague, London and Vienna. A significant event in his career was his giving the first performances of Dvořák's Violin Concerto, in Prague

on 14 October 1883 and in Vienna on 2 December 1883; by this time he was receiving invitations to play throughout Europe, the USA and eastern Russia. His repertory included all the major concertos; he also played solo and chamber works, thereby distinguishing himself from his contemporary violin virtuosos who almost unanimously preferred concertante arrangements and transcriptions.

Stimulated by the lack of original Czech works for the violin, he wrote pieces and composed paraphrases, fantasias and arrangements on themes from Slavonic composers including Smetana, Dvořák, Suk and Glinka. His contemporaries praised his brilliant and flawless technique, the richness of his tone, and the sensitivity and spontaneity of his expression. Appointed *Kammervirtuoso* in 1888, Ondříček settled in Vienna. He taught at the Vienna Conservatory (1909–12) and together with his pupil S. Mittelmann, a physician, he developed a playing methodology described in his *Neue Methode zur Erlangung der Meistertechnik des Violinspiels auf anatomisch-physiologischer Grundlage* (Vienna, 1909). For a time he devoted himself to quartet playing; his quartet took part in the Haydn celebrations in Vienna, playing 20 of Haydn's quartets in five concerts. After World War I he returned to Prague and directed the violin masterclass at the conservatory (1919–22).

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(*selective list*)

Vn, pf: Ballade, op.1, 1877; Bohemian Dances, op.3 (Berlin, 1891); Fantasia, on themes from Smetana's Prodaná nevěsta [The Bartered Bride], op.9 (Berlin, n.d.); Barcarole, op.10 (Berlin, *c*1910); Romance, op.12 (Berlin, 1892); Bohemian Dance, from The Bartered Bride, arr., op.15 (Berlin, 1895); Fantasia, on themes from Glinka's Zhizn' za tsarya [A Life for the Tsar], op.16, 1889 (Berlin, 1900); Nocturne, op.17, 1900 (Prague, 1900); Scherzo capriccioso, op.18, 1901 (Prague, 1901); Bohemian Rhapsody, op.21 (Leipzig, 1907)

Other works: Str Qt, op.22, 1907 (Prague, 1941); cadenzas to vn concs. by Viotti, Paganini, Grädener, Spohr, Brahms, Mozart (K219, Prague, 1942); rev. of Smetana: Z domoviny [From the Homeland] (Vienna, 1915)

(4) **Emanuel Ondříček** [Ondricek] (*b* Plzeň, 6 Dec 1880; *d* Boston, 30 Dec 1958). Violinist, son of (2) Jan Ondříček. He studied music with his father and at the Prague Conservatory with Ševčík (1894–9). As a violin virtuoso he gave concerts in Russia, the Balkans, Pest, Vienna, Berlin and London (where he first appeared under the pseudonym of Ploris), and made a successful tour of the USA. However, after 1912 he devoted himself exclusively to teaching. In Boston and New York he founded the Ondricek Studios of Violin Art, where his sisters Mary and Augusta also taught. He was a popular teacher, and shortly before his death he was appointed professor of violin at Boston University. His compositions include a string quartet (1924) and violin pieces (some of them arrangements). His teaching experience is contained in his book *The Mastery of Tone-Production and Expression on the Violin* (1931).

(5) **Stanislav Ondříček** (*b* Prague, 23 Aug 1885; *d* Prague, 16 July 1953). Violinist, son of (2) Jan Ondříček. He studied with Ševčík at the Prague Conservatory. He was a violin teacher in Russia, Zagreb and New York; from 1923 until his death he taught in music schools in Czechoslovakia.

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JIŘÍ VYSLOUŽIL

Ondříček Quartet. Czech string quartet. It was formed in 1921 under another name by graduates from the Prague Conservatory: Jaroslav Pekelský (*b* Sobotka, 22 Jan 1898; *d* Prague, 12 Jan 1978), violin; Kamil Vyskočil (*b* Prague, 25 Feb 1894; *d* Prague, 20 Dec 1932), violin; Vincenc Zahradník (*b* Tábor, 10 May 1899; *d* Prague, 13 April 1967), viola; Bedřich Jaroš (*b* Radonice nad Ohří, 2 Feb 1896; *d* Prague, 7 Dec 1977), cello. In 1922, after performing Ondříček's Quartet in A♭, and with the composer's consent, the name was changed and the players left the relative security of the Czech Philharmonic organization to devote themselves, under difficult conditions, wholly to chamber music. They began touring abroad in 1924, and from 1927 to 1954 they had a permanent engagement with Czech Radio. After the death of Vyskočil in 1932, Pekelský became second violin, and the first violin was Richard Zika (*b* Vsetín, 9 Jan 1897; *d* Prague, 10 Nov 1947), and after him Josef Holub (*b* Holice v Čechách, 23 Feb 1902; *d* Brno, 11 May 1973). In 1932 the quartet worked with Suk, modelling their style on that of the Czech Quartet. Their regular radio concerts required them to perform a wide repertory. After the war they resumed touring abroad, visiting Britain and the Netherlands in 1946, but when Holub left the quartet in 1956, their activities virtually ceased. The players taught at the Prague Conservatory and Academy.

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ALENA NĚMCOVÁ

Ondulé (Fr.; It. *ondeggiando*). A term, or variants of it, used in the 19th century for various ways of creating an undulation in the sound – hence it was occasionally used to describe vibrato. More commonly, however, it referred to a 'wavy' motion executed by moving the bow back and forth across two or more adjacent strings, a device found in violin literature as early as the 17th century. It is, thus, similar to BARIOLAGE. Habeneck (*c*1835) emphasizes that the technique requires a free arm and flexible wrist. *See* BOW, §II, 2(viii).

PETER WALLS

Onegin [Onégin; née Hoffmann], **(Elisabeth Elfriede Emilie) Sigrid** [Lilly] (*b* Stockholm, 1 June 1889; *d* Magliaso, Switzerland, 16 June 1943). Franco-German contralto and mezzo-soprano. Though often described as Swedish, she was in fact the daughter of a French father and a German mother. She sang first as Lilly Hoffmann; after her marriage to Baron Eugene Borisovitch Lvov Onégin (1883–1919) – a Russian émigré, pianist and composer who had adopted the surname of Pushkin's celebrated hero – she used the name Lilly Hoffmann-Onégin, but soon adopted the professional name by which she was to become famous. She studied in Munich and Milan, and later had lessons or advice from Lilli Lehmann and Margarete Siems. She was first engaged by the Stuttgart Opera in 1912; but from 1919 to 1922, after her husband's early death, she was a member of the Hofoper in Munich, and in 1920 married Dr Fritz Penzoldt. She had two Metropolitan Opera seasons (1922–4) and one at Covent Garden (1927), in both houses singing only Amneris and

Wagner roles; she also sang at Salzburg (Gluck's Orpheus, 1931–2) and at Bayreuth (1933–4). Onegin's greatest successes were in concerts, in which she would often sing Rossini arias; she was also a notable interpreter of Brahms's Alto Rhapsody. She had the finest and most highly trained voice of its kind since Schumann-Heink, whose repertory and manner of singing she emulated without approaching the older singer's fire and communicative power. Notwithstanding her rich tone and astonishing technique, her recordings suggest also something marmoreal in their smoothness and coldness of style.

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DESMOND SHAWE-TAYLOR

O'Neill, Dennis (*b* Pontardulais, 25 Feb 1948). Welsh tenor. He studied at Sheffield University and with Frederick Cox, and after solo appearances with Scottish Opera's 'Opera for All' (1971) he joined the Glyndebourne chorus (1974) and sang at the Wexford Festival. During two seasons as principal tenor with South Australian Opera, he created a role in Sitsky's *Fiery Tales* (1976). Thereafter he sang lyric roles with Scottish Opera and the WNO, then studied further in Italy with Ettore Campogalliani and Luigi Ricci. His débuts at Covent Garden in 1979 as Flavio (*Norma*) and at Glyndebourne in 1980 as the Italian Tenor (*Der Rosenkavalier*) were followed by leading roles in both theatres and with the ENO. In 1983 he made débuts in the USA at Dallas as Edgardo (*Lucia*) and at the Vienna Staatsoper as Alfredo, a role he also sang with the Metropolitan Opera on tour in 1986 before singing Rodolfo with them in New York the next year. In 1990 he sang Gabriele Adorno in Cologne and Foresto (*Attila*) at Covent Garden, and has subsequently expanded his Verdi repertory to include such roles as Radames, Don Alvaro (*La forza del destino*), Macduff and Otello. O'Neill combines a fine-spun Italianate tone with an intelligent perception of style and character. His recordings include Cavaradossi, Dick Johnson (*La fanciulla del West*) and Verdi's Requiem. A governor of the Welsh College of Music and Drama, he has set up a bursary in his own name to help young WNO singers to study abroad.

NOËL GOODWIN

O'Neill, Francis (*b* Tralibane, Co. Cork, 28 Aug 1848; *d* Chicago, 28 Jan 1936). Irish musician, collector and publisher. Born of farming stock in an Irish-speaking area, O'Neill showed early intellectual promise and played the traditional flute from youth. He went to sea as a teenager and sailed around the world before being shipwrecked and landed in America, where he joined the Chicago police force in 1873 and rose through the ranks to become Chief of Police 1901–5. With a fellow policeman James O'Neill (1863–1947, no relation) as scribe, he began from the 1880s preserving in manuscript melodies remembered from his childhood. He then expanded this activity to collecting Irish music from the many traditional Irish musicians resident in Chicago and from printed and manuscript sources. In 1903 he produced *O'Neill's Music of Ireland: Eighteen Hundred and Fifty Melodies*, the largest collection of Irish music ever published. This was followed by other Chicago-compiled tune collections, chiefly: *The Dance Music of Ireland* (1907), *O'Neill's Irish Music* (2/1915), *Waifs and Strays of Gaelic Melody* (2/1924). The two latter were arranged for piano by Selena O'Neill (no relation). O'Neill also wrote two studies of Irish traditional music which contain a wealth of musical and biographical information: *Irish Folk Music: a Fascinating Hobby* (1910) and *Irish Minstrels and Musicians* (1913). O'Neill's publications, which are mostly still kept in print, were ground-breaking in preserving Irish dance music and have had a great impact on the course of the music in the twentieth century.

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NICHOLAS CAROLAN

O'Neill, Norman (Houstoun) (*b* London, 14 March 1875; *d* London, 3 March 1934). English composer and conductor. After studying with Somervell in London (1890–93) he worked under Iwan Knorr in Frankfurt at the Hoch Conservatory (1893–7), where at various times his colleagues were Balfour Gardiner, Cyril Scott, Grainger and Quilter (often known as the 'Frankfurt group' or 'gang'). Although he enjoyed modest success with some of his chamber and orchestral works, particularly before the war, he found his niche in the theatre, where he showed unrivalled skill in the composition of incidental music, a genre in which he produced over 50 scores. Between 1901 and 1908 he wrote incidental music for various theatres in collaboration with John Martin-Harvey. He was permanent conductor of the Theatre Royal, Haymarket, from 1909 to 1919 and from 1920 to 1932, with a temporary move to the St James's Theatre (1919–20). At the Haymarket he won acclaim for his music to Maurice Maeterlinck's *The Blue Bird* (1909), Lord Dunsany's *The Golden Doom* (1912) and especially J.M. Barrie's *Mary Rose* (1920). From 1916 to 1934 O'Neill was treasurer of the Royal Philharmonic Society. A close friend of Delius, he did much to support performances of the composer's work in London. In 1924 he joined the teaching staff of the RAM and also examined for the Associated Board. His wife, Adine O'Neill (née Ruckert), a concert pianist, was for a time London critic of the *Monde musical* and in 1903 became head music mistress at St Paul's Girls' School, Hammersmith.

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Mary Rose (J.M. Barrie), London, 1920; Quality Street (Barrie), London, 1921; The Merchant of Venice (Shakespeare), New York, 1922; Success (A.A. Milne), 1923; A Kiss for Garlands (Barrie), London, 1924; Kismet (E. Knoblock), London, 1925; The Man with the Load of Mischief (A. Dukes), London, 1925; Mr Pickwick (C. Hamilton, F.C. Reilly, after C. Dickens), London, 1928; The Ivory Door (Milne), London, 1929; Measure for Measure (Shakespeare), London, 1929; Henry V (Shakespeare), London, 1933

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Orch: Suite, op.3, str, 1893–7; In Autumn, op.8, ov., 1901; Miniatures, op.14, small orch, 1904; In Springtime, op.21, ov., 1905–6; Miniatures, op.25, 1908; Theme and Variations on an Irish Air, op.29, 1910; A Scotch Rhapsody, op.30, 1911; Humoresque, op.47, ov., 1913; Hornpipe, op.48, 1916; Irish Jig, chbr orch, 1923; Festal Prelude, 1927; 2 Shakespearean Sketches, 1928
Vocal orch: Death on the Hills, op.12 (R. Newmarch), A, orch; La belle dame sans merci, op.31 (J. Keats), Bar, orch; The Farmer and the Fairies (H. Asquith), spkr, orch
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JEREMY DIBBLE

One-step. A fast ballroom dance. It was made popular in New York and England about 1910 by the dancers Vernon and Irene Castle (one variant was called the 'Castle walk'). Danced to a fast march in 2/4 or 6/8 time, at about 60 bars per minute, it consisted of a simple walking step for eight counts with a pivot on the first. By World War I it had spread throughout North America and western Europe. It adopted elements of ragtime (particularly danced to Irving Berlin's *Alexander's Ragtime Band*, 1911), and from about 1912 was gradually absorbed into the various 'trot' dances.

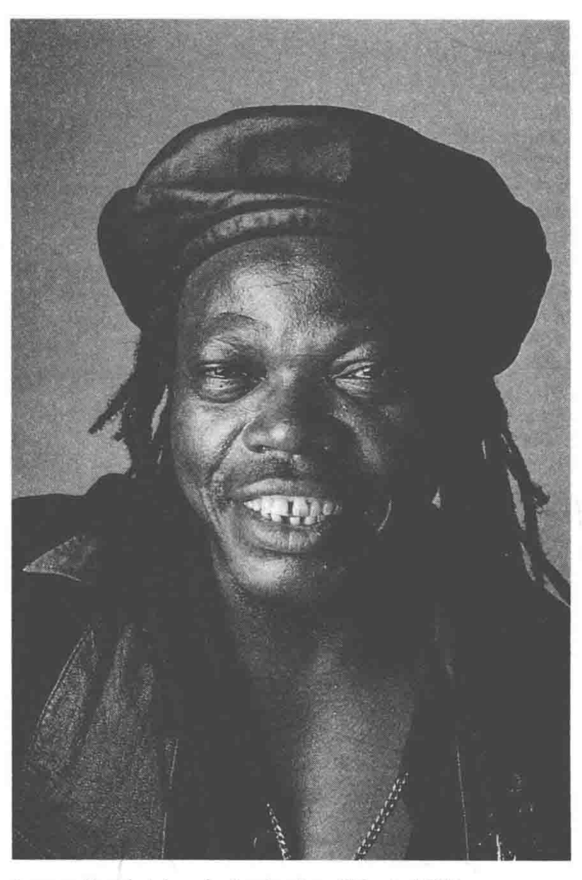
See also DANCE, §7.

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□

Ongala, Remmy [Ramadhani Ongala Mtoro, Dr Remmy] (*b* Kindu, Belgian Congo [now Democratic Republic of Congo], 1947). Tanzanian composer, guitarist and singer. In 1969 Ongala moved to Uganda; he later moved to Kenya to join the band Orchestra Makassy, before settling in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. After the dissolution of Orchestra Makassy in the early 1980s, he joined and later became the leader of the Orchestra Super Matimila. The socially oriented lyrics of Ongala's songs and the guitar-driven sound of Orchestra Super Matimila appealed to promoters of WOMAD (World of Music, Arts and Dance) in the late 1980s, and Ongala's exposure to international audiences and his recording sessions in Europe confirmed for him a major role in the international development and promotion of African urban musics. His music typically includes three guitars, saxophones, bass, drums, and lead and backup vocals, and his style reflects influences of earlier Congolese musical genres blended with indigenous rhythms and guitar playing styles of East Africa; he credits Franco as an early influence. Ongala, often referred to as 'the Voice of Tanzania', communicates to and for the poor and disaffected, as is reflected in the political and social commentary of many of his songs' lyrics, most of which are in KiSwahili. Ongala refers to his music as *ubongo*, intelligent or 'brain' music; his songs force people to reflect on the issue of inequality and the need for increased AIDS awareness.



Remmy Ongala (photo by Stephen Lovell-Davis, 1998)

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GREGORY F. BARZ

Ongarelli, Rosa. *See* UNGARELLI, ROSA.

Ono, Yoko (*b* Tokyo, 18 Feb 1933). American composer and performance artist of Japanese descent. She attended Sarah Lawrence College, where she studied music and philosophy. She married Ichiyanagi in 1956. In the early 1960s the couple's Manhattan apartment became the site of many performance events; several of the artists who performed there were later associated with Fluxus. Dubbed 'the high priestess of the happening', Ono was a pioneer in the conceptual art movement. She once claimed that 'the only sound that exists ... is the sound of the mind'. Her conceptual scores, described by Maciunas as 'Neo-Haiku Theater', often consist of only brief instructions. *Earth Piece* (1963), for example, instructs the performer to 'listen to the sound of the earth turning'. In *Cut Piece* (1964), Ono invited the audience to cut up her dress. A specialist in extended vocal techniques, her first performance in sound (1961) featured screams, sighs, moans, gasps and multi-phonics. After her marriage to John Lennon in 1969, the couple performed with the Plastic Ono Band, fusing rock and avant-garde styles.

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The Bronze Age (Detroit, 1989)
To See the Skies (Milan, 1990)

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DAVID W. BERNSTEIN

Onori [Onorii], **Romualdo.** *See* HONORIO, ROMUALDO.

Onslow, (André) George (Louis) (*b* Clermont-Ferrand, 27 July 1784; *d* Clermont-Ferrand, 3 Oct 1853). French composer of English descent. His father Edward Onslow came to France in 1781, and two years later married Marie-Rosalie de Bourdeilles de Brantôme. The eldest of four sons, George probably studied the piano in England with J.N. Hüllmandel while still very young. From January 1799 to July 1800 he studied the piano with J.L. Dussek in Hamburg, and then seems to have completed his musical education in England with J.B. Cramer. He recognized his musical vocation in 1801 when he heard the overture to Méhul's *Stratonice*. A gifted amateur, he wrote his first works (opp.1–4) before 1807; they were published by Pleyel. He married Delphine de Fontanges in July 1808. In the same year he asked Reicha, who had just arrived in Paris, to teach him composition. After these lessons he wrote string trios, quartets and quintets, and took up the cello so that he could play chamber music with his friends. He divided his time between the provinces and the capital, spending the winter months in Paris, where he could have his latest works played, particularly at the quartet performances held by Baillot, the Dancla brothers and Tilmant. During the summer of 1829 he had a near-fatal accident when out hunting. While convalescing, he composed the last three movements of a quintet he had begun before the accident. This quintet, op.38, known as 'De la balle', remained the composer's mascot. In 1830 Onslow became the second honorary member of the London Philharmonic Society. In general, he maintained close and friendly relations with the English musical world, particularly with John Ella, George F. Anderson and Dussek's nephew Pio Cianchettini. In 1834 he was elected president of the Athénée Musical. He succeeded Cherubini at the Académie des Beaux-Arts in 1842, and his career became established in these years. He was a founder member of the Association des Artistes Musiciens (1843) and was invited to the Aachen music festival in 1846. Inspired by this visit, he offered the committee of the Niederrheinisches Musikfest his Symphony no.4. It was accepted, and the composer was invited to conduct it at Cologne the next year. This journey must have been his last outside France. In 1852 he was affected by rheumatic pains and failing sight in the left eye, and gave up composing for ever.

Onslow's wealth made him musically independent, freeing him from material constraints and allowing him to devote himself to chamber music without concerning himself with the tastes of the French public. However, he felt a true passion for operatic composition; the existence of an opera (*Les deux oncles*) in autograph manuscript dating from 1806 shows that he had tried his hand at this genre at the same time as composing his very first quintets. This interest in opera is also evident in the composer's correspondence. Although his three operatic works *L'alcade de la vega*, *Le colporteur* and *Guise* were given as comic operas at the time, it is clear that they approached the grand opera genre, which explains the notably cool reception they received from the critics, who thought it inappropriate to stage such dramatic works at the Opéra-Comique. Onslow's operatic language shows a certain monotony in its style. The vocal line is seldom independent of the orchestral accompaniment, and the composer resorts to over-repetitive devices (vocal duets developing in 3rds, scales, chromatic lines, homorhythmic choruses etc.). The large intervals, difficult sequences and excessive chromatism are fairly demanding on the voice. Onslow's instrumental music developed in relatively clear-cut periods. From 1807 to 1832 there is a clear predilection for piano works and string quintets.

Although the majority of his works for solo piano are youthful productions of no real interest, the duos and trios contain pre-Romantic features similar to those found in Hummel, and are of incontestable quality, if formally rather rigid. They are unusual in France at this time for the equal importance assigned to each instrument. Onslow's string quartets and quintets come at the peak of his compositional career. His youthful quartets (opp.8, 9 and 10) are notable for great flexibility of writing, exceptional rhythmic and melodic charm, and great vitality. They are

clear successors to the *quatuor brillant* and the Classical tradition. Between 1817 and 1831 Onslow composed very little for quartet, but in 1832 he returned to form with new and sudden verve. This was probably linked with his discovery of Beethoven's late quartets, which shocked and fascinated him. He composed the most significant of all his quartets (opp.46-56) within three years. With all four instruments now essential to the discourse, these works show great emotional intensity, opening up the way to new harmonic and rhythmic daring, and they contain movements of striking beauty. Finally, from 1835 to 1846, the year when he stopped composing quartets, Onslow moved away from melodic writing to concentrate on more complex thematic structures. This cost him some lack of understanding on the part of the critics, who missed the style and melodic charm of the early works.

The string quintets were composed for an interesting diversity of ensembles. The first, dating from 1806 to 1825 (opp.1 to 25) were written for two violins, viola and two cellos (a viola part being provided to replace the first cello if necessary). After hearing the double-bass player Dragonetti in London, Onslow replaced the second cello with a double bass (opp.32 to 35). With op.37 and its successors he favoured two cellos again, but all the quintets were published with two extra parts, allowing them to be played in any of these combinations. Like the quartets, these quintets bear witness to the richness of Onslow's musical development, which departs from Classicism and embraces a style of composition in which a surprising anticipation of the language of Brahms is apparent. Some of these quintets must undeniably be placed among the great masterpieces of 19th-century chamber music. The end of the composer's life saw him returning to the piano within larger chamber ensembles (the quintets op.76, the sextet op.77b and the septet op.79), probably because of a fashion for large ensembles at the time. These last works, evidence of a delayed pre-Romanticism, do not compare with their predecessors.

Onslow's work was particularly successful in Germany and Austria throughout the first half of the 19th century, as the many editions of his works show. Kistner and Breitkopf & Härtel, in particular, competed for the privilege of publishing Onslow in the German-speaking countries. This passion for a composer compared in turn to Mozart, Beethoven, Schubert and Mendelssohn progressively died down towards the middle of the century. He was less famous in France. His chamber works, although regularly played in musicians' salons, were described as erudite and serious and did not become popular with the general public.

WORKS

all printed works published in Paris

STAGE

Les deux oncles, 1806, unperf.

L'alcade de la vega (drame lyrique, Bujac), Paris, OC, 10 Aug 1824, vs (Paris, 1824)

Le colporteur, ou L'enfant du bûcheron (oc, E. Planard), Paris, OC, 22 Nov 1827, vs (Paris, 1827)

Guise, ou Les états de Blois (drame lyrique, Planard and J.H. Vernoy de Saint-Georges), Paris, OC, 8 Sept 1837, vs (Paris, 1837)

Caïn maudit, ou La mort d'Abel (grande scène dramatique, Saint-Hilaire), B, orch, pf, vs (Paris, 1846)

ORCHESTRAL, CHAMBER MUSIC WITHOUT PIANO

Syms: no.1, A, op.41 (*c*1830); no.2, D, op.42 (*c*1831); no.3, f [arr. of str qnt op.32]; no.4, G, op.71 (1846)

Nonet, A, fl, ob, cl, hn, bn, vn, va, vc, db, op.77 (1849); Wind Qnt, F, fl, ob, cl, hn, bn, op.81 (1852)

34 str qnts [2vn, 2va, vc, or 2vn, va, 2vc, or 2vn, va, vc, db], opp.1 (e, E♭, d), 17 (g), 18 (D), 19 (e), 23 (E♭), 24 (d), 25 (C), 32 (f), 33 (B♭), 34 (a), 35 (G), 37 (F), 38 (c) (La balle), 39 (e), 40 (b), 43 (E♭), 44 (c), 45 (d), 51 (g), 57 (E♭), 58 (a), 59 (D), 61 (f), 67 (c), 68 (D), 72 (g), 73 (E♭), 74 (e), 75 (A), 78 (d), 80 (c), 82 (E)

37 str qts, opp.4 (B♭, D, a), 8 (c, F, A), 9 (g, C, f), 10 (G, d, E♭), 21 (B♭, e, E♭), 36 (e, E♭, D) [arr. of pf trios op.14], 46 (f♯, F, g), 47 (C), 48 (A), 49 (e), 50 (B♭), 52 (C), 53 (d), 54 (E♭), 55 (d), 56 (c), 60 [arr. of themes from *Guise*], 62 (B♭), 63 (b), 64 (c), 65 (g), 66 (D), 69 (A)

PIANO, CHAMBER MUSIC WITH PIANO

Septet (B♭), fl, ob, cl, hn, bn, db, pf, op.79 (1852)

2 sextets, fl, cl, hn, bn, db, pf, opp.30 (E♭) (1825) 77bis (a) (1849) [arr. of nonet, op.77]

3 qnts, vn, va, vc, db, pf, opp.70 (b) (*c*1846), 76 (G) (*c*1848) [arr. of sym op.71], 79bis (B♭) (1852) [arr. of septet, op.79]

10 trios, vn, vc, pf, opp.3 (A, C, g) (1808), 14 (e, E♭, D) (1818), 20 (d) (1823), 26 (c) (1824), 27 (G) (1824), 83 (f) (1853)

6 duos, vn, pf, opp.11 (D, E♭, f) (1818), 15 (F) (1819), 29 (E) (1825), 31 (g) (1826)

3 Duos (F, c, A), vc/va, pf, op.16 (1820)

2 duos, pf 4 hands, opp.7 (e) (*c*1811), 22 (f) (*c*1824)

Sonata (c), op.2 (1807); Air écossais varié, E♭, op.5 (1811); Thème anglais varié, A, op.28 (*c*1811); Toccata, C, op.6 (1811); Charmante Gabrièle, E♭, op.12 (1817); Introduction, variations et finale sur 'Aussitôt que la lumière', g, op.13 (*c*1817); 6 pièces, E♭, A, A♭, b♭, E, E (*c*1848); Fantasie sur ''ange gardien' (*c*1849)

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VIVIANE NIAUX

Ontology. *See* PHILOSOPHY OF MUSIC, §IV, 1.

Ontong Java. *See* MELANESIA, §IV, 3(i).

Onzième (Fr.). *See* ELEVENTH.

Oord [Oort], **van.** *See* VAN NOORDT family.

Oosterzee, Cornélie van (*b* Batavia [now Jakarta], 16 Aug 1863; *d* Berlin, 12 Aug 1943). Dutch composer. She studied the piano with C.L.W. Wirtz and music theory with Willem Nicolaï in The Hague. She then went to Berlin to study composition with Rudolf Radecke. After a brief return to the Netherlands, where she received counterpoint tuition from Samuel de Lange, she returned to Berlin to study instrumentation with Heinrich Urban. Her first orchestral work, *Jolanthe*, was performed by the Concertgebouw Orchestra for the opening of the new city theatre in Amsterdam in 1894. Both this and her next work, *Nordische fantasie*, were frequently performed. In 1896 she conducted the first Dutch performance of a four-movement suite, *Königs-Idyllen*, inspired by Tennyson's *Idylls of the King*. In 1898 she wrote and conducted a festive cantata for the opening of the Nationale Tentoonstelling Vrouwenarbeid (National Exhibition of Women's Work) held in The Hague. In 1900 her symphony won second prize from the Allgemeine Deutsche Musikverein and was performed that same year by the Concertgebouw Orchestra conducted by Mengelberg. In 1910 her opera *Das Gelöbnis* was first performed in the Weimar Hoftheater. She regularly contributed articles to the Dutch music magazines *Weekblad voor muziek* and *Caecilia* and ran a column, 'Letters from Berlin', in the *Algemeen Handelsblad*. Through these articles we learn that she greatly admired the music of Wagner and Richard Strauss. Van Oosterzee was knighted by the Order of Oranje-Nassau in 1897 and invited to become a corresponding member of the Maatschappij tot Bevordering der Toonkunst (Association for the Promotion of Music) in 1901. Little is known about the last 25 years of her life. After she died the *Algemeen Handelsblad* ran an article on her, noting that her music had gradually disappeared from programmes because of the increasing attention to younger composers. All Van Oosterzee's large-scale works are lost, perhaps destroyed in Berlin during World War II. Her opera *Das Gelöbnis* is an example of Italian *verismo* in which blood feud, murder and vendetta predominate. Her chamber music is diverse, from simple piano works influenced by her stay in Indonesia (such as the *Javanischen Tanz* and *Malaüshchen Wiegenliedchen* from the *Sechs leichte Stüke* for piano duet), to salon music typical of the 1920s (*Zwei Phantasiestücke* for piano trio). Her German lieder reflect the influence of Schumann and Brahms, her French songs that of Berlioz.

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(*selective list*)

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Orch: Jolanthe, ov. 1984, ?lost; Nordische fantasie, 1895; Königs-Idyllen (after A. Tennyson), 1896, lost; Sym., f, 1900, lost

Chbr and solo inst: Str Qt, *c*1888, lost; Pf Qt, c♯, *c*1890, lost; Str Qnt, B♭, *c*1892, lost; Fête costumée, op.15, pf, 1899; 2 Phantasiestücke, op.18, vn, vc, pf, 1900; 4 petites valses capricieuses, op.23, pf; 3 fantaisiestukjes, pf; 6 leichte Stücke, op.55, pf, 1903; Sonata 'Italia', pf, 1903; 3 fantasias, op.58, pf, 1905; Chansons sentimentales, op.54, pf, 1905; Carnaval, 3 fantaisies, op.58, pf, 1905; 6 leichte Stücke, op.55, pf 4 hands, 1905

Vocal: 3 Lieder (H. Heine, P. Heyse), op.3, 1v, pf; Tannhäuserleid (J. Wolff), op.7, 1v, pf; 4 Gesänge, op.12, medium v, pf, 1897; Te Bethlehem (P. de Mont), op.14, SATB, 1899; 2 Gesänge, op.19, 1v, pf, 1900; 2 Stimmungsgedichte (E.A. Hermann, C. Morgenstern), op.21, 1v, pf, 1901; 3 Liebeslieder (G. Klett, Morgenstern, D. von Liliencron), op.22, 1v, pf, 1901; Vieux airs de la Marquise, op.25, 1v, pf; Droomevrouw, kom!, SSA; Madonna, SATB; Berusting, SATB; Avond, SATB; 2 Lieder (L. Rafael, E. Otten), op.59, 1v, pf, 1905; Mignonne (d'Armand Silvestre), 1v, pf; Tanzlied (O.J. Bierbaum), 1v, pf

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HELEN METZELAAR

Opava (Ger. Troppau). Town in Silesia, Czech Republic. It is the former Silesian regional capital, with a bilingual Czech-German cultural history. From 1656 to 1660 Pavel Josef Vejvanovský studied at the Jesuit college in Opava. Carl Ditters von Dittersdorf worked in nearby Johannisberg and composed operas for the theatre of the local castle. Beethoven gave concerts in a nearby castle in Hradec nad Moravicí (Ger. Grätz) in 1806 and 1811, as did Liszt in 1841 (Liszt also performed in Opava in 1846 and 1848). Pavel Křížkovský, Janáček's teacher, won a scholarship in Opava in 1832; he studied at the local grammar school from 1834 to 1839. The composer, pianist and organist Eduard Mestenhauser (1832–1912) founded the German Singakademie in 1874; J.F. Hummel (1841–1919) was conductor there and for the German men's choir, 1863–73. Other musicians active in Opava were Bruckner's disciple Ludwig Grande (1865–1940), the violinist Herma Studeny (1886–1973), a disciple of Dvořák and Ševčík, and the composer and conductor Miloš Čeleda (1884–1958).

Opera was given from 1790 in the Theater unter dem Stadtturm (built 1750; rebuilt 1774 after a fire in 1763); in 1794 Mozart's *Die Zauberflöte* was staged there. The Městské Divadlo (Municipal Theatre) was built in 1805; major reconstructions were carried out in 1883, in 1909, shortly after World War II and in 1992. Arthur Löwenstein was a conductor there (1929–32); among visiting artists were Marie Gutheil-Schoder and Leo Slezak. Between 1919 and 1938 Czech operas were performed by visiting companies from Ostrava and Olomouc. A professional Czech theatre company (drama, opera, operetta, ballet) was founded in the badly damaged town in 1945. At first, under municipal administration, it was known as the Slezské Národní Divadlo (Silesian National Theatre); after 1949 it became a regional company, making numerous tours. In 1957 it became the Slezské Divadlo Zdeňka Nejedlého; in 1990 it again came under municipal administration and was renamed Slezské Divadlo Opava. The company has performed both Czech and foreign operas from traditional and modern repertories.

Musical associations include the Pěvecko-Hudební Spolek Křížkovský (Křížkovský Singing and Instrumental

Club, founded in 1887), Pěvecké Sdružení Slezských Učitelů (Silesian Teachers' Choir, 1906) and Pěvecké Sdružení Slezských Učitelek (Silesian Women Teachers' Choir, 1958). The Silesian Regional Museum houses a musicological centre (founded 1967) which works together with the musicological department of the Institute of Silesian Studies under the aegis of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences. The Silesian Musical Archives (founded 1951) contain collections from the Minorite monastery and from the castle in Hradec nad Moravicí. The *Věstník matice opavské* (Opavian Foundation Gazette) was published from 1891; in 1935 it became the *Slezský sborník* (Silesian Review). Since 1960 Opava has been the seat of the International Beethoven Society, publishing the journal *Československá Beethoveniána*. Since 1961 the annual Nationwide Performers' Competition has been held in Hradec.

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EVA HERRMANNOVÁ

Open notes. On valved brass instruments, the notes of the harmonic series produced without lowering any valve. In brass parts, however, 'open' (Fr. *ouvert*, etc.) countermands 'muted' or 'stopped'.

On the natural horn, the notes of the harmonic series, the other pitches being produced by hand-stopping. These open notes are also called NATURAL NOTES.

Open pedal. *See* SUSTAINING PEDAL.

Open position [open harmony]. *See under* SPACING.

Open score. A score in which each individual voice of a polyphonic composition is assigned a separate staff (*see* SCORE and ORGAN SCORE).

Open string. In string instruments, a string played at its full sounding-length without 'stopping' (that is, without touching the string or pressing it down with the finger). In unfretted string instruments in particular there is a difference between the sound of an open string and the sound of a stopped string sounding the same pitch. Open E string on the violin, for instance, has a different timbre from a note of the same pitch produced by stopping the A string a 5th above. Because of this difference, open strings are generally avoided, and since the turn of the 18th century players have generally preferred stopped notes except where, for special effect, an open string is specified – generally by a small 'o' placed over the note (*see* FINGERING, §II, 2(i)). In fretted instruments, such as viols and lutes, there is also a difference between stopped and open strings, but this difference is considerably less than in unfretted instruments because a string stopped by pressing down on a fret has a more 'open' quality than a string stopped on the unfretted fingerboard. In French lute and viol tablature open strings are indicated by 'a', in Italian by a figure '0', and in German tablatures by a different letter for each string.

DAVID D. BOYDEN

Open tuning. A kind of tuning of a guitar, viol, violin or other string instrument in which the open strings are tuned to form a single chord (*see* GUITAR, §8; SCORDATURA; and SYMPATHETIC STRINGS).

Opera (It., from Lat. *opera*, plural of *opus*: 'work'; Fr. *opéra*; Ger. *Oper*). The present article surveys the origins and the history of opera and its presentation. For fuller discussion of the history of individual sub-genres and related genres, the reader is referred to the entries listed below. Discussion of opera houses and operatic activity in particular cities will be found in entries on the cities concerned, and of the works of individual composers within their entries.

See also AZIONE TEATRALE; BALLAD OPERA; BALLET DE COUR; BALLET-HÉROÏQUE; BURLESQUE; BURLETTA; CHAMBER OPERA; COMÉDIE-BALLET; DIVERTISSEMENT; DRAME LYRIQUE; DRAMMA GIOCOSO; DRAMMA PER MUSICA; ENTRÉE; EXTRAVAGANZA; FARSA; FAVOLA IN MUSICA; FESTA TEATRALE; FILM MUSICAL; GRAND OPÉRA; INTERMÈDE; INTERMEDIO; INTERMEZZO (ii); JESUITS; LEHRSTÜCK; LIBRETTO; LIEDERSPIEL; MADRIGAL COMEDY; MÄRCHENOPER; MASQUE; MEDIEVAL DRAMA; MELODRAMA; MELODRAMMA; MONODRAMA; MUSICAL; MUSIC DRAMA; MUSIC THEATRE; NUMBER OPERA; OPÉRA-BALLET; OPÉRA BOUFFON; OPERA BUFFA; OPÉRA COMIQUE; OPÉRA-FÉERIE; OPERA SEMISERIA; OPERA SERIA; OPERETTA; PANTOMIME; PASTICCIO; PASTORAL; PASTORALE-HÉROÏQUE; POSSE; PUPPET OPERA, PUPPET THEATRE; RAPPRESENTAZIONE SACRA; RESCUE OPERA; SAINETE; SCHULDRAMA; SCHULOPER; SEMI-OPERA; SEPOLCRO; SERENATA; SINGSPIEL; SPIELOPER; TONADILLA; TOURNEY; TRAGÉDIE EN MUSIQUE; VAUDEVILLE; VERISMO; ZARZUELA; ZAUBEROPER; and ZEITOPER.

I. 'Opera'

Most narrowly conceived, the word 'opera' signifies a drama in which the actors sing throughout. There are, however, so many exceptions among the operatic works of the West – so many works popularly called operas in which some parts are spoken or mimed – that the word should be more generically defined as a drama in which the actors sing some or all of their parts. Numerous sub-genres, such as *opera seria*, *opera buffa*, *tragédie en musique* and the like, have grown up in the history of opera (information about these sub-genres will be found in separate entries). Some of the sub-genres mix spoken and sung drama in conventional ways. Thus, in operetta, Singspiel, *opéra comique* and musical comedy the dialogue is normally spoken and musical numbers interrupt the action from time to time. The history of opera is inextricably intertwined with the history of spoken drama. Moreover, since all operatic works combine music, drama and spectacle, though in varying degrees, all three principal elements should be taken into account in any comprehensive study of the genre, even though music has traditionally played the dominant role in the conception and realization of individual works.

The central importance of Italian musicians and poets in the development and early history of opera is suggested by the fact that the word 'opera' means simply 'work' in Italian and as such was applied to various types of written or improvised plays in the 16th and early 17th centuries. To cite but one example arbitrarily, Francesco Andreini's play *L'ingannata Proserpina* (1611) – according to its

dedication intended to be either recited or sung depending on the wishes of its producers – was called an *opera rappresentativa, e scenica*. The earliest operas either had no generic subtitle (like Ottavio Rinuccini's *Dafne* of 1598 and his *Euridice* of 1600) or else adopted one or another ad hoc definition: *favola*, *opera scenica*, *tragedia musicale*, *opera tragicomica musicale*, *dramma musicale* or the like (see Rosand, C(i)1991). It has been suggested (by Grout, A1947, and Pirrotta, *Li due Orfei*) that either the term *opera scenica* or the term *opera regia* (the latter meaning a drama with royal protagonists and a happy ending, a term applied to various *commedia dell'arte* scenarios as well as to Monteverdi's *L'incoronazione di Poppea* of 1643) might be the origin of the usage that defines 'opera' as a specifically musico-dramatic work. In the second third of the 17th century, however, *dramma per musica* became the normal term for opera, although in England the word 'opera' was used in this way as early as the 1650s to mean a dramatic work set to music (G. Strahle: *An Early Music Dictionary: Musical Terms from British Sources, 1500–1740*, Cambridge, 1995; John Evelyn used the term in 1644). Nevertheless, the use of the word 'opera' with this meaning seems to have developed only gradually; it became widespread much later than the invention and early development of the genre.

II. Origins

1. Background, precursors. 2. Immediate origins.

1. BACKGROUND, PRECURSORS. Music was inserted into plays as early as ancient Greek times. Choral songs, performed on occasion to the accompaniment of mimetic dancing, served to divide the play into sections and commented on the action in ancient Greek tragedy and comedy. During the 16th century, when Greek drama came to serve as a model for certain aspects of musical theatre, scholars debated the possibility that the plays were sung from beginning to end, a speculation long since abandoned, although it seems probable that some portions of Greek plays other than the choral interludes may also have been sung or at least declaimed musically, by soloists or ensembles of singers. The tradition of including music as an integral part of theatrical activities continued and even expanded in Roman times. With the destruction of the Roman theatres in the 6th century, however, all trace of official theatrical activity, musical or otherwise, disappeared from the archival records. Professional entertainers – *mimi*, *histriones*, *joculatores* and the like – continued to perform plays and skits which combined music with acting during the early Middle Ages, though there is only fragmentary evidence of this.

A vast corpus of medieval drama with music survives. It can be roughly divided into two kinds: so-called liturgical drama (*see* MEDIEVAL DRAMA), and vernacular plays with incidental music. Some parts of the sacred service came to be dramatized in order to make the events depicted – and especially the Resurrection of Christ, his Nativity, and the events leading up to it – more vivid and immediate. These liturgical and paraliturgical dramas, whether performed in church as part of a service or somewhere else, were sung in chant from beginning to end. For this reason they have been called the first music dramas, though it should be stressed that the various repertories of religious dialogues, ceremonies and plays from the Middle Ages are far from having common origins or a single continuous history.

Similarly diverse in origin, destination and nature are the various sorts of play in the vernacular that survive from as early as the 13th century, though most copiously from the 15th and 16th centuries. On the one hand, vast medieval mystery and morality plays that often lasted several days were organized by towns for the purposes of both religious celebration and commercial gain. On the other hand, during the 15th and 16th centuries, troupes of professional actors, members of various guilds, and even amateurs performed a more modest repertory of comedies and short plays for a variety of occasions in many countries of western Europe. Both the religious plays and the shorter comedies made use of music as an incidental part of the action. Indeed, this use of music is one of the few things both kinds of play have in common. Only rarely did music play a larger role in vernacular drama. Adam de la Halle's *Jeu de Robin et Marion*, for example, written during the 1280s, is an exception in incorporating so many melodies (most of them presumably pre-existing) into its action.

None of these early musical-dramatic activities seems to have been connected historically. No single grand narrative can be written to link medieval drama to the history of 16th-century Italian comedy and tragedy, let alone to the events that led to the invention of opera in the early 17th century. The history of Italian upper-class theatre in the Renaissance should probably begin with the series of classical plays performed at the Ferrarese court in the late 15th and early 16th centuries, and especially the performances of comedies by Plautus and Terence that became models for many of the erudite written comedies during the century. These courtly performances of classical plays were commissioned by the duke and acted by the courtiers themselves. Later in the century, erudite neo-classical comedies came to be performed by amateurs, by members of the learned academies that flourished during the century, or even by those professional troupes of actors who were better known for their ability to improvise comedies, the so-called *commedie dell'arte* (*see* COMMEDIA DELL'ARTE).

Learned comedy was, of course, not the only genre cultivated in Italy during the 15th and 16th centuries. *Sacre rappresentazioni*, church pageants enlivened with music (much of it related to *laude*), flourished; they may even have had an important influence on the establishment of the pastoral as a genre, or on the idea of vernacular drama with music, but those connections have yet to be solidly established. A repertory of rustic plays featuring peasants and other members of the lower classes also came to be written and performed. Eventually, too, the genre of tragedy was cultivated.

Some exceptional plays did not fit comfortably within any of the principal genres. Angelo Poliziano's *Orfeo*, performed at the court in Mantua about 1480, was such an exception. Poliziano called it a *favola*. Music played a central part. None of it survives, probably because it was not 'learned' written music but belonged rather to the tradition of improvised or semi-improvised music cultivated by Italian poet-musicians in the 15th century. One such poet-musician, Baccio Ugolini, played the role of Orpheus and accompanied himself on the 'lira', almost certainly the *lira da braccio*. In addition to Ugolini's solo sections, there were several choruses. It has been argued persuasively that there is some connection between Ugolini's performance and the philosopher Marsilio

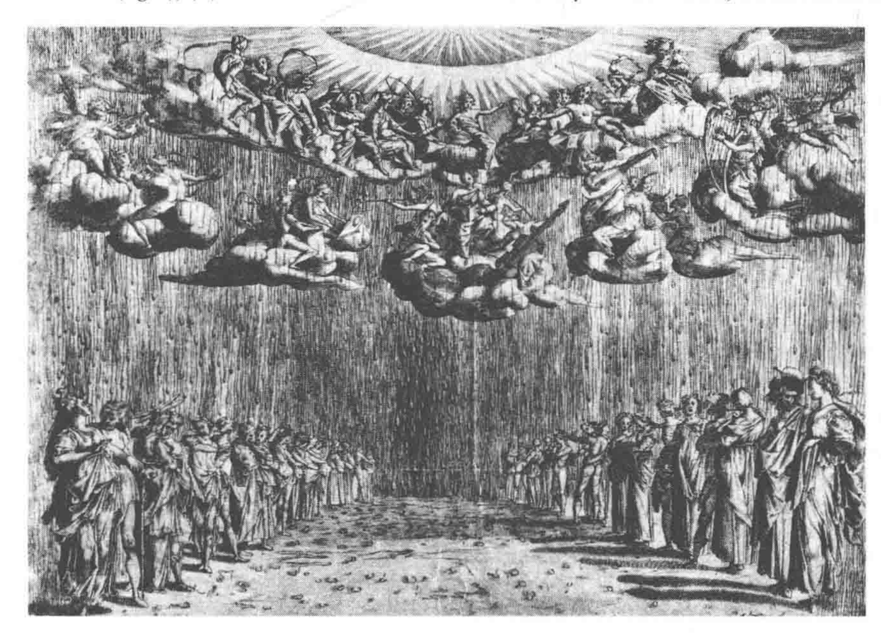
Ficino's Orphic singing to the lyre, if not between Ficino's ideas and Poliziano's play (Tomlinson, B1988). In any case, Poliziano's *Orfeo* was an important landmark in the pre-history of opera, not so much for its form or its influence as for its symbolic significance as a highly musical play outside the Aristotelian genres (it was neither tragedy nor comedy) that dealt with the power of music in a classical setting.

2. IMMEDIATE ORIGINS. The traditional view of the origins of opera – that it developed directly from discussions in the 1570s led by Count Giovanni de' Bardi of Florence and his group of friends who constituted an informal academy known as the Camerata, and from later discussions in the circle around Jacopo Corsi – remains the best narrative of the events leading directly to the first operas: Rinuccini's *Dafne* of 1598 with music by Jacopo Peri and Jacopo Corsi, Rinuccini's *Euridice* of 1600, set by Peri and by Giulio Caccini, and Gabriello Chiabrera's *Il rapimento di Cefalo* of 1600, set by Caccini. (Emilio de' Cavalieri's *Rappresentatione di Anima, et di Corpo* of 1600 should also be included in this group of early dramatic works, even though it was performed in Rome and by virtue of its subject matter is regarded as the first example of oratorio.) Among the many topics discussed by Bardi and his friends, music occupied an important place, and specifically the nature of ancient Greek music and the source of its emotive power. Moreover, various experiments in writing an appropriately dramatic music were made in Florence at the end of the century, most notably Vincenzo Galilei's lost settings of the Lamentations for Holy Week and a scene from Dante, and Laura Guidiccioni's three pastorals set to music, also lost, by Emilio de' Cavalieri.

Nevertheless, a full account of how opera came into existence and how it came to take precisely the form it did needs to consider a number of other 16th-century developments, among them: (1) the history of music in erudite comedy, and especially the nature and role of the *intermedi*, the musical compositions, sometimes sung to the accompaniment of stage action or dancing, that closed each act (fig.1); (2) the nature of music in 16th-century tragedies, and especially of the choruses that divided the scenes; (3) the debate about genres that engrossed literary circles in 16th-century Italy, and especially the debate about the nature of the pastoral, since pastoral eclogues served as a principal model (perhaps the principal model) for the earliest operas; and (4) the nature of the other kinds of music written for staged or semi-staged presentation at courts, academies, civic celebrations and the like – shorter staged scenes and dialogues that have no agreed-upon generic designation, although they were widespread in 16th-century Italy. In addition, we should take into account not only the activities of court musicians and singers, and those employed as musicians to members of the highest reaches of society, but also *commedia dell'arte* players who fulfilled an important though not as yet completely understood function in the history of Italian musical theatre.

Aside from the few songs introduced naturalistically into the plots of various plays, music in 16th-century erudite comedy consisted mainly of madrigals (or in some cases instrumental music), which closed each act. At some performances the musicians were hidden behind the stage, but more often they appeared on stage to sing and sometimes to dance. In many cases, these *intermedi* did nothing more than mark the passing of time, as in Verdelot's madrigals used as *intermedi* for Machiavelli's *La Mandragola* and *La Clizia*, one of the very few sets of normal madrigalesque *intermedi* to survive (some of the same music served for both plays). In many cases, the *intermedi* madrigals may not have been written specifically for that purpose (or at least not for particular plays or performances); it sufficed that the texts dealt with approximately the right subject matter. There seems not to have been a particular theatrical style that distinguished these madrigals from others, but it is difficult to be precise about this, since so little music survives for the texts that appear in many play books.

For great occasions, and especially weddings within the Medici family in Florence, more elaborate *intermedi* were staged between the acts of a play. In these courtly *intermedi*, several musical compositions were performed



1. 'Descent of Rhythm and Harmony', the sixth intermedio in the performance of Bargagli's comedy 'La pellegrina', Florence, 1589: engraving by F. Succhielli after the design by Bernardo Buontalenti, 1592

between the acts, and they were accompanied by stage action, including elaborate machines and dancing. Detailed descriptions of some of these grand occasions were published, and at least two sets of partbooks include the music composed especially for the events: those commemorating the wedding in 1539 of Cosimo I de' Medici with Eleonora of Toledo, and those commemorating the wedding in 1589 of Ferdinando I de' Medici with Christine of Lorraine (see fig.1). Courtly *intermedi* did not have plots, but many of them were centred on a common theme, often pastoral or mythological in character. Grand courtly *intermedi* were the most impressive examples of musical theatre of the 16th century.

The most famous and probably the most elaborate *intermedi* of the entire century were those organized for the Medici wedding of 1589, performed between the acts of Girolamo Bargagli's comedy *La pellegrina*. They were devised by Count de' Bardi around the theme of the power of music in the ancient world (the subject of many discussions of the Camerata), directed by Cavalieri, and composed by Peri, Caccini, Marenzio and other composers of the Medici circle. The 1589 performance was a seminal event for the history of musical theatre, even though the music itself did not differ in character very much from regular madrigals or lighter Italian secular forms. The six *intermedi* were sung throughout, mostly by soloists (including Peri and Caccini), and the third of them, treating the story of Apollo and the python, is a direct precursor of the first opera, *Dafne*, a decade later. But the music of 1589 does not represent any advance towards an operatic style, that is, a kind of music appropriate for setting dramatic dialogue.

Whereas the *intermedi* have been well studied and performed, music for 16th-century tragedies is much less well known, at least partly because so little of it survives, and partly because the surviving music, notably Andrea Gabrieli's music for *Edipo tiranno* (Orsatto Giustiniani's adaptation of the *Oedipus* of Sophocles), which opened the Teatro Olimpico in Vicenza in 1585, seems so unimpressive. Virtually every 16th-century tragedy includes long choruses to divide the action, and 16th-century commentators seem to make a distinction between these sorts of chorus and *intermedi*. To judge from Gabrieli's example, choruses for tragedies were set to a music simple enough to allow the words to be heard easily by the audience. Producers and composers devised various solutions to the problem of an appropriate music for tragedy (for example Norton and Sackville's *Gorboduc*, produced in London in 1562), and in many cases may have organized music indistinguishable from that appropriate for *intermedi*.

The role of music in tragedy, comedy and pastoral (the three principal dramatic genres of the late 16th century) was discussed by a number of writers on dramatic theory and practice in the 16th and 17th centuries, notably Leone de' Sommi (B1556), Angelo Ingegneri (B1598), the anonymous author of *Il corago* (B*c*1630) and G.B. Doni (B1630). Sommi and Ingegneri wrote mostly about *intermedi* and tragic choruses with some consideration of incidental music, *Il corago* and Doni about operatic works. Whereas the author of *Il corago* wished to offer advice about how best to compose and produce opera, Doni, as an antiquarian concerned about the nature of music in ancient Greek and Roman theatre, criticized the new genre on the grounds (among other things) of monotony and lack of verisimilitude and advocated instead a judicious mixture of speech and song, the song reserved chiefly for monologues and choruses.

Such discussions of dramatic practice took place against a longstanding literary debate about genres, and especially about the propriety of the new mixed genres of tragicomedy and pastoral, unknown to Aristotle and hence suspect in the eyes of 16th-century intellectuals, debates chronicled in Weinberg's magisterial study of literary criticism in the Italian Renaissance (B1961). The new pastoral drama, including such famous literary landmarks as Agostino Beccari's *Il sacrificio: favola pastorale* (1555), Tasso's *Aminta: favola boscareccia* (1573) and Guarini's *Il pastor fido: tragicomedia pastorale* (written *c*1580–85), made use of an unusually large amount of music. *Il sacrificio*, for example, included a scene in which priests chanted in a kind of recitative and were answered by a chorus (only the vocal part of a fragment of the music, by Alfonso dalla Viola, survives); and *Il pastor fido* included a famous blind-man's-buff scene (the so-called 'Giuoco della cieca') with singing and dancing.

These plays are important precursors of opera, since discussions about them overlapped and intersected with the discussions that led to the first operas. Certainly the first operas came about partly as a result of debate about the kind of music most appropriate for the pastoral genre. The pastoral plays like those listed above did not, however, serve as models for the earliest operatic librettos. The first operas, instead, seem to have been modelled on the much shorter pastoral eclogues, of 500–700 verses, which put into dramatic (and usually amorous) conflict shepherds and shepherdesses, nymphs and satyrs and gods and goddesses. Most eclogues are quite static dramatically and evidently derive from the long tradition of courtly entertainment. In truth, though, the study of the literary climate in Italy in the late 16th century, and of genres and debates about genre, has hardly been exhausted, especially as these questions relate to music and musicians.

The staged entertainments that had enlivened court life (and also academic and civic life) for centuries provided yet another contributing element to the diverse mixture of traditions and genres that established the character of early opera. *Mascherate* and *moresche* already had a venerable history by the second half of the 16th century. Entertainments in which masked singers and dancers interrupted a banquet or a ball are described by various chroniclers from at least the 14th century. In the late 16th century, short tableaux were sometimes offered as entertainment in upper-class society. They are called by a variety of names (including *morescha* and *mascherata* but also *favola pastorale*, *favola*, *ballo* or simply *fiesta*, among others); there is no generic descriptive term for such entertainments. Madrigal comedies, for example, surely belong in this category, especially since it has been shown (by M. Farahat, *EMH*, x, 1991, pp.123–43) that some of these cycles of polyphonic madrigals, canzonettas and villanellas were actually staged in private rooms. (Many madrigal comedies include characters and dramatic situations derived from *commedia dell'arte*; most of them were written for performance in academies.) More squarely in the tradition of courtly entertainments, though, were the three scenes by Laura Guidiccioni, including the blind-man's-buff scene from *Il pastor fido*, set to music, now lost, by Cavalieri, performed in Florence in the 1590s; or the shorter dramatic works of Monteverdi

like *Il ballo delle ingrate, Tirsi e Clori* and the *Combattimento di Tancredi e Clorinda*.

Opera can thus be seen as a genre that grew out of literary discussion in high society. But another tradition that went into making opera, that of the *commedia dell'arte*, should not be excluded from consideration (as Pirrotta, *Li due Orfei*, has pointed out). During the second half of the 16th century, several professional acting troupes toured Italy, performing not only their own special repertory of improvised or semi-improvised plays with stock characters but also written comedies and other kinds of play. Although scholars have been inclined to characterize *commedia dell'arte* players as only semi-literate artisans, the truth is that many of the actors were highly educated, highly literate and highly musical. Isabella Andreini, for example, the leading lady of the troupe called I Gelosi, was a poet, author of a pastoral eclogue, member of an academy and an accomplished linguist and musician; and Monteverdi's first Ariadne in his mostly lost opera *Arianna* (1608) was an actor. Moreover, *commedia dell'arte* plays influenced the form and style of some opera librettos towards the middle of the 17th century (Bianconi and Walker, C(i)1975), and troupes of professional actors sometimes performed opera. Closer investigation is needed of the musical orientation of the *commedia dell'arte* players in general and their connection with opera in particular.

There was a vast amount of dramatic music heard in Italy in the 16th century, and a large literature of debate and discussion about it. All this activity contributed to musicians' ideas of what an appropriate music for the theatre should be. The crucial change from courtly entertainment to opera came about when a kind of music appropriate for dramatic dialogue was invented, by Caccini, Cavalieri, Vincenzo Galilei or Peri (all of them claimed credit). The overall shape of the earliest operas, *Dafne* and the two *Euridice* settings (as well as Monteverdi's *Orfeo*), was deeply influenced by earlier traditions, at least in that scene divisions were closed off by large *intermedi* choruses; and their subject matter was determined after extensive literary debate about genre, ancient history and the nature of music's power.

III. Early opera, 1600–90

Opera in the 17th century developed in three phases. The first, humanist court opera (1600–35), closely linked to Italian Renaissance traditions of court entertainment, was played out in the aristocratic palaces of Florence, Mantua and Rome. The second, *dramma per musica* (1637–*c*1680), defined by the generic subtitle that became current in librettos at mid-century, was staged in the public theatres of Venice. In the third, European spectacle (1650–90), which overlapped the second and involved the dissemination of the new genre throughout Italy and across the Alps, *dramma per musica* adapted to local political and social conditions, in theatres both public and private.

Contemporary critical commentary effectively articulated the aesthetic principles of the art and helps to distinguish the various phases of its development. Writing at the end of the first phase, G.B. Doni (*Trattato della musica scenica*, B1630) and especially the anonymous author of *Il corago* (B*c*1630) explored the basic issue of verisimilitude raised by the requirement of speaking in song ('recitar cantando') and offered guidelines for the choice of appropriate subject matter (pastoral), characters (gods, musicians) and poetic style (variety of metres, *versi sciolti*). The Jesuit priest G.D. Ottonelli (*Cristiana moderazione del teatro*, 1652) distinguished the different phases by their patronage and implied function: the aristocratic phase 'performed in the palaces of great princes and other secular or ecclesiastical lords . . . or produced sometimes by certain gentlemen or talented citizens or learned academicians' and the 'commercial productions of a musical and dramatic nature put on by professional musicians', who performed in public theatres. Finally, the Dalmatian canon Cristoforo Ivanovich, in *Memorie teatrali di Venezia* (1681), a treatise devoted exclusively to the development of public opera in Venice, epitomized its relation to court opera in socio-economic terms: 'Venetian theatres are in no way inferior to those supported by princes, except that in those enjoyment depends on the prince's generosity, whereas in these it is a matter of business'.

1. Humanist court opera.

(i) Florence. Humanist opera emerged around 1600 in Florence as the culmination of a series of spectacular entertainments designed to celebrate the dynastic image of the Medici, most famously the wedding *intermedi* of 1589 (fig.1), in which almost all the figures associated with the first operas were involved: Giovanni de' Bardi as stage director, who organized the entertainment and composed one chorus, Emilio de' Cavalieri as musical director and choreographer, who wrote some of the music, Ottavio Rinuccini, author of most of the text, and the composers Jacopo Peri and Giulio Caccini, who sang in the production and contributed one number apiece. These were among the participants in the academic discussions establishing the aesthetic premises of the new art. Beginning in the 1560s in the Accademia degli Alterati and continuing for several decades, first in Bardi's so-called Camerata and then at the palace of Jacopo Corsi, their discussions investigated the nature of ancient tragedy and the contribution of music to its legendary effect. Their aim was to re-create a modern, wholly sung drama that was comparable in power and intensity.

The *Euridice* of Peri and Rinuccini, performed in the Pitti Palace in 1600 as part of the festivities celebrating the marriage of Maria de' Medici and Henri IV, stands as the first monument of operatic history (though Caccini's setting of the same libretto, part of which was incorporated in the performance, was in fact published first). Peri and Rinuccini had actually collaborated with Corsi some years earlier on a similar work, *Dafne*, which was designed, in Rinuccini's words, 'to show what our new music could do'. Evidently begun as early as 1594, but not performed until 1598, this *Dafne* was never published, and as a result only a few excerpts have survived; but one of them exemplifies the recitative style that was Peri's major contribution to the developing genre. The publication of Caccini's and Peri's scores of *Euridice* within a couple of months in 1600, along with that of a musical drama by Cavalieri, *Rappresentatione di Anima, et di Corpo*, the prefaces of all three claiming priority, indicates the intensity of the rivalry during these years.

Both *Dafne* and *Euridice*, called *favole*, are Ovidian pastorals, ideally suited to demonstrating the power of the new music. Beyond portraying a world and an age in which 'music was natural and speech almost poetic' (Doni), each features a mythic musician as hero: for both Apollo and his son, Orpheus, singing is a natural means of expression.

The most important stylistic innovation of *Euridice* was recitative: a 'harmony surpassing that of ordinary speech but falling so far below the melody of song as to take an intermediate form', in Peri's famous description. Flexible enough to follow the form of the text as well as its expression, the *stile recitativo* allowed the characters to seem as if they were speaking naturally. Rinuccini's poetry inspired the *stile recitativo*, with its almost prosaic *versi sciolti*, interrupted on occasion by more highly structured passages, sometimes strophic, in a variety of poetic metres. Such passages, mostly for chorus but also in the allegorical prologue for Tragedy, became the poetic basis of the opera aria.

Within the remarkable expressive range of Peri's recitative – from Daphne's chilling narrative account of Eurydice's death to Orpheus's poignant lament and solemn formal prayer – dramatic verisimilitude is enhanced by the close adherence of the music to the emotional contours of Rinuccini's text. All three instances became emblematic for the operas that followed.

(ii) Mantua. Operas continued to be presented in Florence over the course of the next several decades, interspersed with *intermedi*, ballets and tournaments. But the real centre of operatic activity shifted, albeit briefly, to Mantua, long a musical rival of Medici Florence. Sponsored by the reigning Gonzaga duke, Vincenzo, another operatic rendition of the Orpheus myth was performed in his palace in 1607 before the Accademia degli Invaghiti. This *Orfeo*, by the court composer Claudio Monteverdi, on a libretto by the court secretary Alessandro Striggio, was clearly inspired by its Florentine predecessor. It emphasizes the same dramatic moments – including the narration of Eurydice's death and Orpheus's subsequent lament and prayer – but Monteverdi's music embraces a far wider affective vocabulary than Peri's. Recitative is interspersed much more liberally with song and dance. *Orfeo* also places much greater emphasis on formal elements: strophes, refrains and larger symmetrical structures, extending to entire acts and even the opera as a whole, create a sense of musical coherence and shape missing in the earlier score. And the famously elaborate orchestra, with its paired violins, harps and other instruments and rich continuo – more akin to that of the Florentine *intermedi* than Peri's opera – plays a crucial role in creating musical variety.

Two further operatic landmarks appeared in Mantua in 1608, in conjunction with the wedding of Francesco Gonzaga and Marguerite of Savoy: Marco da Gagliano's setting of a revision of Rinuccini's *Dafne* (published 1608) and Monteverdi's *Arianna* on a new Rinuccini libretto – the first musical 'tragedia', so called because its principal characters are of royal birth and their actions are politically motivated (*PirrottaDO*). The only surviving music is Ariadne's long recitative lament on the departure of Theseus, reported to have moved the audience to tears; Monteverdi's own publication of this music in various forms, the many contemporary manuscript copies and numerous imitations in subsequent operas attest its power and significance. In its ideal meshing of textual and musical rhetoric, it represents the acme of the recitative style.

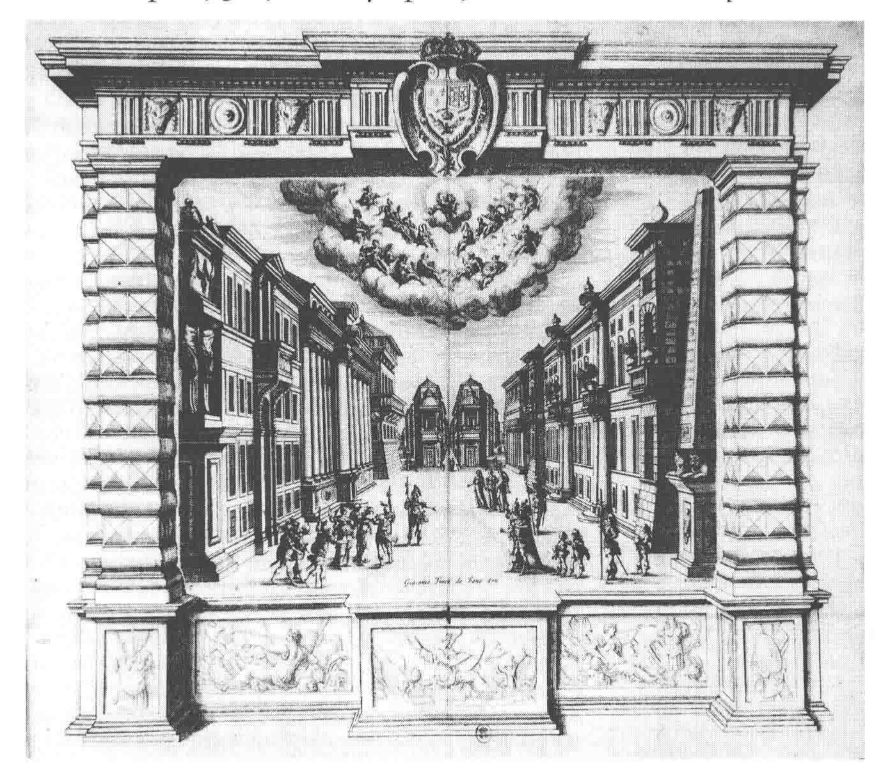
(iii) Rome. Although operas, along with other kinds of musical entertainment, continued to be performed in Mantua during the next decades, the centre of operatic activity shifted once again, this time to Rome. Drawing on more varied sources of patronage – aristocratic families and religious organizations as well as the papacy – opera developed very differently here. These differences are already evident in Cavalieri's *Rappresentatione di Anima, et di Corpo* (1600), credited with being the first wholly sung drama in Rome. A moralizing allegory performed during Lent at the oratory of S Maria in Vallicella, it is more relevant to the history of the oratorio than to that of opera.

Sung dramas of various kinds, sharing little with one another aside from a moralizing ethos and a solo style of minimal expressive power, continued to appear sporadically during the next two decades in a variety of venues, secular and religious. Of greatest historical significance was the 'favola boschereccia' *La catena d'Adone* (1626), Domenico Mazzocchi's setting of a libretto by Ottavio Tronsarelli based on Marino's sensational epic of 1923, *Adone*. Purporting to illustrate the sufferings of the human soul when it wanders from God, Mazzocchi's only opera was published with a preface in which, addressing the problems raised by the stylistic dichotomy inherent in early opera, the composer acknowledges the tediousness of recitative and introduces the concept of 'mezz'arie' as an antidote. Accordingly, the score is filled with brief lyrical passages, neither aria nor recitative, that were later called arioso.

The election of Maffeo Barberini to the papacy in 1623 as Urban VIII brought new regularity to operatic activities, promoted by the papal nephews, Francesco, Taddeo and later Antonio Barberini, and their colleague Giulio Rospigliosi, the future Pope Clement IX. They fostered a series of operatic productions for Carnival at their palaces, eventually in the huge (4000-seats, it is claimed) theatre within the Palazzo alle Quattro Fontane. All the librettos were by Rospigliosi, drawing either from lives of the saints, such as *Sant'Alessio* by Stefano Landi (1631 or 1632, published 1634), or from Renaissance literary sources: *Erminia sul Giordano*, by Michelangelo Rossi, from Tasso, (1633, published 1637); Virgilio Mazzocchi and Marco Marazzoli's *Chi soffre speri*, from Boccaccio (1637); and Luigi Rossi's *Il palazzo incantato*, from Ariosto (1642). The Barberini-Rospigliosi operas were lavish spectacles with political and dynastic intent, glorifying Rome and their patrons.

2. 'Dramma per musica'. The death of Urban VIII in 1644 brought the spectacular Barberini era to a close, and with it the effective end of humanist court opera. Nearly a decade earlier, a new kind of opera had begun to emerge in Venice.

Venetian opera reflected the distinctive traditions and oligarchical structure of the Most Serene Republic. Performed during Carnival in theatres owned by patrician families competing for prestige – the Tron, Grimani, Vendramin and Giustinian – before a ticket-buying public, opera in Venice was a business, as Ivanovich noted: a big business. Theatre owners contracted with impresarios or production companies that supplied operas or commissioned them; they also provided or hired musicians and



2. Revival of Sacrati's 'La finta pazza', Hôtel du Petit-Bourbon, Paris, 1645; engraving by Nicolas Cochin after the design by Giacomo Torelli, who also designed the first production at the Teatro Novissimo, Venice, 1641

other workers. Initially librettists and/or composers themselves acted as impresarios (Ferrari, Cavalli, Giovanni Faustini), but eventually the role was filled by entrepreneurs who devoted their full time to the increasingly complex negotiations involved in opera production (Marco Faustini, Francesco Santurini). The continuity and frequency of performance promoted by regular demand and dependable financial backing ensured the institutionalization that characterizes opera today.

What started as an experiment in 1637 with a performance of *Andromeda* at the Teatro S Cassiano by a Rome-based itinerant troupe, directed by Benedetto Ferrari, blossomed within a few short years into a full-blown industry. Both foreign and local talent were exploited to satisfy increasing demand for librettists, composers, stage designers and performers. Monteverdi, lured out of operatic retirement, produced his three last masterpieces, *Il ritorno d'Ulisse* (1640), *Le nozze d'Enea e Lavinia* (1641, lost) and *L'incoronazione di Poppea* (1643, with the collaboration of several other composers), for Venetian theatres. His S Marco colleague Francesco Cavalli became the most prolific composer of the period, producing 28 operas over a 30-year career. By 1641, audiences could see multiple performances of as many as eight different operas during a season that lasted approximately six weeks in four different theatres. (There were nine by the end of the century, although the number of open theatres varied from two or three during the 1650s and 60s to five or six later.)

One important theatre not under patrician family control, the Novissimo, was specially built for a group of noble academicians, the Incogniti (who included the important early librettists G.F. Busenello and Giulio Strozzi), whose public-relations efforts in pamphlets and libretto prefaces were fundamental to the establishment of the new genre. Their inaugural effort, *La finta pazza* (Strozzi and Francesco Sacrati), designed by the architect-turned-scenographer Giacomo Torelli, and featuring the Roman diva Anna Renzi, became the most famous opera of the period (fig.2). As the most frequent Venetian export, it epitomized *dramma per musica* throughout Italy.

Opera achieved commercial viability through a combination of popular appeal and efficiency of production. Subject matter drawn from topics relevant to Venetian audiences ranged from the legends of Troy (regarded as part of the mythic history of the republic) to the exploits of imperial Roman heroes that could serve as exemplars for modern Venetians at war with the Turk. Librettos included pointed references to Venetian social customs – courtesans, gondoliers, even public opera itself – and asides addressed directly to the audience that bridged the gap between fictional and real worlds. And the city itself was explicitly praised in prologues and depicted in scenic backdrops.

Orchestras were small (normally just strings and continuo), roles were doubled, the chorus was eschewed and a broad range of variable conventions facilitated the mass production of operas. Operatic structure was standardized at a prologue and three acts. Plots, whether drawn from myth, epic or history or newly invented, focussed on two pairs of noble lovers, attended by various comic servants, who are separated and then reunited. Recitative in *versi sciolti* was interspersed with closed-form arias in a single metre and/or with a regular rhyme scheme. Musico-dramatic scene types included the sleep scene with lullaby, the mad scene, the incantation (in *versi sdruccioli*) and the lament (on a descending tetrachord bass); vocal types included castrato heroes, bass fathers and *travesti* nurses.

Essentially established through the collaboration of Cavalli and his first regular librettist, Giovanni Faustini,

which produced ten operas in as many years (1642–52), these conventions were easily adapted by other composers and librettists and remained in place to the end of the century. Certain individuals stand out for their accomplished treatment or extension of the conventions: the librettists G.A. Cicognini, Nicolò Minato, Aurelio Aureli and Matteo Noris; the composers Antonio Cesti, Giovanni Boretti, Antonio Sartorio and Giovanni Legrenzi. Nevertheless, the conventions ensured a continuity of style that minimized differences between particular composers and librettists.

Changes, as the century progressed, reflected developing audience expectations. Singers assumed increasing prominence (reflected by the rise in their salaries in comparison with those of composers). Distinctions between recitative and aria, blurred for expressive reasons in Monteverdi's and Cavalli's works, became clearer. Arias increased in length as well as number from around a dozen in the 1640s to more than 60 in the 1670s, with the musical form *ABA* (eventually developing into the da capo aria) gradually superseding *ABB*. Increasingly, plots became filled with improbable occurrences as sources were stretched to the point where nothing but the original title survived. More and more, serious and comic elements became intermingled. These developments were condemned by contemporary critics as pandering to the lower elements in the audience, a trend hastened in 1674 by a radical reduction in ticket prices introduced at one of the theatres (the S moisè), which increased business but reduced the funds available for productions.

Besides forcing competing theatres to follow suit, this move inspired the opening of two new theatres, one of which, S Giovanni Grisostomo, surpassed all the others in magnificence. Since its owners, the Grimani family, were firmly opposed to the newly popular style, it alone maintained higher prices – and spectacular scenography – and it became a symbol of the restoration of decorum. Towards the end of the century it became a Venetian outpost of the Roman Accademia degli Arcadi, a forum for operatic reform.

3. European spectacle.

(i) Beyond Venice: the Italian peninsula. Once established in Venice, opera began to be exported beyond the lagoon – first by Ferrari's itinerant troupe, then by others (Febiarmonici, Accademici Discordati). *Dramma per musica* became the dominant form of theatrical entertainment throughout Italy and even north of the Alps, though delayed or modified, in some cities, by particular local traditions. *La finta pazza* was heard in nearly a dozen cities, including Paris, during the period 1644–52 (see fig.2). After the middle of the century *Giasone* (Cicognini, Cavalli) saw 20 or more different productions, the latest in 1690.

The conventionalized but open structure of the model offered ample scope for modification to suit different audiences and performing conditions. In Medici Florence, the influential librettist G.A. Moniglia adapted the Venetian model to traditional courtly functions: Cavalli's *Hipermestra* celebrated a royal birth in 1658 (fig.3), Jacopo Melani's *Ercole in Tebe* a wedding in 1661. Both were performed at the Teatro della Pergola under the auspices of the Medici-sponsored Accademia degli Immobili, which concurrently presented a series of indigenous comic operas (also setting Moniglia librettos) that exploited local customs and dialect. Meanwhile another,



3. Costume design by Stefano della Bella for Delmiro, general of the armies of Egypt, in Cavalli's 'Hipermestra', Teatro della Pergola, Florence, 1658: pen and brown ink with watercolour (British Museum, London)

more bourgeois academy, the Sorgenti, hosted a series of Venetian imports at its own commercial theatre, the Cocomero.

In Naples, beginning in 1651, Venetian imports were adapted to celebrate the Spanish viceroy, both at the palace theatre, S Carlo, and at S Bartolomeo, a public theatre opened in 1654. In Rome, *dramma per musica* never really took hold. Except for the brief period 1671–4, when a series of modified Venetian imports were staged at the Tordinona, a public opera house licensed under Pope Clement IX (Rospigliosi) and patronized by Queen Christina, operas continued to be produced privately, and intermittently, under the sponsorship of various noble families. They fall into two distinct categories. The first, derived from contemporary Spanish cloak-and-sword comedy, included two in the 1650s by A.M. Abbatini and Marco Marazzoli on Rospigliosi librettos, and several in the 1670s and 80s by Bernardo Pasquini and the young Alessandro Scarlatti. The second, in a simplified style, was based on pastoral subjects, representing the nascent Arcadian movement (including various works by Scarlatti,



4. Design by Filippo Juvarra (a forest sacred to Apollo, with throne and temple) for Alessandro Scarlatti's 'Il Ciro', Palazzo della Cancelleria, Rome, Carnival 1712: pen and brown ink with wash (GB-Lv 8426.57, f.118r)

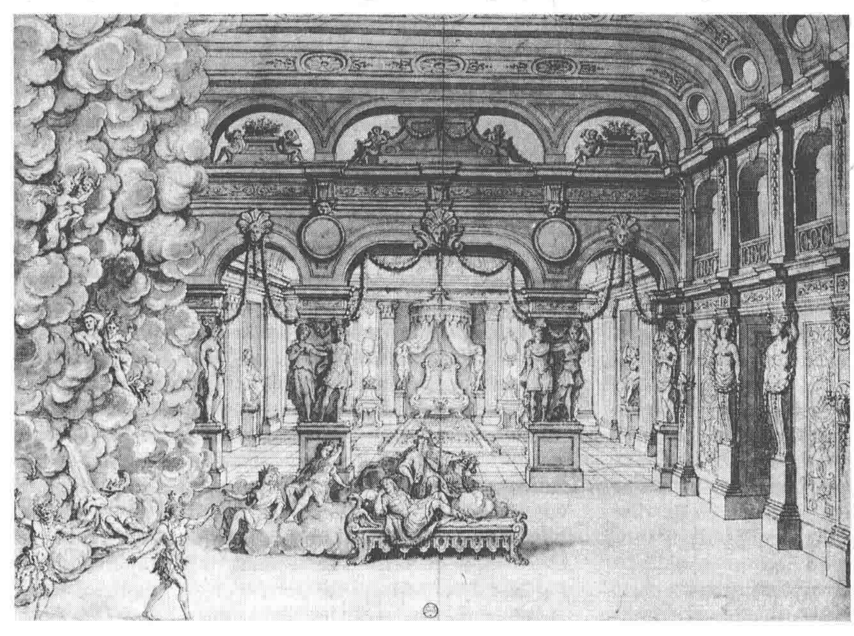
on librettos by Antonio Capece, G.D. de Totis, Silvio Stampiglia and Cardinal Ottoboni): this genre soon made itself felt in Venice as well.

The impact of *dramma per musica* north of the Alps, whether imported, imitated, adapted or rejected and replaced, depended on the social structures of the receiving country. Developments in France can be regarded as a reaction against it: a brief period of imports was followed by strenuous efforts to replace it with a national style which, however, borrowed elements from it. German-speaking countries hosted it longest, developing an indigenous tradition quite late. In contrast, England and Spain remained virtually untouched by *dramma per musica*, insulated from its influence by their own distinctive traditions of theatrical music.

(ii) France. As part of the italianization of the French court promoted by Cardinal Mazarin, the first operas in Paris were Italian imports (six in the years 1645–62), either designed or modified to suit French taste. Thus Paris was depicted in the scenic backdrop of *La finta pazza*, and in Cavalli's *Xerse* (1660) the 'unnatural' castrato hero was recast as a baritone and the three acts were turned into five, interspersed with the elaborate ballets – by the young Lully – traditionally beloved by the French. Two Italian operas written expressly for the French court, Luigi Rossi's *Orfeo* (1647) and Cavalli's *Ercole amante* (1662), featured, in addition to the obligatory ballets, elaborate political prologues and epilogues in praise of the monarch. In the latter, commissioned for the wedding of Louis XIV and the Infanta of Spain, the king himself appeared in several of the ballets, as Pluto, Mars and, of course, the Sun: a vivid instance of patronage made visible.

Following the death of Mazarin, *dramma per musica* was rejected in favour of a national style that represented a synthesis of French traditions and tastes. Nonetheless, the Italian genre left some significant traces, not only the concept of wholly sung drama itself but in conventions such as the *sommeil* (based on the ubiquitous sleep scene; fig.5) and the magnificent large-scale chaconne movements that united singers, players and dancers (based on the musical idea that underpinned the Italian lament).

The development and persistence of a national style of French opera are owed to the specific programme established by royal patronage and the vision and talents of the figure eventually charged with carrying it out. Through the establishment of the Académie Royale de Musique (or Opéra), in 1672 the king granted a monopoly for the production of opera in French to his Florentine-born *surintendant de la musique*, Jean-Baptiste Lully. Lully succeeded in creating a distinctive national opera, following a similar but abortive attempt by Pierre Perrin



5. 'Divertissement du sommeil' (Act 3 scene iv; 'arrivée des songes agréables et funestes') from Lully's tragédie lyrique 'Atys': design by Jean Berain I, pen and ink with wash, for a revival, probably in the 1680s (F-Pn)



6. Juno lobbies Paris for a favourable decision, Act 1 scenes xi–xiv (a courtyard in Paris's palace) of Cesti's 'Il pomo d'oro', Theater auf der Cortina, Vienna, 12 July 1668: engraving by Matthäus Küsel after the design by Ludovico Burnacini

and Robert Cambert, and drawing on his experience as a composer in other theatrical genres, especially *comédies-* and *tragédies-ballets*.

Together with his librettist Philippe Quinault, Lully managed to incorporate the most characteristic elements of earlier genres – elaborate ballets, marvellous scenic transformations ('le merveilleux'), luxuriant divertissements of songs and dances – within a context responsive to the strong traditions of spoken theatre and the French requirement for verisimilitude: the *tragédie lyrique* or, as it was initially called, *tragédie en musique*. Based either on mythology (*Cadmus*, *Atys*; fig.5, and see fig.34 below) or on chivalric legend (*Roland*, *Armide*; see fig.35 below), all 13 of Lully's *tragédies* feature an amorous aristocratic couple disturbed by one or more rivals (which often include a deity), with a parallel plot involving characters of lower rank. They reflect contemporary spoken tragedy in their five-act structure, adherence to the Aristotelian unities (*pace* Boileau and other critics), the preservation of *liaisons de scènes*, the delegation of tragic events to messengers' reports and the use of the chorus for commentary and as participant in the action as well as for decoration. Verisimilitude is maintained through reliance on *récitatif ordinaire* and brief, syllabic continuo *airs* for dialogue, permitting a natural, speech-like declamation of text. More substantial *airs* with orchestral accompaniment expressive of feelings are reserved for soliloquies. Musical contrast and opulence are provided by instrumental movements, various conventional scene types, ballets and, of course, the divertissements – all of this enhanced by Lully's renowned orchestra and the visual marvels provided by the scenographer Carlo Vigaran.

The lengthy season (49 weeks), the frequent performances (at least three a week), the steady supply of new works and repeated revivals of old ones over a period of 15 years assured the continuity of the *tragédie lyrique* well beyond Lully's death in 1687. The publication of Lully's oeuvre, beginning in 1679, essentially established a national repertory and a permanent tradition. His successors, among them Pascal Collasse, Henry Desmarets, André Campra, André-Cardinal Destouches and Marin Marais, relied upon revivals of his works to attract audiences to the opera.

Comparisons between French and Italian opera agitated critics in both countries from the late 17th century onwards. After taking its lead from Italy in the 1640s, France reciprocated by influencing the Arcadian reform of Italian opera in the 1690s.

(iii) The German-speaking lands: Vienna and Hamburg. The *dramma per musica* enjoyed greater longevity and influence in German-speaking lands than anywhere else; in essence, the taste for it inhibited the development of a native tradition. Vienna and Innsbruck were rather like Venetian outposts, where newly created works were literally interchangeable with those produced in Venice itself. In Vienna, under the guidance of Leopold I (1657–1705), the genre was adapted to courtly service, becoming more decorative, elaborate and visibly expensive, with plots designed to allude to the heroic exploits of the ruling dynasty. Under long-term contracts, a stable of Italian composers (including Antonio Cesti, M.A. Ziani, G.F. Sances and Antonio Bertali) and poets (Francesco Sbarra, Nicolò Minato) and the scenographer Ludovico Burnacini supplied between six and ten theatrical entertainments annually, including operas, to celebrate imperial birthdays and namedays and special occasions such as court visits. One of the most elaborate of them was Cesti's *festa teatrale*, *Il pomo d'oro*, on a Sbarra libretto; planned to cap the two-year-long celebration of the emperor's marriage to Margherita, Infanta of Spain, it was finally performed in 1668, over two days (fig.6; *see also* VIENNA, fig.4). Antonio Draghi, librettist (from 1658), composer (from 1662) and superintendent (after 1674), was responsible for more than 170 of these works between 1662 and 1699.

The genre flourished for a briefer period (1654–65) at Innsbruck, under the auspices of the archduke, where an Italian company directed by his *maestro di cappella*, Cesti, produced operas in the specially constructed Venetian-style theatre. This was the first independent opera house in German-speaking lands. Several operas originating in Innsbruck and Vienna were subsequently revived in Venice and became widely known throughout Italy.

Vernacular operas by native composers were few, and most of the scores are lost, famous among them Heinrich Schütz's *Dafne*, setting a translation of the Rinuccini libretto by Martin Opitz (1627). S.T. Staden's *Seelewig* (1644; *see* STADEN, SIGMUND THEOPHIL, fig.2), the first 'German' opera of which the music is extant, is actually more of a moral allegory. J.C. Kerll's *Oronte* (1657) inaugurated the Munich opera house, which, like most German opera houses, was built to perform Italian opera (Munich and Hanover under Agostino Steffani, Dresden under G.A. Bontempi and Carlo Pallavicino).

The significant exception was the Theater am Gänsemarkt in Hamburg, established in 1678 by a group of citizens who invested their capital for the purpose of producing opera in German. As profits depended on income from box rental and ticket sales, operas were staged not seasonally but throughout the year. The house opened with Johann Theile's *Adam und Eva*, based, like many subsequent works, on a biblical story. While most of the librettos were by local poets, some were translations of Venetian texts, set to new music. Like Venice, Hamburg was a prosperous, cosmopolitan and independent commercial centre. It was to become especially important for the development of German opera, with the works of Mattheson, Keiser and Handel.

(iv) England. Both *dramma per musica* and *tragédie lyrique* were known in England. Cavalli's *Erismena*, which survives in a contemporary English translation, may have been performed in London in 1674, and Lully's *Cadmus* was performed in 1686. But wholly sung drama never established a foothold. Factors militating against it include a strong dramatic tradition in which music played no more than an incidental role, and a competing tradition of celebrating royal events with elaborate masques that combined music, dance and scenic spectacle. Both genres provided satisfying musical and dramatic entertainment without raising questions of the propriety of sung dialogue.

Nevertheless, the recitative style made an early appearance in Ben Jonson's masque *Lovers Made Men*, set to music (lost) by Nicholas Lanier (1617), and in William Davenant's *The Siege of Rhodes* (1656; *see* LONDON (i), fig.12), said to be the first English opera, which was set completely to music by a team comprising Henry Lawes, Henry Cooke and Matthew Locke (vocal music), and Charles Coleman and George Hudson (instrumental music). French influence, encouraged by Charles II, eager to re-create the court opera he had experienced during his recent exile in Paris, is evident in the so-called semi-operas of Locke (*Macbeth*, 1664, *The Tempest*, 1674, and *Psyche*, 1675). As in Lully's *comédies-ballets*, music is reserved for magic, ceremonial and spectacle. There is even in one full-scale English *tragédie lyrique*, *Albion and Albanius*, a Dryden libretto set by the French-trained composer Louis Grabu in 1685.

The French style permeates the two most exceptional all-sung works of the period, John Blow's *Venus and Adonis* (*c*1683) and Henry Purcell's *Dido and Aeneas* (1689), his only opera. Though the knowledge of French and Italian opera did not increase the incidence of continuously sung drama, both styles influenced Purcell. Dryden called Purcell's late semi-operas 'our English operas'; his own *King Arthur* (1691) was among them. They contain numerous recitatives, lament arias and ostinatos. Purcell achieved full characterization through music, however, only in *Dido and Aeneas*.

(v) Spain. Despite strong cultural ties with Italy and the presence of a large contingent of Italian theatre men – including Rospigliosi as papal nuncio for 11 years, as well as several Florentine theatrical architects – Italian opera made little headway in Spain. Like England, Spain already had strong indigenous traditions of theatrical music and a vital heritage of spoken theatre which with Calderón and Lope de Vega reached its golden age in this period. Spectacle plays, zarzuelas, semi-operas and *comédias* featuring songs, dances and even some recitative dialogue in a distinctively native style served the same political and social functions as opera in other European courts: the glorification of the monarchy.

Three full-sung operas are known; they were motivated by particular political considerations and performed in the royal palace at Madrid under the patronage of Philip IV. The first, Lope de Vega's *La selva sin amor* (1627), composed by the Italians Filippo Piccinini and Bernardo Monanni, was promoted by a group of Florentine residents at court, as part of a plot to exert Italian influence on Philip IV. The other two, Calderón's *La púrpura de la rosa* and *Celos aun del aire matan* (both probably composed in 1660), reflected a desire to compete with Mazarin in celebrating the peace treaty with France and the coming marriage of the infanta and Louis XIV. But these were anomalies, and of the three works only the music of *Celos aun del aire matan* by Juan Hidalgo has survived. Hidalgo probably also composed *La púrpura de la rosa*.

IV. The 18th century

1. Views of 18th-century opera. 2. Social practice: (i) Institutions and circulation (ii) Genres (iii) Performance and performers (iv) Audiences. 3. Stylistic evolution: (i) Up to *c*1760 (ii) *c*1760–90.

1. VIEWS OF 18TH-CENTURY OPERA. Any attempt at a chronological survey of an art form implies that there is a continuity in that art which outlasts periods. Such a continuity may well be questioned in the case of opera: at the beginning of the 18th century, it was still a form of Italian or French literary theatre recited musically; at the end of the century, it had been transformed into a musical species of art, common to all Europe. It is of course possible to trace an evolutionary connection between the beginning and the end of 18th-century opera, particularly if the account focusses on the history of opera as composition. That historiographical convention, however, imposes an artificial unity on the subject. If 18th-century opera is conceivable as a whole, then it is only as a multivalent concept where the interactions of music, drama, social function and other factors are subject to changing contexts, defying the boundaries of academic disciplines.

The field of reference for a study of 18th-century opera will vary according to how opera is defined. To see it primarily as a musical art involves marginalizing much 18th-century theatre where the musical ingredient consisted only of borrowed songs (French vaudeville comedies, English ballad operas, plays with songs and incidental music); if it is a theatrical art, much unstaged dramatic music must be excluded (cantatas, serenatas, concert arias). The understanding of opera as an exclusively secular genre would rule out the sacred operas of the period (*dramma sacro*); and opera histories that

include independent melodramas (Wieland, Schweitzer) or staged ballets (Starzer/Hilverding, Gluck/Angiolini) do not even require opera to be sung. There is also the question of whether opera is to be regarded as a 'work' (opus) or a practice.

The 18th-century development has tended towards the concept of opera as both a work and a practice that presents 'sung action on stage'. This definition is fragile: when modified to 'singing and acting on stage', it would cover practically any theatrical performance of the time. The term 'opera' itself, widely adopted by the end of the century, originally had alternative meanings (for example a *commedia dell'arte* performance). The names for sub-genres were either literary (*tragédie en musique*, *dramma per musica*, *commedia per musica* and others) or colloquial (*opera buffa*, *opera seria*, *opéra comique* and others). Thus the colloquial term 'opera' seems to have implied the musical ingredient anyway, whereas it had to be specially added to the literary terms ('. . . per musica'). It was this colloquial Italian term that was adopted in most countries, occasionally competing with native terms (Singspiel, zarzuela).

The period under consideration, *c*1690–1790, privileges *opera seria* as a paradigmatic sub-genre, since it formed a relative unity in these 100 years and had an international dissemination typical for this time. From a purely national perspective, or in comic opera, the years 1690–1790 would hardly appear so unified. In French opera, for example, two events described by contemporaries as 'revolutions' were the establishment of full-blown *opéra comique* in the 1750s and the structural changes brought about by Gluck, Piccinni and others from 1774 onwards; works representative of both types remained in the repertory until 1830 and after.

A study of 18th-century opera must take account of other forms of theatre of the time, to help an understanding of operatic music itself (for example in its gestural functions) and to place opera in its literary and theatrical context. The history of literature overlaps most extensively with that of opera; the texts and dramatic contents of opera are important, not least because the genre addresses non-musicians as well as musicians. On the other hand, musical dramaturgy was widely seen as exempt from the rules and aesthetic precepts of the literary theatre, just as musical poetry is often more appreciated when sung than when recited.

In the narratives of cultural history, the 18th century seems to cross a major division or watershed, from whatever standpoint it is viewed: it bridged *ancien régime* and Revolution, Baroque and Classicism, absolutism and Enlightenment, and so forth. Such perceived divisions strongly influence the modern reception of 18th-century opera, for example in the perceived difference between opera before Mozart and after: the former is 'early music', the latter Classical repertory. Some of Gluck's operas belong to the former category in the Anglo-American world but to the latter in continental Europe. Related constructions oppose Baroque opera (the artistic mirror of an imagined courtly environment) to Classical-Romantic opera (a dramatic musical work aspiring to the standards of original authorship). The former type needs restoring, reviving or re-creating, the latter editing, performing and interpreting. These fixed views of cultural history are also implied when opera historians welcome the arrival of 'flesh and blood' in 18th-century opera (for example thanks to Handel, the middle classes, Goldoni or Mozart) or deplore a loss of performative spontaneity in favour of canonical repertories.

The Classical-Romantic aesthetic of music as a self-expressive art, which appears towards 1780 in the critical literature of the European Enlightenment and has dominated 19th- and 20th-century views, was imposed on earlier opera with little regard to the genre's theatrical loyalties. From this perspective, most 18th-century opera appears as a pre-enlightened practice, enslaved by its social functions but also curiously irrational or dreamlike: an authoritarian puppet theatre. Even its traditional task of imitating nature by portraying the affections is thought to have been essentially beyond its reach, not to speak of the challenge of expressing true humanity on stage. This perception, which puts the burden of dramatic expression too exclusively on musical composition, should be contrasted with ideas by which the century understood itself (particularly when it began), with ideas cultivated in areas more in need than in possession of enlightenment and with ideas belonging to the context of theatre rather than that of 'Art'. If this were done, three things might become clear:

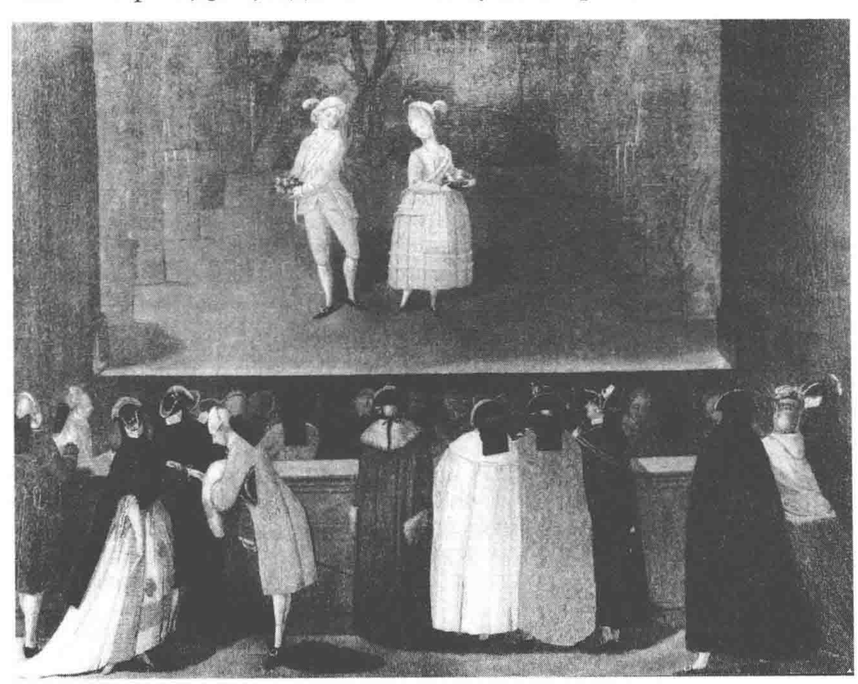
(*a*) 18th-century opera was less a snapshot of contemporary society than a controversial expression of particular desires and fantasies. It required active promotion to find its place in a society which neither needed nor could afford it. Around 1700, it still seemed exotic to most Europeans, while in Italy it survived thanks to its ability to entertain tourists. French and English observers of this time (Saint-Evremond, North, Addison) discuss Italian opera like a culinary object that was not a real alternative to proper food.

(*b*) Opera in Italy, hemmed in between academic complaints, ecclesiastical censorship, illiteracy, social restrictions on performers and the competition of improvised theatre, defended its cultural status by maintaining literary standards and humanist ideals while attracting the crowd with fine singing and spectacular staging. The concessions to popular taste, conventionality or star performers, which today are nostalgically seen as the essence of Italian opera altogether, conflicted with at least some of Italy's literary-dramatic traditions although they later helped to project a certain 'italianità' which inspired as well as limited its further development.

(*c*) Given, however, the strength of opera – Italian and other – in its appeal to fantasy, popularity or spontaneity, it is no wonder that so many artistic, intellectual and political trends in 18th-century Europe seized upon the genre to promote themselves. One of these trends was surely the emancipation of dramatic music, another the emancipation of the thinking individual (the Enlightenment). From the early claims of the courtly society on opera as a vehicle of absolutist propaganda, via bourgeois realism, sentimentalism and classicism to the impact of revolution and romanticism, the fate of opera in the 18th century was that it became ingrained in European culture.

2. Social practice.

(i) Institutions and circulation. Before 1690, opera was practised in Italy, at the court of Louis XIV and (with variable frequency) at about 20 courts of central Europe. In the following 100 years, Italian opera was taken up at another 40 courts and cities of central Europe and in the kingdoms of Spain, Portugal, England, Denmark, Sweden and Russia. This expansion was largely motivated by the



7. *Performance of an intermezzo at an Italian theatre: painting by Giuseppe de Albertis, late 18th century (Museo Teatrale alla Scala, Milan)*

social status of opera as a classicist and monarchic art. The courts, especially if influenced by Enlightenment ideas (Berlin, Dresden, Mannheim, Stuttgart, Milan, Florence, Parma), also appreciated the artistic and educational values of the genre. Metropolitan centres (Paris, Vienna, Madrid, St Petersburg, London) and even some secondary cities outside Italy witnessed an increasing competition, resisted by some courts, between Italian, French and local operatic traditions and their languages. Organizationally, there were of course vast differences between the status of a major court opera such as the Parisian Académie Royale de Musique (whose control had ramifications throughout the country) and, say, the business of the Venetian impresario Angelo Mingotti, who staged *opera seria* and comic intermezzos in Moravian and Austrian district towns (1732–*c*1745). There was a contrast of climate between the small but ambitious court operas in central and northern Germany (Bayreuth, Brunswick, Wolfenbüttel, Kassel, Düsseldorf) and the huge international opera fairground of Venice which continuously circulated plots, performers and musical settings. Civic opera was usually controlled by societies of gentlemen with the financial support of a court and of wealthy visitors, as in Venice, Prague and Hamburg. Impresarios managed productions either in the employ of courts and cities, or on a profit basis for themselves. They might rely on a central opera house, engaging new performers and authors each season, or move personnel and productions from place to place in the pursuit of new audiences. The economic principles were nevertheless comparable everywhere: patronage had to make up for the losses incurred through high production costs and uncertain or non-existent box-office takings. Financial patronage took many different forms, from that of shareholding companies (Royal Academy of Music, London) via ticket and box subscriptions to entirely court-financed businesses. In contrast to the even more spendthrift practices of the previous age, many institutions tried to contain costs by circulating productions: for example, by offering them in both palace and public performances (as in Naples, Florence, Paris/Versailles and Fontainebleau, Modena and Reggio nell'Emilia, Vienna, Berlin and Potsdam, Brunswick and Wolfenbüttel); by exchanging courtly and impresarial productions (northern Italy, Prague/Dresden, Hamburg/Brunswick); or by repeating productions in summer residences or secondary cities (Vienna, Rome, Tuscany, the Veneto). Repertories were hardly established yet, except for the cultivation of a Lullian corpus at the Académie Royale de Musique and in Brussels. Travelling companies were most likely to develop standard works and repertories. Still, the annual amount of new opera productions was always greater than that of revivals; in the period *c*1700–40 it could reach ten or eleven in Venice and five to seven in Vienna, London or Hamburg.

(ii) Genres. In the 18th century (unlike the 17th) genre distinctions, or occasionally their blurring, were a major issue. The precepts of the classicist, Aristotelian poetics influenced operatic practice and theory from about 1690, leading to a separation of tragic and comic genres. Much of this distinction had to do with the theatrical projection of social structures.

Comic *intermezzi per musica* (fig.7) were developed in Naples and Venice (*c*1700–06) and soon distributed to the north; full musical comedy began in Naples about 1707, and in the 1740s merged with Venetian parody operas to form *opera buffa*. Comic opera's social criticism, a task sanctioned by classical precedent, was never more radical than in these early years. Although many early *opere buffe* and intermezzos conform to the Aristotelian description of comedy (by portraying ordinary, contemporary and shrewd people), intermezzos were accepted in the court theatres as a divertissement, whereas *opere buffe* were at first considered low-class by aristocratic patrons. They depended, in any case, on the empathy of their spectators with the social connotations of the plots.


ATTO II.

SCENA PRIMA.

Portici.

SESTO *solo col distintivo de' Congiurati sul manto.*

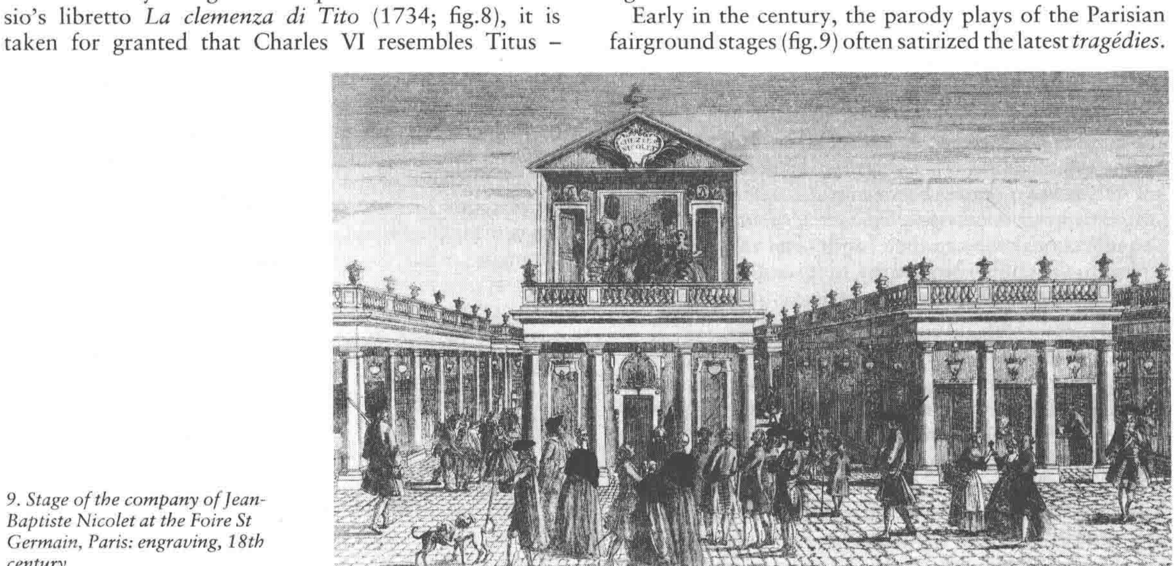
OH Dei, che smania è questa!
Che tumulto ho nel cor! Palpito, agghiaccio,
M'incammino, m'arresto: ogn'aura, ogn'ombra
Mi fa tremare. Io non credea che fosse
Sì difficile impresa esser malvagio.
Ma compirla convien. Già per mio cenno
Lentulo corre al Campidoglio. Io deggio
Tito assalir. Nel precipizio orrendo
E' scor-

8. *'La clemenza di Tito', Act 2 scene i: opening from Metastasio's 'Opere' (Venice: Zatta, 1781–3); (left) engraving of Act 2 scene xi by G. Zuliani after Antonio Novelli*

Serious opera conveyed its institutional and moral messages within a more autonomous aesthetic framework of vocal virtuosity, poetry and stagecraft. The artificiality of the theatre and the beauty of music functioned as 'pink spectacles' by which to observe truly human experiences, mediated by performers. The genre offered women on stage, beautiful costumes, changeable sets (*mutazioni di scena*), machine effects, dancing and fencing – effects that were criticized by some as sensual but were never given up. The social connotations of the genre are nevertheless specific. The association of the music with the moral implications of the plots (ethos and pathos) was perhaps greater than in other phases of opera history. An assiduous patron such as Emperor Charles VI in Vienna (1711–40) would request contrapuntal styles from his composers to match the lofty thoughts of his poets. In Pietro Metastasio's libretto *La clemenza di Tito* (1734; fig.8), it is taken for granted that Charles VI resembles Titus – and this prince finds his inner ethos by defying the claims of power, justice, convenience and the passions of love and fear. Such 'humanization of the great ones', showing them as subject to the same emotions that any spectator might feel, is an enlightened approach that was obscured in the 19th century (but exploited again in Hollywood cinema).

The narrative of Italian opera, whether concentrating on individual feelings in *opera seria* or on social practice in *opera buffa*, was guided by 'reason'. With exceptions depending on cultural context, it largely avoided the supposed irrationality of the *tragédie en musique*, which cultivated 'le merveilleux'. 18th-century French *grand opéra* (as it was already called) and *opéra comique* still adhered to wonder and spectacle, fuelling endless polemics right into the 1780s.

Early in the century, the parody plays of the Parisian fairground stages (fig.9) often satirized the latest *tragédies*.



9. *Stage of the company of Jean-Baptiste Nicolet at the Foire St Germain, Paris: engraving, 18th century*

The path from these spoken comedies with intermittent songs (*opéras comiques en vaudevilles*) to comic operas with spoken dialogue (*opéras comiques*, *opéras bouffons*, *comédies mêlées d'ariettes*) crossed, as it were, the demarcation between non-opera and opera. An analogous development is seen in opera parodies and parody intermezzos (later one-act *farse*) appearing in Venice, Florence, Hamburg, Vienna and elsewhere, often bourgeois in dramatic content and philosophy; these were the forerunners of comic operas or Singspiel. The fashion of the English ballad opera began in London with the parodistic *Beggar's Opera* of 1728. Spanish operas were traditionally mythological or pastoral zarzuelas and musical *comédies*; heroic, satirical and popular plots took over as time went on.

Some structural characteristics, particularly of Italian opera, were later criticized as 'rationalistic' or 'rigid', for example the alternation between recitatives (dialogue) and sung numbers. In reality, this alternation offered greater formal variety than most literary spoken drama of the time, which might be recited solely in Alexandrines, *versi sciolti* or blank verse. The inherited poetic forms for arias and ensembles – lyrical verse of the Anacreontic variety – reflected the sisterhood of music and poetry as in other Italian vocal genres, but their dramatic function was now co-determined by the surrounding sung dialogue, the recitative.

In comic genres in non-Italian languages, sung closed numbers usually alternated with spoken dialogue; additionally, recitatives were occasionally heard. The courts in Vienna and later in Paris forbade the use of recitative to the civic theatres, as this monopoly implied social status. There was thus a two-layered European tradition: the 'classical' and courtly form was Italian and French serious opera with recitative, whereas the comic and bourgeois genres with spoken dialogue represented the 'vernacular'. The exception was Italian comic opera, which always used recitative. This fact and the genre's through-composed musical forms (concertato finales, already found around 1720, were typical of *opera buffa*) contributed to its international status.

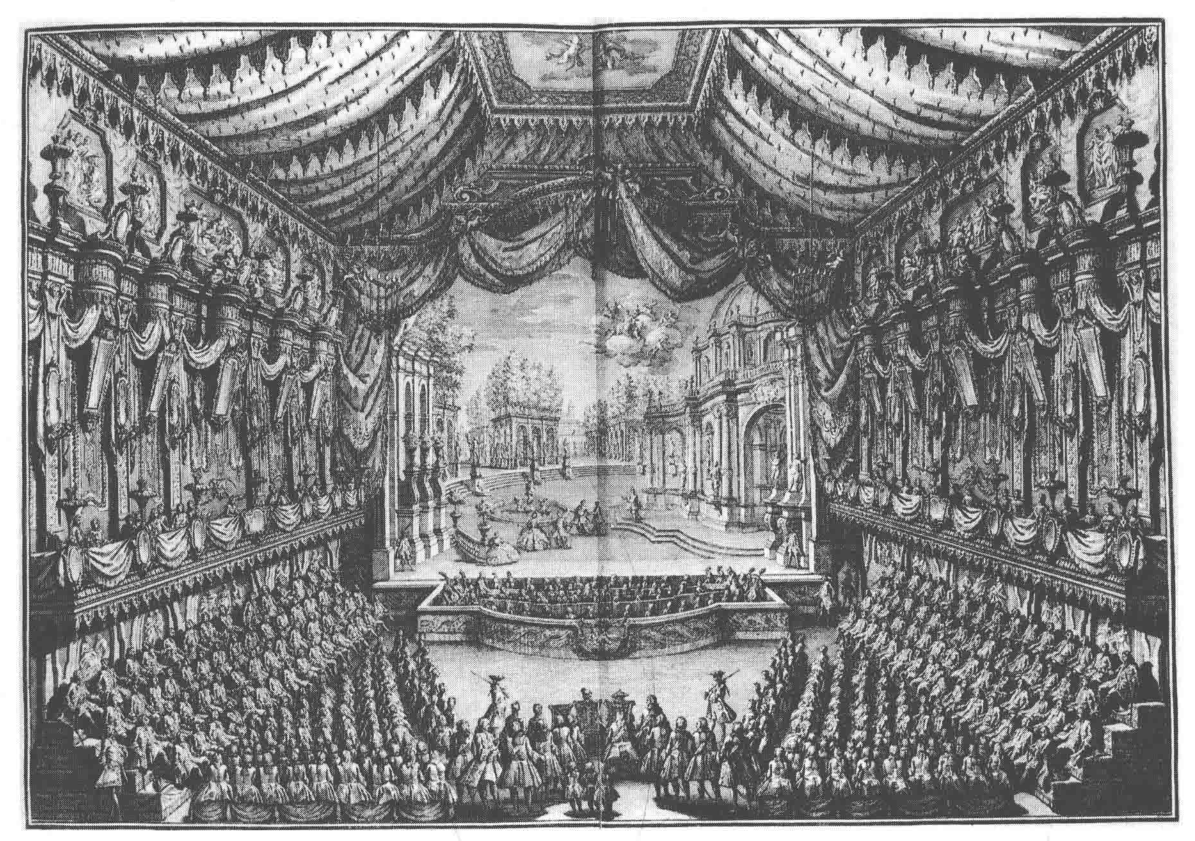
The use of spoken dialogue instead of recitative favoured various cross-currents and transfers, like *opera buffa* into *opéra comique* (from 1752) or *opéra comique* into Singspiel (from the 1760s in particular). From about mid-century, serious operas were created in English, Spanish and German, some originating as translations from French or Italian; and comic as well as heroic operas appeared in Russian and in Scandinavian languages. The distinction of genres relaxed as time went on: there were not only genre mixtures between comic and serious opera (*dramma eroicomico*, *opera semiseria*, *drame lyrique*) but also inflections of the aesthetic and social values formerly typical to the established genres, for example when exotic and serious subjects invaded *opéra comique* and *opera buffa* in the 1760s.

(iii) Performance and performers. A performative principle of 18th-century opera was the control of nature through its lifelike imitation, which involved artistic uses of the voice (coloratura), the body (dance, costume, gesture; fig.10), language (rhetoric) and of course the imagination. The realistic idea of mimicking people on stage was variously filtered through the artificial literary and musical texts and gestural conventions, the fantastic or complex plots, expensive decorations – which also entered the realistic and comic sub-genres – and above all through codes of public behaviour. Musical performers were highly trained specialists but also ambitious members of a society tied to decorum and etiquette. Performing standards, styles, manners and skills varied more widely than today; the performance itself was perhaps more often responsible for the success or failure of a work. Although audience appeal provided artistic clout to performers, their influence was socially and institutionally mediated; they depended on protectors and managers and on the goodwill of the authorities. In Rome in 1715, the satirical intermezzos *La Dirindina* by Girolamo Gigli and Domenico Scarlatti had to be withdrawn, by papal command, when the leading castrato refused to appear in the role of a pregnant prima donna. In Bologna in 1733, the soprano Anna Maria Peruzzi appealed against the allegedly bad music that J.A. Hasse had composed for her, but she had to sing it. Rows on or behind the stage found ample reflection in parody operas showing the predicament of the impresario between warring artists.



10. 'How to express feelings in silence': engraving from Franz Lang's 'Dissertatio de actione scenica' (Munich, 1727)

Opera continuously addressed issues of gender and class (for example by enacting behavioural norms on stage) and targeted social customs of dressing, fencing, dancing, feasting, litigating and so on. Women were not allowed on the public stage in the Church State, but otherwise appeared in far more opera houses than in the



11. Theatre in the Palazzo Reale, Naples, during a performance of Giuseppe de Majo's serenata 'Il sogno d'Olimpia', 6 November 1747: engraving by Giuseppe Vasi after Vincenzo Rè from 'Narrazione delle solenni reali feste fatte per celebrare in Napoli ... la nascita di ... Filippo Principe delle Due Sicilie' (Naples, 1748)

17th century. Despite discrimination and sexual exploitation, women often competed with castratos for the most lucrative roles. The interest in castrato voices, which increased until about 1770–80, has artistic, economic and probably social dimensions. They hardly ever appeared in France or in bourgeois opera genres.

Family and marital bonds were frequent among performers, composers and impresarios. In smaller companies, authors, managers and performers were sometimes one and the same, just as in the spoken theatre; examples of the personal union impresario-librettist-singer are found from Francesco Borosini (Vienna, 1724–*c*1731) and Antonio Denzio (Prague, 1724–35) to Emanuel Schikaneder (Vienna, 1783–1812).

The social and technical conventions of performance, such as role hierarchies or conducting and rehearsing routines, are familiar from contemporary criticism, which invariably deplores cliché and irrationality. Performers became more closely tied to the demands of individual works; the pasticcio practice, which had allowed them to insert their own favourite arias, scenes or ballet entrées into contexts for which they were not intended, declined after about 1760. Singers could become directly involved in stylistic and dramatic conceptions (for example the castrato Gaetano Guadagni in Gluck's opera reform); but on the whole, they lost influence on the literary or musical text while retaining their prominent status in the business.

(iv) Audiences. Opera-going was an activity reflecting personal interests or taste, as is evident from the polemics about it, but within a framework of social status and convenience. Court opera was attended by court members without payment and in deference to the ruler. Next came the large group of aristocratic or patrician patrons with their friends and guests (rarely their wives), who may have had sponsoring interests or who valued opera for social contact; this group has also left most of the written documentation of the practice. These people went to the opera as many times as possible and, if they travelled, in as many places as possible. Middle-class spectators were rare in court opera, as they could not afford the tickets, although there was the occasional free performance for 'all citizens' at such courts as Vienna or Brunswick. Servants could usually attend, free, in the gallery. The social spectrum of audiences, however, gradually expanded downwards, especially in the comic genres; the aristocracy, on the other hand, attended both types of entertainment throughout the century.

The shifts in attendance and dissemination corresponded to an unpredictable but, on the whole, massive publicity for opera, which exceeded the critical discourses about opera in other centuries. The operatic debate was disseminated across Europe by the literary élite in treatises, memoirs, letters, novels and new opera librettos, and it helped transform the genre itself in its relationship to public life. The early 18th-century Roman and Venetian fights over opera boxes (*guerre dei palchi*) were part of feuds between aristocratic clans; the London pamphlet wars around Handel, the Royal Academy of Music and

the Opera of the Nobility (1720–37) had political, literary and moral implications (the foreign genre itself was under scrutiny). The most famous debate, the pamphlet war of the Querelle des Bouffons (Paris, the early 1750s), exemplifies the way in which artistic, political and other convictions might crystallize around individual opera productions. The Gluckists and Piccinnists were moved both by literary ambition and by contrasting attitudes to Marie Antoinette's involvement in operatic reform at the hands of foreign composers.

Probably the most tangible and lasting effects of opera's public acclaim were found, in the course of the years, in opera itself, as its singing heroes, princesses, chambermaids, village philosophers and high priests learnt to pronounce the spectators' own beliefs and superstitions.

3. Stylistic evolution.

(i) Up to c1760. For Pier Jacopo Martello (*Della tragedia antica e moderna*, D1715), opera as a genre was to be avoided by the selfconscious poet. It was impure drama, perhaps to be redeemed in the distant future by the dramatic power of music. But in the same year, Antonio Salvi promised in the preface to his libretto *Amore e maestà* that, after the tragic catastrophe with the hero's death, the spectators 'would leave the theatre in tears, surrounded by sweet musical harmonies'. By directly engaging music in audience bonding – through sympathy, terror and compassion – this theatrical practice was heading for opera as we know it.

The 17th century had not posed the question of drama in opera with any rigour, and had rather indulged in the playgrounds of pastoral Arcadia and classical myth. Since about 1690, the Roman Accademia dell'Arcadia and other literary circles requested a return to utter simplicity or to spoken tragedy altogether. Hostility to opera on moral, national or social grounds also persisted, particularly outside Italy. Moderate supporters, some personally involved in the business as librettists (Apostolo Zeno, Pietro Pariati, Antonio Salvi, Barthold Feind) or composers (Mattheson, Telemann), attempted reform, adopting ethical and dramaturgical principles of French spoken drama (Corneille, Racine, Pradon, Molière). They insisted, however, on the legitimacy of a form of drama that is sung throughout, as it was at that time in serious and comic Italian and German opera and in the *tragédie en musique*. To transform canzonettas or couplets into scenic-dramatic monologues, or recitation into spontaneous utterances of a character, implied, first, a new aesthetic of word-setting. Symmetrical and dance-type arias yielded to long, pulsating *allegro* movements; melodic panache and rhythmic variety focussed listeners' attention on the lifelike musical process and the singer rather than the poetic form, without sacrificing declamatory impact.

The important questions of dramaturgy and verisimilitude (could Julius Caesar sing arias? how could a happy ending be made plausible?) concerned the imitation of human nature through music and thus the contribution of music to drama. Examples of such contributions which were deemed successful at the time are found in operas by Alessandro Scarlatti, Handel, Vinci, Hasse and Pergolesi (for example in his intermezzos *La serva padrona*, 1733). What had started as an ultimate refinement of the aesthetic of word-generated song here became a tendency of music to express affections, ethos and status of characters, even ideas and plots: the fabric of theatre itself. This move beyond words was made as the technical devices of coloratura, improvised cadenza, orchestral figuration and colour enhanced the imitative powers of music. The size and variety of timbre of opera orchestras were more rapidly increased than in any other period; the vocal coloraturas reflected the ambitions of a competitive profession. This first flourishing of *Tonmalerei* in opera is connected with composers such as Vivaldi, Telemann, Rameau or Jommelli in their very different ways.

The artistic representative of this phase of European opera was the poet Pietro Metastasio (1698–1782). In his earliest works, Metastasio benefited from the inspiration of a prima donna, Marianna Benti Bulgarelli, and he cultivated a lifelong friendship with the castrato Farinelli. The ethical and enlightened plots, the refined poetic language and Metastasio's superb dramaturgical skill must have helped singers to suspend their own disbelief in face of musical challenges.

Benedetto Marcello's *Il teatro alla moda* (D1720) satirized the provincial or old-fashioned habit of opera singers to stand occasionally beside their role and break the suspension of disbelief (they waved at their protectors, for example). This unwittingly 'epic' sort of theatre (in the Brechtian sense), which allowed for pregnant pauses or interruptions by audience reactions, often occurred in the unwritten sections of the performance such as cadenzas, or between aria and recitative. As time went on, the performative event became increasingly controlled by authorial agendas. Plot, stage action, even stage-sets, were increasingly 'composed out', for example in accompanied recitatives depicting nature and emotions. Their performance sounded more spontaneous than that of arias (as Francesco Algarotti emphasized, D1755) but had to be carefully rehearsed because of the tempo changes of the orchestral accompaniment. In *opera buffa*, parodistic effects and *lazzi* (set effects) were originally outside the jurisdiction of librettist or composer. The poet gained his control over them when censorship requested even intermezzo texts to be printed in advance. The composers learnt to express comic effects, as shown in operas by Pergolesi, Latilla and Galuppi, or in Hasse's intermezzos: *opera buffa* became synonymous also with a musical style.

The growing success of *opera buffa* with bourgeois as well as aristocratic audiences is reflected in the aesthetics and career of one of its main authors, Carlo Goldoni (1707–93). As a literary reformer, he intended his spoken plays as replacements of traditional, 'irregular' comedy; his almost 80 *buffa* librettos (*drammi giocosi per musica*) were of secondary importance to himself, but their very theatricality and enlightened moralism helped establish *opera buffa* as a musical genre throughout Europe. To a minor degree, the genre also indulged in musical parody, which relied on the reference to *opera seria* styles – as in Florian Gassmann's music for Calzabigi's *L'opera seria (La critica teatrale)* (1769, Vienna). In *opéra comique* and other vernacular forms, spoken dialogue was the home of verbal entertainment, at least with the better playwrights, but the rise of sentimental, fantastic and mixed plots in mid-century had the effect of channelling the advanced dramatic power of music towards non-heroic fields of expression.

(ii) c1760–90. An upsurge in operatic creativity in the 1760s and 70s was fuelled by a vastly expanding range of sources for plots, which now included novels, national



12. Act 2 scene x of Sarti's 'Giulio Sabino': engraving from the printed full score (Vienna, c1781)

histories and contemporary news items. Audiences could thus be exposed to stories reflecting the prevailing humanitarian values of the time, such as the cult of the family, the heroism of the humble, the dignity of non-Christian civilizations or the horrors of arbitrary power and unjust detention. Comic opera, while maintaining social satire as a staple dramatic device, engaged in the cultivation of the pathetic, where feminine characters gained in stature and women singers rose to a type of stardom strongly imbued with sentimentalism. Readily understandable subjects and familiar situations were only one aspect of a move towards realism which involved the whole range of operatic creation, production and criticism. The programmatic writings of Francesco Algarotti and Denis Diderot were linked to an increased attention to stage directions and the authenticity of costumes and sets.

Playhouses became starker in their inner decoration and what theatre historians call 'the fourth wall' made itself felt between the stage and the audience. While authors strove to present even the most fantastical events as 'believable' (see Mozart's letter about the supernatural voice in *Idomeneo*, 29 November 1780), the spectators' identification with the characters could reach extremes of emotional involvement, facilitated by packed houses and strong collective feelings.

Serious opera resorted to subjects and episodes which would have been regarded as shocking in the previous generation and were still widely frowned upon. Thus the decorum of Enlightenment opera lost ground to a display of spectacular effects which commentators related (positively or negatively) to the aesthetically 'impure' dramaturgy of the 17th century. Although the comic genre was more pliable and open to stylistic innovation, as shown by the development of the *drame lyrique* and its Italian offshoots, the *dramma serio per musica* or the *farsa sentimentale*, serious opera also proved to be ready for major evolutions, such as the staging of *comédies lyriques* at the Académie Royale de Musique or the burgeoning of the generically ambiguous *dramma eroicomico*.

Murders, suicides, battles, gothic settings and supernatural events naturally called for a spicier musical language, especially with regard to harmony and orchestration. But even the more traditional subjects were treated with strongly diversified poetic and musical means, concerning the stage action, aria types, the number of characters involved and the use of choruses; large-scale tonal planning and the use of recurring motifs promoted an overall 'musicalization' of opera to which contemporaries were keenly responsive. Formal flexibility and dramaturgical innovation were made possible by collaborative ventures, such as those of Goldoni and Galuppi, Calzabigi and Gluck (and perhaps Da Ponte and Mozart) or of the librettists Sedaine and Marmontel with various composers in Paris. Practices like the pasticcio or singer-induced alterations to existing works were not entirely abolished, but the creative status and public image of opera composers rose significantly, to the extent that Philidor

(in 1764) and Gluck (in 1767) could be explicitly recognized as the 'authors' of *Le sorcier* and *Alceste* respectively. When Gluck claimed that his presence at the performance of his works was as essential as the sun to the earth, he was setting an ideal for his successors of the 19th century.

V. The 19th century

1. Introduction. 2. Institutions. 3. Repertory. 4. Genres. 5. Plots. 6. Stylistic and formal changes. 7. National traditions. 8. Singers and other performers. 9. Staging. 10. Sources, dissemination. 11. Criticism, aesthetics.

1. INTRODUCTION. However much some may lament the fact, and even though there are now signs of significant change, a large majority of the operas that form the present-day international repertory still hail from a slightly elongated 'long' 19th century, from around 1780 until around 1920. The most frequently performed operas all belong to this period. This curious centrality, not to mention the disturbing presentness of the most famous works, their constant 're-creation' in public and private spaces around the globe, makes any broad historical overview a daunting prospect. What is more, internal chronological divisions within the period are neither obvious nor commonly agreed on, nor does separation of the genre into various national schools, though these retained much currency, seem as unproblematic as it might be in dealing with the 18th century. Accordingly, the ensuing discussion does not follow chronological or national boundaries, relying instead on more neutral divisions that could apply to opera in any century.

As §IV indicates, the very term 'opera' underwent an important transformation during the 18th century, changing from a sub-species of spoken theatre into what was essentially a musical genre. Even though elements of the earlier definition remained in force in some areas during the early decades of the 19th century, perhaps particularly in the case of Italian serious opera, the period saw a gradual consolidation of this change, with music as more and more the dominant element and with the status of the librettist as a literary figure experiencing a sharp decline. On the other hand, in its new guise as a musical genre, opera lost aesthetic prestige, in particular in comparison to 'pure' instrumental music. Late 19th-century attempts to give the genre new status thus often sought to appropriate aspects of the 'symphonic' tradition while simultaneously striving to dignify afresh the non-musical aspects: by notions of the *Gesamtkunstwerk*, by publishing librettos as independent literary works or by developing the idea of *Literaturoper*, a type of opera that strives to preserve a pre-existing literary source more or less intact.

Possibly connected to the decline in the genre's literary status, the relationship of opera to larger currents in cultural and political history remains a source of lively debate and not infrequent puzzlement. Key cultural terms such as 'Romanticism' and 'realism' often seem to manifest themselves in opera at periods removed from their appearance in the other arts, or in strangely unemphatic contexts. As just one example, the literary polemics over Romanticism in Italy around 1816–18, or in France in the 1820s and 30s, although they focussed on drama, seemed largely to ignore opera, quite possibly because the genre had already (and without great resistance) escaped those restrictions of time and place that classicists saw as crucial to spoken drama, and because its language, its mode of discourse, was too extraordinary to be co-opted into the debate on either side. Of course, opera partook freely of the new, Romantic dramas as literary sources; but, significantly, it was able do so without radical readjustments to its outer nature, Romantic and classical subjects frequently remaining side by side in an otherwise largely unchanged formal and stylistic language. This is not to say that such broad cultural shifts did not affect opera profoundly: the new subjectivities that emerged with Romanticism certainly played powerfully across opera's expressive world; but the conjunctions are typically not as immediate as the sharing of certain literary texts might at first suggest.

The same caution might be applied to opera's relationship to history in the broader sense. The political revolutions of the period interrupted the steady production and consumption of operatic pleasure in what are arguably no more than superficial ways, and the persistent association of certain composers (notably Auber, Verdi and a number of eastern Europeans) with insurrection and social unrest has far more to do with later 19th-century imaginings – nostalgia for a lost time of action – than with any contemporary evidence. Although it was inevitable that the opera house, as an important meeting-place for the urban bourgeois, occasionally became caught up in the century's great bourgeois revolutions, the theatre was far more often a place where the ruling class could rely on stability. This was more so as the century progressed and revolutionary movements embraced an ever wider socio-economic spectrum, many elements of which were excluded from all but the humblest of operatic representations. This is not, of course, to deny that opera in the 19th century was in many areas inescapably bound up with the idea of nation and national representation; merely to emphasize that political events and operatic events are very different, their relationship often complex and subterranean.

2. INSTITUTIONS. Towards the end of the 18th century, regular operatic performances could be seen through much of Europe, even as far afield as Russia. 50 years later, however, the genre had become a well-nigh global phenomenon. Apart from certain pockets of partial resistance, this expansion was primarily of Italian opera, first in a huge wave of Rossini fever (there was a Rossini vogue in Chile in the 1830s), and then of his followers, in particular Verdi. By 1870 the most popular of Verdi's operas were being performed in many a far-flung outpost in North, Central and South America, and they had also travelled to Australia, China, India and South Africa.

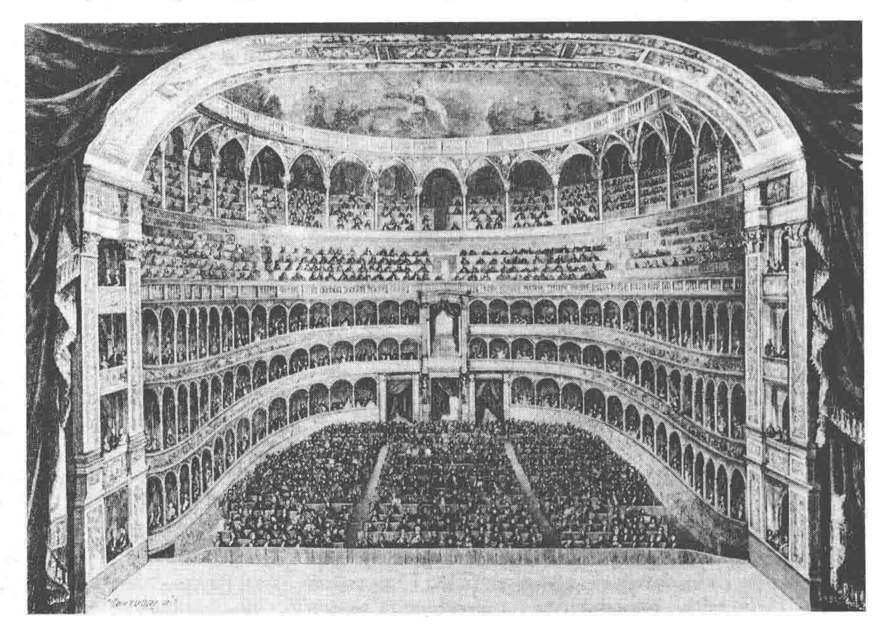
In the more remote regions, opera was often brought in by means of intrepid touring companies, bravely making use of an expanding system of rail transport. Within Europe, however, the number of theatres dedicated to fixed seasons of operatic performance increased considerably, especially during the first half of the 19th century. After the revolutions of 1848 there came about a gradual change, and a gradual decline in opera's economic fortunes in the main centres of western Europe. Partly this was a matter of changed public habits among the privileged classes: there were now other possible meeting-places, and new, competing forms of cultural activity. But it was also to do with the changing nature of operatic institutions.

Although traces of what might loosely be described as 'court opera' in the 17th- and 18th-century sense occasionally survived into the early 19th century, notably in Germany and Austria, by far the most common financial basis for an opera house was within a mixed economy. The key figure was the impresario, already much in evidence in the 18th century, who arranged seasons and engaged singers and composers, usually receiving some kind of subsidy from the theatre's owners (who might or might not be the local government) but also speculating at his own financial risk. The highpoint of the impresarios' power came in the first half of the 19th century, a period that saw powerful figures such as Louis Véron and his successors at the Paris Opéra; Alessandro Lanari, who controlled large regions of central Italy and thus to an extent coordinated the repertory and performing resources; and Bartolomeo Merelli, who arranged similar exchanges between such important centres as La Scala, Milan, and the Kärntnertortheater in Vienna. Looser connections took place between Her Majesty's Theatre in London and the Théâtre-Italien in Paris, though here the primary link was the shared services of a group of élite singers and their own preferred repertory.

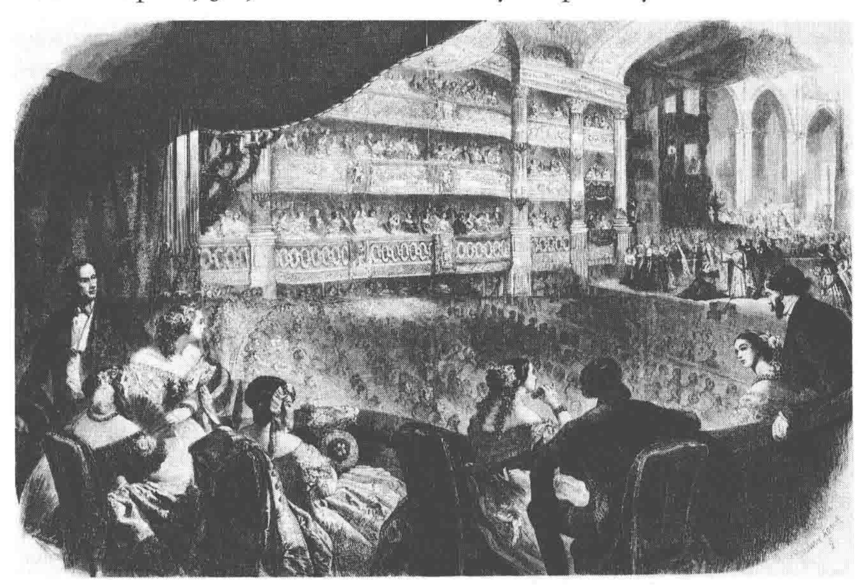
The decline of the impresarios in the latter part of the 19th century marked several important changes in operatic life. The increasing establishment of a core repertory, and the consequent decline in production of new works (see below, §3), reduced the impresarios' role, as did the gradual strengthening of copyright controls (over both new and repertory works), which vastly increased the power of certain publishers, who now began to take a more active role in operatic production. Competition intensified, and profit margins decreased, with the gathering popularity of large, arena-type theatres later in the century (fig.13). For the major theatres, state funding, with impresarios likely to be little more than paid managers, became the norm; and this model continued its precarious existence through the 20th century.

3. Repertory. One of the key changes during this period was the decisive formation of an operatic repertory, the gradual emergence of a body of works that were revived countless times in countless different venues, and the consequent decline in the production of new operas. Repertory works were of course not unknown in the 18th century and earlier: the operas of Lully and Rameau had achieved something like that position in France, as had the oratorios of Handel in England. It should also be recalled that an operatic repertory of a kind did indeed exist in the 18th century, but that the 'work' was typically a libretto, not its musical setting: several of Metastasio's librettos were endlessly restaged in the 18th century, in numerous musical settings. Some of Mozart's operas (in particular *Don Giovanni*) may have tentatively established repertory status in England and Germany in the first decade of the 19th century, but the crucial change in direction occurred in Italy (the centre previously most resistant to repertory formation) and began with the most popular comic operas of Rossini, which established for themselves a permanent position around the globe, to be followed by various works by Bellini, Donizetti and Verdi. By the 1840s the term 'repertory opera' was in common use in Italy and rapidly spread elsewhere; the disruptions of 1848–9 and the international successes of Verdi's middle-period operas solidified the process.

In the second half of the century, the idea of a repertory was thus firmly entrenched; but in its earliest phases the corpus changed quite radically. From the 1850s onwards, the first pan-European challenge to Italian hegemony came, from French *grand opéra*, in particular the works of Meyerbeer, which became a truly international phenomenon, even establishing a (highly contested) position in Italy itself (fig.14). Then, towards the end of the century, Wagner's operas gained ground, in several countries displacing all but the most hardy of Italian operas (it was not until the 1920s and 30s, with the so-called Verdi Renaissance, that Italian and German opera established a comfortable co-existence as the backbone of the repertory). Towards the end of the 19th century, with new operas becoming ever more scarce, we see glimmers of what, 100 years later, had become a major force: the idea of the operatic revival as an agent of repertory



13. Auditorium of the Teatro Costanzi, Rome, inaugurated 1880: engraving by Sabatini after Montuori



14. Interior of the Paris Opéra (Salle le Peletier) during Act 4 of Meyerbeer's 'Le prophète' (original production 1849): engraving by Gustave Janet

renewal. When Handel's *Almira* was performed in 1878 in Hamburg, it initiated a process that would grow steadily through the 20th century, though still not rapidly enough to challenge the central position still occupied by works from the 'long 19th century'.

The effects of this repertory formation on operatic institutions are referred to in §2 above. But there were other, equally important repercussions. During the first few decades of the 19th century, star singers tended to limit themselves to works in one national tradition, and could rely on making a living out of roles either written specially for them or in some way adapted to their strengths and weaknesses: choice of a company of singers would typically precede choice of repertory for a given season. By the end of the century this situation was often reversed, singers tending more and more to adapt their voices to a variety of roles and musical styles and composers being less willing to tailor roles for a particular voice. An international singing style emerged.

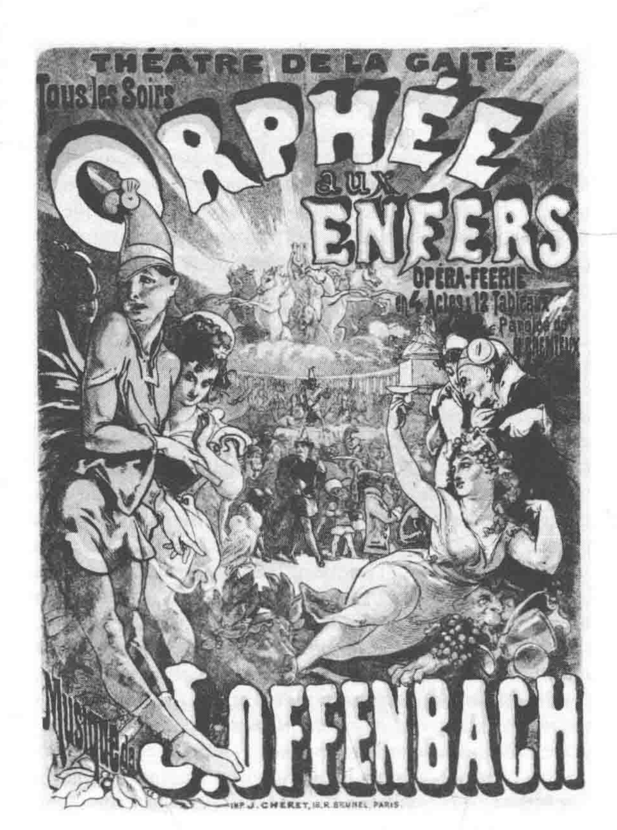
But perhaps the most fundamental change brought about by repertory opera occurred in the nature of operatic communication. In an operatic world based primarily on new works, composers had to produce quickly and to communicate immediately with audiences: if a work failed at its first performances, that failure was often absolute. Hence the importance of generic conventions, whose presence could stimulate and ease creative endeavour while at the same time offering audiences ready points of contact and a reassuring familiarity. Small wonder, then, that these conventions lost ground as the repertory set in. New works now had to pass a sterner test, defining themselves as ever more radically different from their competitors. As originality became increasingly the watchword, original composition became ever harder. The sense of an operatic tradition was lost, or rather was searched for in the ever more distant past.

4. Genres. The separation of comic and tragic genres that had been established in the 18th century was firmly in place, whatever the national school, at the start of the 19th century, and remained fairly constant for the first few decades. True, there was also a tradition of so-called 'mixed' works (the French *comédie larmoyante* or the Italian *opera semiseria*), but, rather than escape the traditional divisions, these types, the latter especially, tended to emphasize them further by using genre juxtaposition as a primary means of dramatic articulation. An additional continuity with the 18th century was in the tendency of comic works to occupy a less elevated position in the operatic pantheon, frequently appearing in minor theatres and addressing a less elevated audience. This tendency hardened in the decades around the middle of the century: Rossini-style comic operas, though retaining a robust currency, particularly in dialect traditions, became unpopular with the most successful composers.

However, this falling away or diluting of comic opera was accompanied by two highly significant developments. The first was an increased infiltration of comic scenes into serious opera. In Italy Verdi was active in this fusion of genres, integrating frankly comic scenes into several of his post-1850 operas. Perhaps even more striking, in France the later 19th-century *drame lyrique* owed at least as much to an earlier tradition of *opéra comique* as it did to *grand opéra*. Other national opera traditions of the later 19th century, the Russian and the Czech, seemed easily to embrace this mixture of the comic and the serious.

The second development was the emergence of a new genre, now known under the broad title of operetta. Though there were important precedents both in France and Germany, the decisive point is usually seen to be marked by the works of Offenbach in the 1850s, first known as *opéras bouffes* after the theatre in which they were initially presented (fig.15). The international popularity of this new style led to offshoots in other countries, each with a distinctive national character, and each drawing from indigenous traditions: the *Operetten* of Johann Strauss and others in central Europe (which owed something to the earlier Singspiel); the works of Gilbert and Sullivan in England (which drew energy from vaudeville and ballad opera traditions); the revival of the zarzuela in Spain and from there its dissemination to Central and South America.

5. Plots. Among the huge diversity of operatic plots in the 19th century, it would seem very difficult to trace



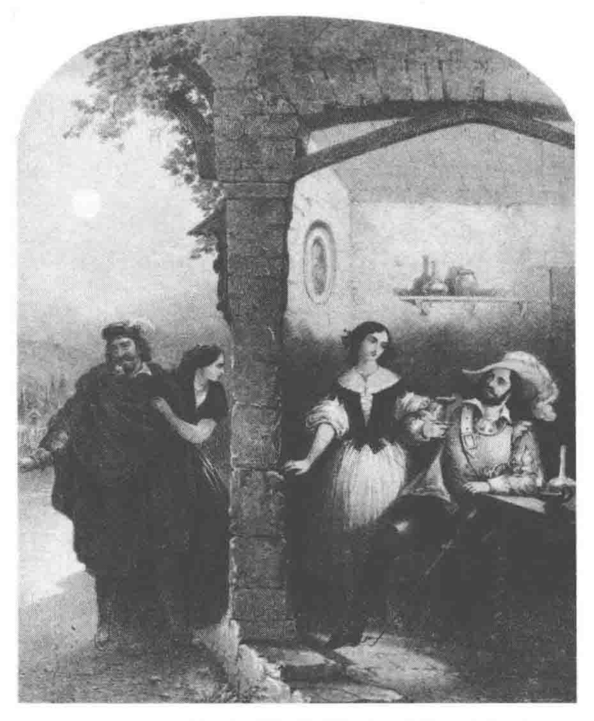
15. Poster for Offenbach's 'Orphée aux enfers', printed for the revised version at the Théâtre de la Gaîté, Paris, 1874: colour lithograph by Jules Cheret

purposeful lines of development. On the most basic level, however, one might hazard that the domination of French dramaturgical models seen at the end of the 18th century was in large part maintained through the next 100 years. When sea changes occurred in the manners of French spoken theatre – for example the advent of *mélodrame* in the early years of the 19th century, or the subsequent turn towards 'realism' around mid-century – then opera followed, and did so regardless of the various inflections brought on by national differences.

But certain large shifts in cultural attitude nevertheless left their mark. For example, opera plots are surely implicated in the now familiar idea that the 19th century saw an important turn away from what the sociologist Richard Sennett has called the idea of 'public man': an increasing tendency for ever more stressed and crowded urban dwellers to seek coherence not within the public world of politics and public display, which had so often betrayed them and was ever more obviously beyond their control, but rather within the private world of the family and of personal relationships generally. It has been plausibly suggested that this change is played out in operatic subjects: that those grand historical canvasses of the early century gradually gave way to 'claustrophobic' dramas, in which the individual's plight became the chief focus of attention (related to this could be the decline in the prestige of comic works, which inevitably lie more in the public world). For example, the decline of French *grand opéra* of the Meyerbeerian type has been traced in precisely these terms (Gerhard, E1992), and the progress of a composer such as Verdi, whose operas span a large part of the century, is a further case in point: although grand choral effects nearly always played a part in his works, the increasing manner in which individuals come to dominate the drama is obvious. Wagner's 'retreat' into myth in the second half of his career might be taken into this story with only a little sense of strain; and a seemingly logical end-point occurs in the early 20th century, with purely psychological works such as Debussy's *Pelléas et Mélisande* and Schoenberg's *Erwartung*, or with the operas of Puccini, in which any political aspects are more often than not overwhelmed by the focus on individual passions.

However, objections to this neat sense of progress come readily to mind. In the case of Verdi, while the progress from (say) the grand public spaces and themes of *Nabucco* to (say) the claustrophobia of *Otello* might seem compelling, important mature works such as *Don Carlos* will give pause, not least because that opera is arguably one in which the force of history, and thus of the public world, plays with unprecedented influence on the lives of the characters. And with Wagner there is the case of *Die Meistersinger*, in which the composer's dramaturgical techniques adapt with seeming ease to grand public spaces and overt historical gestures. More anomalous still are the operas from emerging national traditions such as those in Russia and elsewhere in eastern Europe, in which the epic style and large historical canvas continue to occupy the centre, albeit sometimes chaotically juxtaposed with an intense focus on individuals.

Undoubtedly related to these matters, and equally problematic, is another large shift, towards what is loosely called 'realism' (or *verismo*). Certain key works are routinely mentioned in this light: Verdi's *La traviata*,



16. Opening scene of Act 3 of Verdi's 'Rigoletto', Covent Garden, London, 1853, including (from left to right) Giorgio Ronconi (Rigoletto), Angiolina Bosio (Gilda), Constance Nantier-Didée (Maddalena) and Giovanni Mario (Duke of Mantua): lithograph from a contemporary sheet-music cover

which was originally set in almost-contemporary Paris, and which is suffused by the then modern rhythm of the waltz, or Bizet's *Carmen*, with its factory girls, common soldiers and criminals. However, in both cases, as in many others, the 'realistic' effects thus obtained are constantly compromised by their simultaneous status as elements of local colour, which causes them to be in some senses distanced from audience identification and thus made less realistic (there is also the obvious point that the reality of a Violetta or a Carmen was certainly not one to which the contemporary operatic audience would have aspired). Perhaps the literal geographical expansion of opera plots in the later 19th century, their tendency to explore ever more remote and mysterious areas, is in this sense a more significant development, not least because of the musical explorations that it inspired in so many composers. By the closing decades of the century, operatic 'exoticism' – particularly in the French and Italian traditions – had become so common as almost to function as an alternative routine, with its own stock collection of much circulated musical and visual representations.

6. STYLISTIC AND FORMAL CHANGES. The 19th century is conventionally seen as the great age of progress, and so it is perhaps not surprising that the history of its most important cultural products is also depicted primarily as an achievement of goals. In terms of opera, this sense of a gradual move towards some distant oasis (a goal often associated with some vaguely value-laden concept of drama) is typically inscribed on to the lives of individual composers or national schools. This is most striking in the case of Italian opera, whose 19th-century history is still sometimes thought of as a painful achievement of genuine dramatic values, effected by heroic individual effort in the face of formidable resistance.

In such a historiographical context, it is salutary to try to construct a more international picture, one that involves trends larger than those found in any individual composer or even national school. The rigid alternation of recitative (involving dialogue and stage action) and aria (involving monologue and reflection) had already been challenged by the later decades of the 18th century; but the first decades of the 19th century saw the decisive emergence of the multi-movement 'number' as the basic unit of operatic form. This unit was (perhaps as always) more predictable in Italy than elsewhere, but it nevertheless formed the backbone of much opera elsewhere (the partial exception was German opera, which favoured the strophic romance and tended to use multi-movement forms only to demonstrate a character's supposed italianate qualities). The number contained within it both static and kinetic movements, thus allowing for a variety of emotional representations (and a variety of vocal manners), as well as the injection of stage action – typically the entrance of a character with news from outside – to precipitate contrasting moods. During the early decades (longer in comic opera), recitative or spoken dialogue remained in currency; but this gradually became absorbed stylistically into the number. At the same time, the numbers tended to become less formally predictable and, above all, longer and more complex. Opera across all national styles became increasingly connected musically. By the end of the century it was common, at least in the most elevated styles, for act endings to become the only places of complete musical pause.



17. *Scenes from the original production of Delibes' 'Lakmé', Opéra-Comique (Salle Favart), Paris, 14 April 1883: engraving by Fortuné-Louis Méaulle after Defendi Semeghini from 'L'illustration' (28 April 1883)*

These formal changes brought with them other, equally important and equally pan-European, developments. One of the most striking was what has been called a 'dialoguizing' process, the sense in which opera in this period begins to present dialogue – which in classic 18th-century *opera seria* had taken place almost exclusively in recitative – as an increasingly central aspect of its communicative project. This in one sense brought opera closer to spoken drama, by the end of the century allowing such types as *Literaturopern* (works that use as their libretto an existing spoken drama with minimal alteration, although inevitably some cutting). It also meant that the duet in some ways replaced the aria as opera's normative mode of discourse. This should not be exaggerated. Partly because it was so central to opera's dissemination outside the theatre, in concerts and private venues both humble and elevated, the solo aria (or at worst the chunk of monologue) continued in firm currency in almost all types of opera through to the end of the 19th century, typically remaining an unproblematic aspect of the dramaturgy, not for example requiring special plot preparation to justify its presence. If anything, the hegemony of the aria in the public's operatic imagination was further strengthened by the appearance of recording, which was gathering pace as the century came to a close.

However, the combined effects of 'dialoguizing' and increased continuity, together with a falling away of predictable formal patterns, left room for, and perhaps necessitated, other levels of musical communication within opera. Probably the most important of these was by motivic means. Reminiscence motifs began to be extensively used during the last decade of the 18th century, mostly in France; during the first half of the 19th they appeared in most national styles, perhaps most commonly in German opera, least often in Italian, a point surely reflecting the so-called symphonic aspirations of German composers. In the second half of the century, this

tendency to supply an opera with some degree of motivic coherence became even stronger, most famously in Wagner's systematic use of the leitmotif in his later operas, a technique taken up by a great many at the *fin de siècle*. It is often said that leitmotifs should be rigorously distinguished from reminiscence motifs, in that the latter merely punctuate the musical discourse (in fact tending to articulate their message by their difference from their surroundings) while the former constitute the very basis of the musical fabric. But the matter is far from clearcut, not least because there are many stretches of mature Wagner that are (arguably) without leitmotifs: to characterize the musical material of his later operas as deriving exclusively from leitmotivic activity requires a degree of special pleading.

Just as significant: opera got noisier. Although (contrary to general belief) the string sections of operatic orchestras did not get much larger during the 19th century, what might be called the centre of gravity of the orchestra gradually slipped, with lower tessituras used for certain woodwind instruments (flutes and bassoons), a strengthening of the lower brass and the gradual addition of wind instruments of various kinds. These changes were of course related to developments elsewhere: in the demands made of operatic orchestras in the increasingly continuous operatic fabric; in theatre architecture and in the sheer size of venues (dictated by economic considerations); in changes in singing style; and in more general organological developments.

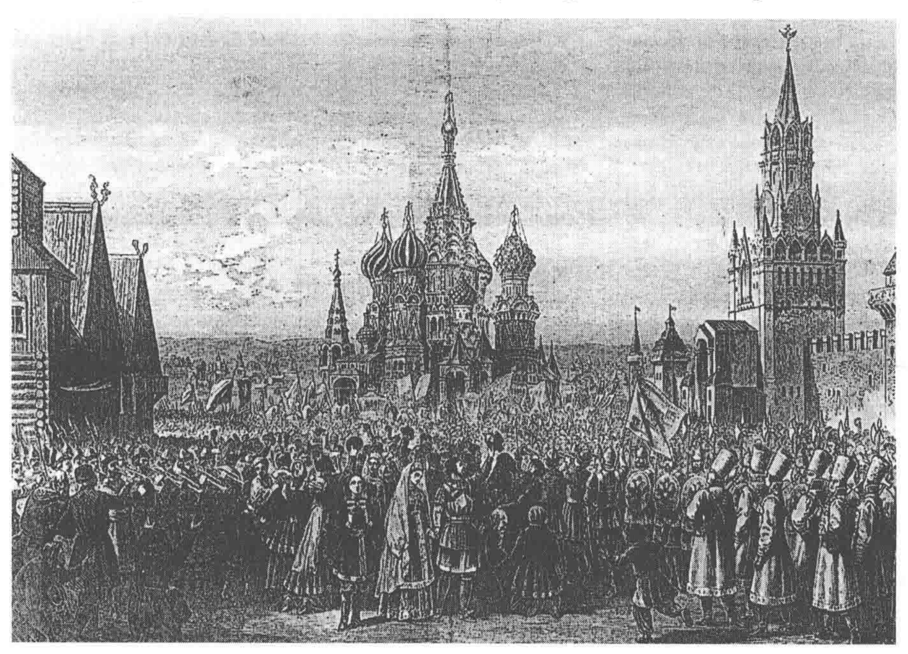
7. National traditions. In §1 it was suggested that the national differences so important to 18th-century opera gradually began to erode during the 19th century, to give way to an international style; but significant differences remain between the mainstream traditions even in the last decades, ones not only tied to the use of language. However, this process of internationalization may not always move in a direct line towards the century's end. It can be argued, for example, that the pull of French dramaturgical practice, together with the unprecedented prestige and magnificence of French *grand opéra* and the cosmopolitan leanings of Paris, made the 1830s and the beginning of the 40s an earlier moment of rapprochement between the major European traditions, at least within the most elevated genres (similar arguments might also be made for Paris in the first decade of the 19th century). With Italian composers such as Donizetti looking towards Paris and Parisian style, and with the young Wagner deeply influenced by *grand opéra*, one could suggest that Paris had fashioned around itself a European style. But it was not to last. The three most influential composers of the 1850s and 60s – Meyerbeer, Verdi and Wagner – all to some extent redefined a sense of national difference, even while the dissemination of their works was responsible for an internationalization of the repertory.

However, the 19th century also saw the decisive establishment of a number of other national traditions, in particular those in Russia, Poland and various parts of the Habsburg empire, notably the Czech lands and Hungary. All these areas saw vernacular opera during the 18th century, but – as in the case of Germany a little earlier – the formation of a 'national opera' was bound up with a gathering sense of national cultural identity. In all cases one can identify key works that managed, more by dint of multiple performance and/or association with political events than by using folk materials, to collect around them a potent miscellany of musical and dramatic or literary motifs that could come to symbolize the nation. The process here is important: rather than appropriating an already existing fund of national musical material, these operas typically constructed that material, becoming 'national' through their cumulative reception. In both Russia and the Czech lands, the founding fathers (Glinka with *A Life for the Tsar*, 1836: fig.18, and Smetana with *The Bartered Bride*, 1866, respectively) were merely the start of a flourishing tradition (albeit one that in Russia continued to find fierce competition from Italian opera), while the work of Erkel in Hungary and Moniuszko in Poland remained to some extent isolated. What is more, Russian opera in particular managed to penetrate the western European repertory, functioning within it as the standard representation of 'other' opera, not bound by any supposed dramaturgical or musical rules associated with the mainstream traditions.

For various political and cultural reasons, other countries found it more difficult to establish national traditions, although many tried. Spain is a typical example, first in the grip of Rossini, then Verdi, then (and always belatedly) dealing with the equally stifling influence of Wagner and Wagnerism. Other nascent traditions, in countries as far-flung and diverse as Argentina, Greece, Sweden and the USA (many more could be mentioned), had to wait until the 20th century for any decisive national opera to be formed.

8. Singers and other performers. As has already been mentioned, singers – those central purveyors of opera's message – maintained a substantial influence over the operatic event during much of the 19th century. During the first half of the century, and far beyond that in certain areas, the choice of a roster of singers was the first decision to be made in the construction of an operatic season: only when the performers had been fixed would composers and librettists be contracted, and these 'creators' would then make their decisions about subjects and treatments with a particular cast in mind. This applied even to composers of the greatest imaginable eminence. Verdi or Meyerbeer, for example, were both well aware that their new operas, if successful, were destined for repertory status, and thus to be performed under many different conditions and with many different casts; but they nevertheless tailored individual parts to the première cast, a restriction that seemed if anything to stimulate their creativity. However, as mentioned earlier, the increasing hold of the repertory system in the second half of the century inevitably meant that singers were less and less often involved in creating new roles, and so lost much of their influence, even at a time when increased mobility assured the most famous of them unprecedentedly large earnings.

One of the most striking aspects of vocal change during the period is the extent to which singers altered in type. By the 1830s the castratos, already in steep decline during the later 18th century, had all but disappeared from the operatic stage, their heroic roles first taken by the *contralto musico*, then by the Romantic tenor. This drop in the tessitura of heroes continued through the 19th century. In the early decades, for example, tenors freely used a 'mixed voice' to produce graceful high notes, but by the 1840s this had for the most part disappeared, giving way to a concentration on the more baritonal, heavier tenor range. The rise of the so-called heroic tenor roughly



18. Red Square, Moscow, in the closing scene of Glinka's 'A Life for the Tsar': engraving by L. Seryakov after K. Brozh showing a production c1850

coincided with the emergence of the dramatic baritone as his central antagonist, or even, particularly after 1850, as the principal character. All voice types gradually sacrificed flexibility for sheer power: the ornamental vocal writing that had been the province of all up to about 1820 had become by mid-century the exclusive domain of female singers, and then only a sub-group of them.

These changes, as already mentioned, are related to other developments in operatic practice: the need for greater power, for example, clearly went hand in hand with the expansion of the orchestra and of theatres generally. The shift away from soprano voices (which had dominated 18th-century opera) in heroic roles, and also perhaps the rise of the baritone, could be related to an increasing desire for a degree of operatic realism: opera came closer to the communicative codes of spoken drama if the singing voices of characters were differentiated in a manner similar to their vocal differentiation in a stage play. But there are also interesting ways in which these developments might cautiously be linked to wider cultural change.

The situation of women on stage, for example, seems to invite such speculation. Although women were an accepted part of 18th-century theatrical life, their social position was frequently precarious. In part for this reason, women singers tended to come from theatrical families (where they would enjoy a degree of protection) and to come a poor second to the castratos in terms of earning power. However, the 19th century saw a great rise in the hegemony of the prima donna, and through most of the century (despite competition from star tenors) they could often outstrip their male colleagues in fame and fortune. Women of many stations now chose the life of an opera singer, seeing in it a chance for individual professional advancement otherwise rather rare for their sex. But it is at least arguable that this rise in status and professional power was accompanied by a tendency in opera plots to treat female roles as increasingly 'other': ever more powerless to effect the violent events that surround and all too often overwhelm them.

During the second half of the 19th century, the power of singers of either sex to influence the operatic event was being challenged by another interpreter: the conductor. At the start of the century, the typical method of coordinating the musical aspects of an operatic performance was by means of two directors: the *maestro al cembalo*, who at premières was often the composer and who often had a special responsibility for the vocal aspects; and the principal violin, who would use his bow to beat time and generally marshal the orchestra. This system fell into disuse around mid-century (earlier in Germany and England, later in Italy), to be replaced by something more like the modern conductor. By the end of the century the star conductor was gaining in influence, the most prominent of them having considerable sway over many aspects of the operatic event.

9. Staging. The idea that staging might be closely coordinated with other aspects of operatic performance of course existed well before the 19th century, but this period nevertheless brought about extensive revisions in both the practice and the philosophy of opera's visual system of communication. Much of the stimulus for this came first from German-speaking theatres, where already in the late 18th century considerable attention was being paid to the total effect of theatrical performance. By the 1820s Weber, in Dresden, was putting into operation a system in which all staging elements of an opera were selfconsciously to be united, taking particular trouble with soloists' (and even the chorus's) histrionic abilities.

Many of the developments were fuelled and encouraged by technological change: gas lighting appeared in theatres around 1820, electricity in the second half of the century (fig.20). Both of these were of course safer than previous, naked-flame alternatives; but they also allowed for greater sophistication of stage illusion, as did enlarged backstage spaces and more complex machinery. By the 1830s the acknowledged leader in these fields was the Paris Opéra, in which vast expense and untold energies went into creating elaborate visual display. This activity was marked



19. Final scene of Mascagni's 'Cavalleria rusticana' in the production at La Scala, Milan, 3 January 1891, with sets by Giovanni Zuccarelli: engraving by A. Bonamore, 1891

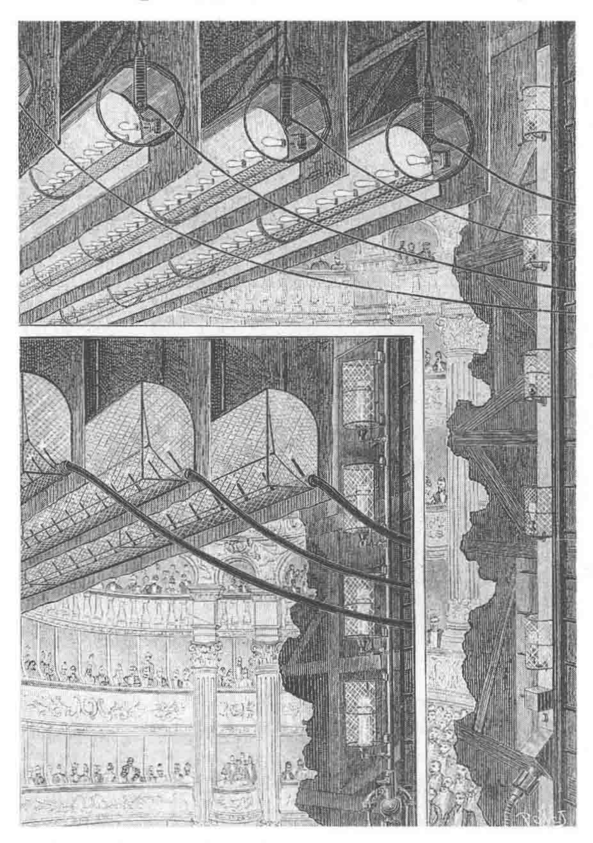
by the emergence of the so-called *livrets de mise en scène*, production books in which many aspects of the visual would be painstakingly notated, and which were intended to ensure that works first given in Paris would be 'correctly' mounted in the provinces and elsewhere. The *livrets'* appearance thus coincided with, and was inseparably linked to, the establishment of repertory opera, and called into question a crucial aesthetic issue: when revivals of a classic work were mounted, how far should the original staging of that work be considered part of its basic 'text'? The appearance of the *livrets* reflected a radically restrictive answer to these questions, each *livret* aiming to make certain aspects of the production a fixed text, and (often explicitly) to govern the visual manner in which the operas would be revived.

In houses devoted to Italian opera, whether in Italy or elsewhere, such issues were less pressing. During the first half of the 19th century, the librettist (or house poet) generally took charge of staging, and the sheer speed at which productions went on stage suggests that there was far more reliance on convention and routine solutions. However, the influence of French theatrical practice spread and by the 1860s elaborate *disposizioni sceniche*, directly modelled on the *livrets*, began to accompany the most prestigious premières (fig.21). By the 1870s and 80s, the grandest of grand operas, whether in France, Italy or Germany, were vast and fearsomely complex undertakings, great monuments to archaeology and Romantic illusion. The prototype of the modern director emerged, most obviously in the formidable presence of Richard Wagner, whose Bayreuth stagings of his operas in the late 1870s and early 80s pioneered a darkened auditorium, an orchestra hidden from view and a new, more 'naturalistic' acting style, all of which further intensified the sense of audience involvement in the visual spectacle (fig.22). Wagnerian attention to the spectacle was as much a revolution in audience behaviour as it was in directorial practice. Through much of the 19th century, the audience was by modern standards undisciplined and noisy: it was only when the advent of electric stage lighting allowed the auditorium to be in almost total darkness that anything like present-day silence became the norm.

10. Sources, dissemination. The practice of printing a libretto for each revival of an opera, for sale in or near the opera house and with information about the cast, other executants and often with a preface by the librettist, continued to roughly 1850 and was then gradually replaced by generic librettos produced by publishers. These documents served as an important point of communication with the public, were consulted by many in their (dimly) lit auditoriums and doubtless influenced the manner in which an opera was received in ways now difficult to imagine – surely, for example, highlighting the manner in which operatic music is a setting of a poetic text.

The 19th century also saw a consolidation and then vast expansion of the vocal score as the prime physical means of disseminating the musical text of an opera. Early in the century, particularly in Italy, individual numbers ('pezzi staccati') would often be released first; the complete score could later be assembled by binding these pieces together. Printed full orchestral scores were rare in Italy until near the end of the century (and then were usually for hire only) and appeared in Germany only in certain exceptional cases (Mozart, Weber and especially Wagner). In France, however, the earlier tradition of publishing full scores of the most successful works continued through much of the century. Even where printed scores existed, however, manuscript copies were still the primary means by which the complete text of an opera was distributed to theatres.

While vocal scores clearly aided the dissemination of operas into both private and public spaces, a far more widespread and voluminous means, practically the invention of the 19th century, was the published operatic transcription. In Italy and France particularly, a successful opera of mid-century would be released in an enormous number of arrangements: for piano solo, piano duet, for



20. Electric battens and wing lights at the Paris Opéra (Salle Garnier) with (inset) the gas fittings they replaced: engraving from 'L'illustration' (18 June 1887)

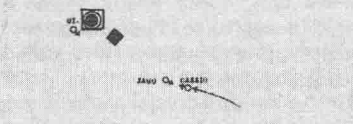
various instruments and piano, for other (sometimes unlikely) combinations and also in numerous more 'creative' versions, entitled fantasias or reminiscences, sometimes as grand and ambitious as those of Liszt, sometimes much more modest. This corpus of material suggests that operatic music was a major part of the repertory of private salons, or indeed of anywhere that the piano and other instruments were played by amateurs. 19th-century concerts, too, were much more likely to involve either operatic excerpts, arrangements or reminiscences than their counterparts today. Operatic texts and subjects were diffused in less grand venues: in the marionette theatres of Italy, the burlesques of England, the magic lantern shows of Germany and of course the barrel organs of all these places. There is even evidence that operatic melodies sometimes drifted into the channels of oral transmission, to re-emerge as supposed folk material collected by ethnographers in the 20th century. It is probably true that opera, as publicly performed in urban theatres, can rarely be termed popular entertainment in anything like a modern sense (a partial exception might be made of the period between about 1860 and the advent of the cinema, but then only in places with a large Italian population). It is however also true that opera during this period became a phenomenon much broader than merely its theatrical diffusion, however extensive, might suggest.

11. Criticism, aesthetics. The considerable expansion in so many domains of operatic activity during this period



(a)

Jago profitterà di questa mossa di **Cassio**, per guardare rapidamente dalla parte di **Otello**: poi si rivolge a **Cassio**, e gli dice ad alta voce: *L'hai teco?* **Cassio** estrae dal giustacuore il fazzoletto di **Desdemona** (1), ed avvicinandosi a **Jago**, esclama: *Guarda.*

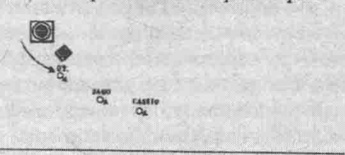


Jago prendendo il fazzoletto, in modo che si spieghi, lo osserva e dice, con ammirazione: *Qual meraviglia!* **Cassio**, rimane pensieroso, perchè ignora a chi appartenga il fazzoletto, **Jago** guarderà nuovamente dalla parte di **Otello**, che sarà sempre più agitato:



e col pretesto d'inchinarsi scherzosamente a **Cassio**, nel dirgli: *Bel cavaliere*, indietreggia di due passi, e mentre colla sinistra fa un cenno di scherzoso rallegramento a **Cassio**, mette la destra, col fazzoletto, dietro la schiena, perchè **Otello** lo possa osservare, e così trovasi fra **Cassio** ed **Otello**, in modo che il primo non veda il secondo.

Otello s'avvicina con molta cautela a due o tre passi dietro le spalle di **Jago**, osserva il fazzoletto, e con urlo represso esclama: *È quello! è quello!*



(1) Questo fazzoletto dev'essere lo stesso che portava Desdemona nel 2.° Atto, e che raccolto da terra da Emilia, fu carpito poi da Jago: è quindi necessario che presenti qualche cosa di strano, di rimarchevole: dovrà essere fatto con un tessuto bianco sottilissimo, sia garza di seta, o battista assai fine: avrà tutt'intorno un ricamo a fili d'oro e seta rossa e verde, formante un ornato a fiori, di stile moresco: in un angolo una grandissima cifra in lettere arabe, ricamata in oro e nero: dimensioni, 45 centimetri circa, quadrati.

(b)

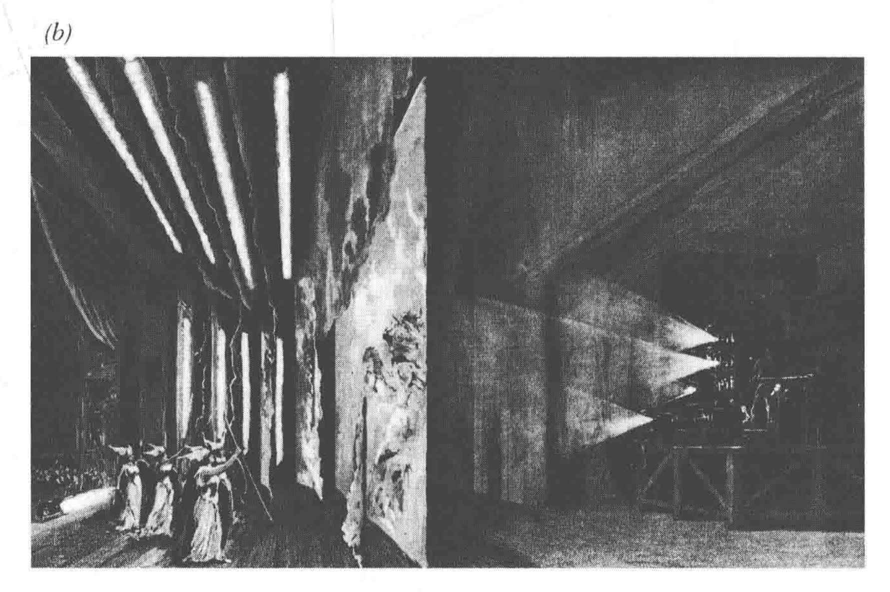
21. Handkerchief scene from Verdi's 'Otello', Act 3: (a) engraving showing the original production, set designed by Carlo Ferrario, at La Scala, Milan, 5 February 1887, from 'Il teatro illustrato' (February 1887); (b) corresponding page from the disposizione scenica (production book) of the same production, compiled by Giulio Ricordi: Otello advances (bottom diagram) to identify the handkerchief which Iago (centre) covertly reveals to him

22. Back projection by lantern slide: (a) design by Carl Emil Doepler for a lantern slide for the first complete cycle of Wagner's 'Ring' at Bayreuth, 1876; (b) 'Ride of the Valkyries' in Act 3 of the first Paris production of 'Die Walküre', 12 May 1893; from 'L'exposition internationale des arts décoratifs et industriels modernes' (Paris, 1925)



(a)

(b)



is nowhere more evident than in discourse about the topic. The 19th century saw a huge rise in periodical publication, and a large number of periodicals either included extensive reference to, or were entirely dedicated to, operatic activity. Distinguished titles such as the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* (Leipzig), the *Gazzetta musicale di Milano* and the *Revue et gazette musicale de Paris* were accompanied by an enormous number of less ambitious publications. The centre of this activity, at least in terms of bulk, was Paris, in which an important première at the middle of the century would stimulate as many as 20 or 30 separate reviews, many of them lengthy. This outpouring only increased as the century went on, with periodicals tending to become yet more specialized, sometimes even being devoted to a single composer (usually Wagner).

Much of the criticism thus produced was of course directed towards performances and performers, and was written to routine formulae; what is more, many of the opinions expressed were evidently inspired by the owners of the publication, who frequently had biasses deriving from financial and/or political interests. Many of the century's most acute critics, however, plied their trade in periodicals: E.T.A. Hoffmann, Schumann, Hanslick, Berlioz, Castil-Blaze, Basevi, Boito, Serov, Stasov and numerous others. The fact that several of these writers were also composers marks an important change in the status of writing about music, one that was perhaps not to reach its climax until the 20th century. The most influential writer about opera in the later part of the century was of course also its most influential composer. In one sense, Wagner's programmes of operatic reform had echoes in

countless other such proposals from the past, some of them (Mercadante's, for example) quite recent: a call for renewal in the relationship between music and words; a return to an ancient, ideal concept of drama. But one important difference was that Wagner wrote from an aesthetic standpoint in which absolute music was in a position of ascendancy in relation to opera, at least among an élite of philosophers. It was a standpoint he attempted, by complex reasoning, to challenge as far as his own operas were concerned, and his views were enormously influential, not least among the scholars who now began to analyse his operas within the newly formed discipline of musicology.

VI. The 20th century

1. FOUNDATIONS. At the very beginning of the century the particular dominance of Wagner and Verdi (who died in 1901, and whose final opera *Falstaff* had been first performed in 1893) had already been countered by the quieter Romanticism of Humperdinck and the down-to-earth lyricism of the early Puccini; while in France the alternative tradition associated with Gounod and Bizet lived on in Charpentier's *Louise* (1900). Composers from further east – the Russians Tchaikovsky, Musorgsky and Rimsky-Korsakov, the Bohemian Dvořák – represented examples of vital and increasingly influential national traditions. From this perspective the emergence of Richard Strauss's mature operatic voice in *Salome* (1905) can be viewed as a re-engagement with the more forceful and intense aspects of the Wagnerian heritage that might otherwise have been lost (fig.23). After all, while most early 20th-century composers, whatever their regional accent, used a musical language in which chromatic and diatonic tendencies engaged in a flexibly organized dialogue, and to a greater or lesser extent followed the Wagnerian (and late Verdian) practice of large-scale, through-composed forms rather than the strongly contrasted, separate numbers and formal types of earlier opera, the temper of the times immediately before *Salome* had not led composers to seek out such controversial subject matter, nor to provide such disturbing, extravagantly insistent music.

After *Salome* and its immediate successor, the epic tragedy *Elektra* (1909), which brought the post-Wagnerian tradition of a large-scale, single-act drama to its zenith, Strauss himself changed direction and, with *Der Rosenkavalier* (1911), *Ariadne auf Naxos* (1912) and *Die Frau ohne Schatten* (1919), sought out a different world, in which the violent and the shocking were less all-pervading and comedy and romance might each find a prominent place. The success that gave Strauss the opportunity to move in this direction was in itself a result of cultural attitudes which regarded the presence of an opera house as a necessary part of a civilized social structure, thus creating, during the 19th century, the need for repertory at a time when the new was more highly regarded than the old.

The persistence of such attitudes into the 20th century was particularly apparent in the German-speaking countries. In the years before 1940, these countries sustained an operatic culture in which several second-rank composers were able to achieve regular performance with works whose style and subject matter reflected the achievements of Wagner, Strauss and Humperdinck without being so pale a shadow that their artistic value was utterly negligible. Such operas as Pfitzner's *Palestrina* (1917), Schreker's *Der ferne Klang* (1912), Korngold's *Die tote Stadt* (1920) and Zemlinsky's *Eine florentinische Tragödie* (1917) display an adaptability, and the ability to feed off such potent sources as Wagner's myth-making, Strauss's 'decadent' Expressionism and Puccini's lyric realism, while adding something distinctive. Of such composers in the century's first three decades, no example is more remarkable than that of Siegfried Wagner, who composed 17 stage works between 1899 and 1930, several of which were successful. Few have been regularly revived since his death.

2. CONTINUITY AND CHANGE. While some of the greatest operas of the century's early years, such as *Elektra* and Puccini's *La fanciulla del West* (1910), acknowledged, and even helped to legitimize, the more radical harmonic



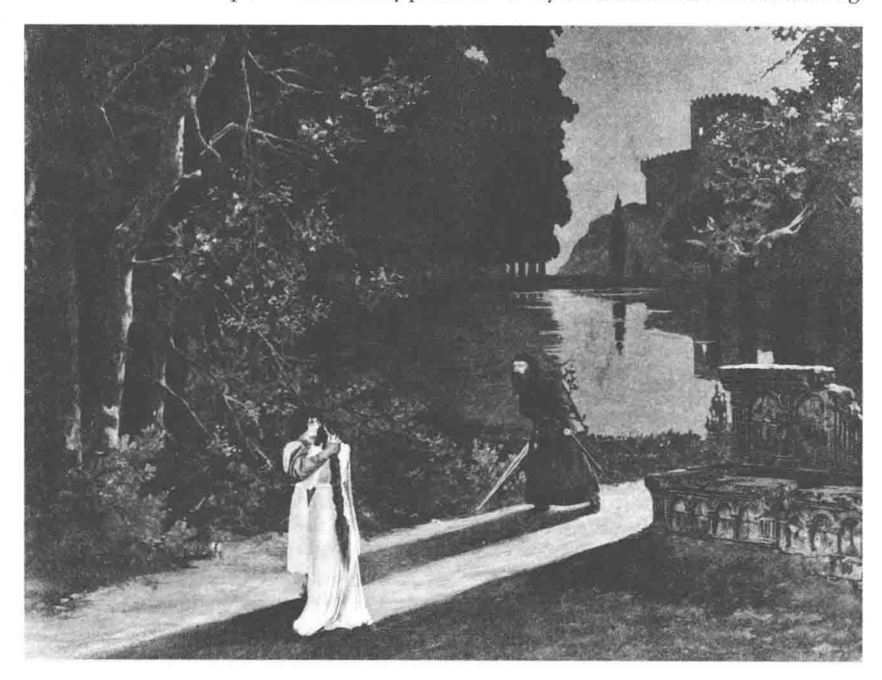
23. Scene from the original production of Richard Strauss's 'Salome', Hofoper, Dresden, 9 December 1905: engraving from 'Illustrirte Zeitung' [Leipzig] (1905)

practices of the time, such truly innovatory stage works as Schoenberg's 30-minute monodrama *Erwartung* (written in 1909) and his no less concise 'drama with music' *Die glückliche Hand* (written in 1913) both had to wait until 1924 for their premières. For all its technical radicalism, *Erwartung* can still be seen as a product of the Wagnerian obsession with female psychopathology (Isolde, Kundry), and the difficulty of avoiding some degree of intersection with Wagner is equally evident in the no less individual case of Debussy's *Pelléas et Mélisande* (begun in 1893, completed and first performed in 1902; fig.24). That Debussy's opera became one of the century's most widely admired and regularly performed is the more impressive for the fact that it exercised relatively little obvious influence on later operatic composition, and even works which are evidently beholden to it in some respects – Bartók's *Bluebeard's Castle* (1918), for example – are no less strikingly different from it in certain fundamental ways.

In *Pelléas*, Debussy showed how a musical genre deeply indebted to Wagner's stylistic and structural procedures could achieve a notably individual accent by adopting a very different rhetoric and a dramatic subject which, if hardly non-Wagnerian in the sense of contemporary or naturalistic, along the lines of *Louise* or Puccini's *Madama Butterfly* (1904), was quite different in its emphasis on a purely human vulnerability. As *Erwartung* and *Bluebeard's Castle* both illustrate, progressiveness in early 20th-century opera was not simply a matter of replacing emphatic assertion with understatement; but the progressive aspects of the music and the unambiguous focus on the dark side of human psychology, in extremely concentrated structures, give both works a distinctively modern quality that distances them decisively from Wagner and Strauss. Even more radically, though very peripheral at the time, Holst's *Sāvitri* (completed in 1908, first performed 1916) adumbrated a kind of chamber opera, avowedly anti-Wagnerian in style which, if not naturalistic in subject matter, was very unlike any 19th-century variety of music drama. While even *Sāvitri* cannot escape all links with the still potent Wagnerian past, it represents a decisive shift of emphasis, and it served as a pioneering example to Benjamin Britten in his exploration of the world of chamber opera after 1945.

3. 20TH-CENTURY TOPICS. The kind of sympathy for human weakness and helplessness in the face of fate found in operas such as *Pelléas* and *Madama Butterfly* was, in the broadest terms, to provide a more fundamental theme for 20th-century opera than the Wagnerian epic world of gods and heroes. To this extent, the typical 20th-century operatic topic, in which vulnerability itself can attain either a heroic or an anti-heroic dimension, might be derived more directly from the 'real life' protagonists of Verdi or Musorgsky. It is not that gods and heroes disappeared from 20th-century opera (or that the gods and heroes of earlier operas, even Wagner's, are actually invulnerable), rather that 20th-century opera, in common with other artistic genres, tended to prefer a direct relation to the real world, even when that tendency reinforced the genre's own artificiality and unreality. A crucial factor is that 20th-century treatments of non-naturalistic subject matter – myth, allegory and fantasy – often acquired an ambiguous quality through the nature of a musical language that found affirmation and positive resolution far more problematic than did the language of the essentially tonal, consonant past.

20th-century composers also favoured those timeless yet familiar topics, such as the Orpheus myth, that had been explored in the genre from the beginning. Such infinitely adaptable topics are open to exploratory treatment while remaining within the perceived borders of the operatic genre. The adaptability of certain archetypal topics to treatment in an explicitly 20th-century style is one reason why new operas were heard with reasonable frequency despite the sustained preference for works from earlier periods. Far from relegating earlier works to the status of occasional revival, the production of operas composed in the 20th century was commercially and artistically possible mainly because the institutions seeking



24. Design by Lucien Jusseaume for Act 4 scene iv of Debussy's 'Pelléas et Mélisande', first performed at the Opéra-Comique, Paris, 30 April 1902

to promote them were primarily supported by a standard repertory that contained very few 20th-century works.

4. TOWARDS MID-CENTURY. After 1914 an essentially late Romantic, heroic kind of opera maintained a powerful rearguard action, not only in Strauss, but in Szymanowski's *King Roger* (1926), Enescu's *Oedipe* (1936) and Busoni's *Doktor Faust* (unfinished, 1925), to cite only three of the most memorable. The evolution of atonal, expressionistic opera continued from Schoenberg's *Erwartung* to *Die glückliche Hand*, and on to the greatest example of the genre, Berg's *Wozzeck* (1925). The exploration of alternatives to large-scale theatrical presentation found in Stravinsky's 'burlesque in song and dance', *Renard* (1922) and *Histoire du soldat* (1918 – 'to be read, played and danced'), led to forms of music theatre that achieved their greatest impact after 1950, while a no less potent naturalism reached its apex in Janáček's *Káťa Kabanová* (1921), a work that amply fulfilled the promise and personal style revealed in his much earlier stage work *Jenůfa* (1904, with later revisions). The possibility of coping with comedy, fantasy, or a mixture of the two while avoiding expansive Straussian or Puccinian lyricism was shown in Stravinsky's *The Nightingale* (1914), Busoni's *Arlecchino* (1917), Prokofiev's *The Love for Three Oranges* (1921) and Janáček's *The Excursions of Mr Brouček* (1920) and *The Cunning Little Vixen* (1924), as well as in Ravel's *L'heure espagnole* (1911) and *L'enfant et les sortilèges* (1925): and no account of the period should omit the crowning glory of Puccini's output, the not quite completed but highly characteristic *Turandot* (1926).

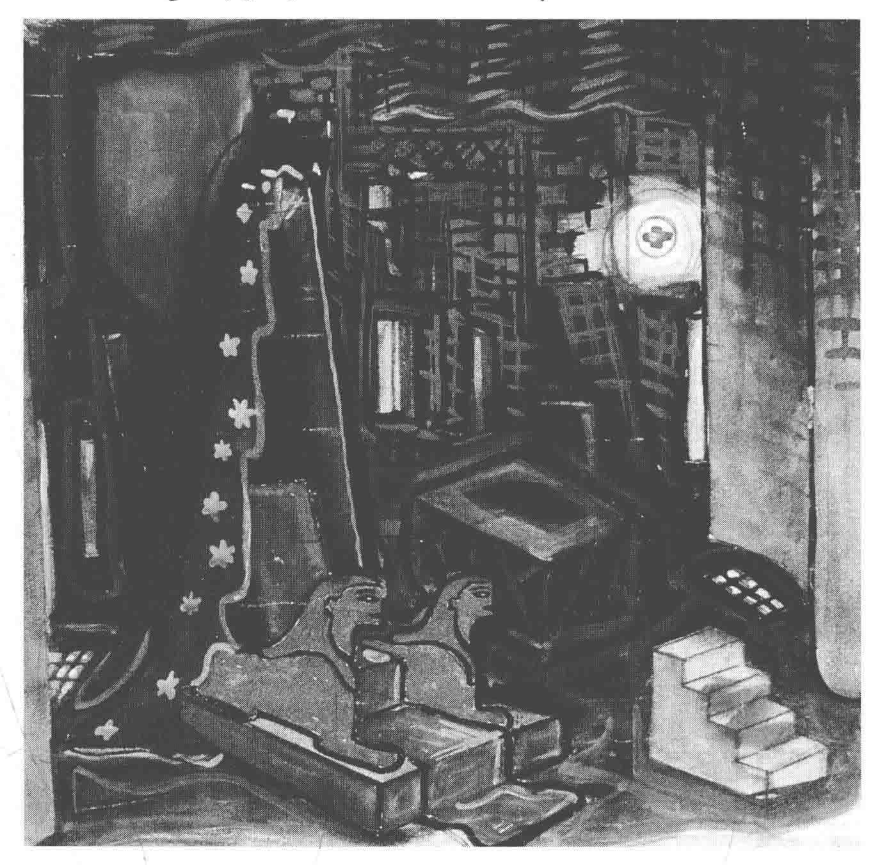
By the 1920s the musical battle lines had been drawn between an apparent radicalism (Schoenbergian serialism) that sought to submerge rather than celebrate its debts to the past, and an approach – neo-classicism – that celebrated the vitality of the confrontation between past and present, tonal styles and post-tonal techniques. In opera this led to such obvious and profound contrasts as those between Stravinsky's opera-oratorio *Oedipus rex* (1928) and Schoenberg's *Moses und Aron* (composed 1930–32), two treatments of epic-mythic topics that could hardly be more different in musical character and dramatic conception, even if they are closely related in their exploration of how, respectively, Oedipus and Moses move from positions of supreme power to tragic isolation. Differences and similarities may also be compared in two other near-contemporary works, Berg's *Lulu* (1937) and Shostakovich's *Lady Macbeth of the Mtsensk District* (1934). Each portrays the progressive degradation of the principal character with supreme conviction, even though the musical processes could scarcely be more different – Berg's progressive, Shostakovich's relatively conservative. Notoriously, the history of *Lady Macbeth* is bound up with the repressive cultural principles operative in the Soviet era, when the most challenging works by Russian-born composers, such as Prokofiev's *The Fiery Angel* (begun 1919, revised version completed 1927), could be heard only outside Russia, and the most profound operatic treatment of a Russian story was achieved by a composer from a different European country, Janáček, with *From the House of the Dead* (1930).

More fundamental, during the 1920s and 30s, was the contrast between the assumption, common to all the works just mentioned, that opera and its derivatives are forms of high art at its highest, and the view that the genre needed to come down from its Olympian heights and engage with reality much more directly, even didactically. It was not such a great step from Expressionist opera's use of 'low-life' contexts, as in the pub band in *Wozzeck*, to the more central focus on popular, jazz idioms in Krenek's *Jonny spielt auf* (1927). Far more radical was the wholesale shift of attitude embodied in the two Brecht-Weill collaborations, *Die Dreigroschenoper* (1928) and *Aufstieg und Fall der Stadt Mahagonny* (1930; fig.26). In accordance with Brecht's theory of 'epic theatre', the relationship between music and drama is intentionally ambiguous, and music is freed from its time-honoured operatic responsibility of supporting and representing what the words state and imply, just as the form of the work as a whole seeks to reject the highly unified, organic structures promoted during and after the 19th century. Yet *Mahagonny*, in particular, is scarcely anti-operatic: indeed, its importance is not in what it rejects, but in the way it revives the more stylized principles of the number opera and shows their suitability for the range of emotions and situations proper to a modern dramatic subject. With *Mahagonny*, as with Gershwin's *Porgy and Bess* (1935) a few years later, the foundations were laid for the parallel development, later in the century, of relatively naturalistic subjects, stemming from Janáček, Weill and Gershwin, alongside the persistence of epic and fantasy.

5. MID-CENTURY PERSPECTIVES. By the early 1950s, with what can now be regarded as the masterwork of neo-classical opera, Stravinsky's *The Rake's Progress* (1951), the powerful political allegory of Dallapiccola's 12-note *Il prigioniero* (1950) and the lively traditionalism of Britten's early operas (*Peter Grimes*, 1945, fig.27; *The Rape of Lucretia*, 1946; *Albert Herring*, 1947; *Billy Budd*, 1951), as well as the first stage works of Hans Werner Henze (*Boulevard Solitude*, 1951; *König Hirsch*, 1956), the genre's health and survivability could not be denied – or denied only by young firebrands like Pierre Boulez who, on principle, associated opera with all that was most decadent and retrogressive in art. Boulez's recantation, which took the form of many remarkable performances in the theatre, including some of 20th-century operas (Debussy, Berg), as well as long-considered plans for a stage work of his own based on a play by Jean Genet, was at worst an acceptance of the inevitable, at best an acknowledgment that his earlier objections were mistaken.

With both Henze and Britten, early success fuelled the kind of regular demand for their work that required immense reserves of energy and creativity. As music dramatists, they are not obviously innovative, even though, in Britten's case, his preference after *Peter Grimes* for chamber opera, including the three 'parables for church performance' composed in the 1960s, represents a significant shift of commitment from the large-scale theatrical enterprise. Even if not strictly speaking chamber operas, given the resources required to stage them, Britten's last two operas, *Owen Wingrave* (1971) – originally intended for television – and *Death in Venice* (1973), have an intimate quality very different from the grander projections of *Peter Grimes*, *Billy Budd* or *Gloriana* (1953).

Britten and Henze both developed distinctively personal styles in their early years, and both, at their best, brought a strong sense of expressive depth as well as theatrical



25. Act 2 (backstage at the theatre after Emilia Marty's performance) of Janáček's opera 'The Makropulos Affair': set design by Josef Čapek for the Prague première, 1928 (Moravian Museum, Brno)

conviction to their work. Britten, in music never quite losing touch with tonality, provided a blend of intensity and austerity, and penetrated remarkable psychological depths in his obsessive study of vulnerable outsiders. Henze moved between social comment, or satire, and psychological exploration with an assurance matched by the supple adaptability of his musical language, more radical than Britten's and echoing both Berg and Stravinsky, while slavishly imitating neither. If one essential musical source for both Britten and Henze is Mahler, it is all the more striking that their works are, in the end, so different.

During the second half of the 20th century many countries maintained a special commitment to operas by local composers: Australia, Finland and, not least, the USA had particularly good records in this respect, as well as Germany and Britain. Relatively few of these works crossed national borders, save occasionally in recorded form, and, apart from Britten and Henze, only a handful of composers achieved a sustained international reputation through their stage works – Tippett, Berio, Ligeti and Adams among them. These names indicate that success in opera since 1945 has not simply been the consequence of pursuing a relatively familiar, traditional musical style. Philip Glass's *Einstein on the Beach* (1976) pioneered the use of minimalist techniques taken up by Adams and Louis Andriessen, among others, and the adaptability of the genre has extended to the breaching if not the decisive destruction of its domination by male composers. In Britain, for example, Judith Weir produced a particularly accomplished group of stage works, including *A Night at the Chinese Opera* (1987) and *Blond Eckbert* (1994).

6. MODERN DRAMA. While it might be argued that the easiest way for a composer to ensure performance for an opera is already to have achieved prominence in other genres, it is clear that many major 20th-century composers – Messiaen, with his single, relatively late work *Saint François d'Assise* (1983), is the great exception – attempted operas at a quite early stage of their careers. Michael Tippett is a striking case of a composer who believed so deeply in the special importance of the genre that he devoted six years (1946–52) to his first mature effort, *The Midsummer Marriage* (1955), even with little prospect of early performance. That work is particularly special in that, with its explicitly Jungian aura, it is difficult to imagine such a treatment before the age of modern psychology.

After his second opera, *King Priam* (1962), Tippett, no less strikingly than Berio (*Un re in ascolto*, 1984) and Ligeti (*Le Grand Macabre*, 1978; fig.28), preferred to create dramas which are penetrating if often oblique reflections on contemporary life, contemporary ways of thought, contemporary problems, even when presented in stylized rather than naturalistic fashion. Indeed, it seems difficult to deny that the most memorable operas of the years since 1970 have been either meditations on the perennial topic of the artist in the world (Peter Maxwell Davies's *Taverner*, 1972; Birtwistle's *The Mask of Orpheus*, 1986; or Stockhausen's seven-opera cycle *Licht*, launched in 1981 with *Donnerstag*), or morality plays about those aspects of life that psychology and modern history have brought most directly into question: and, in particular, the subject of social and political authority.

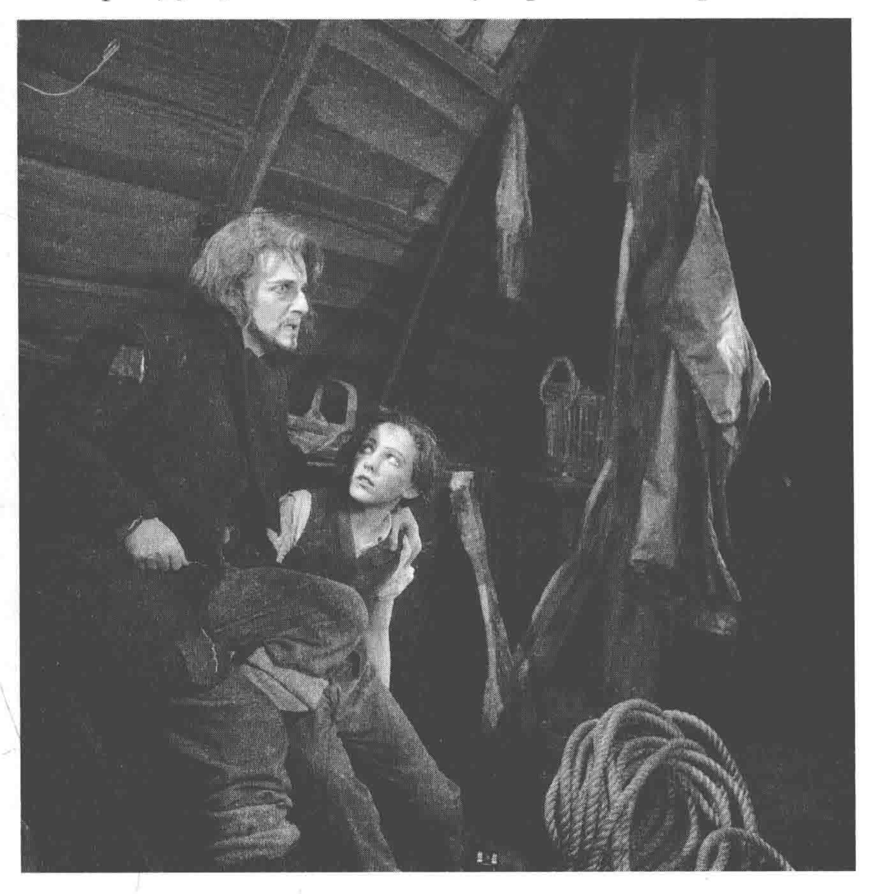


26. Closing scene of Act 1 of Weill's 'Aufstieg und Fall der Stadt Mahagonny', Neues Theater, Leipzig, 9 March 1930, with (centre) Marga Dannenberg as Leokadja Begbick

In a long and fruitful line whose specifically 20th-century strain can be traced from *Wozzeck*, the potential of representatives of the state for cruelty – despite occasional glimpses of more human sympathies – has been a theme ideally suited to the tensions and uneasy syntheses of modern musical language, and operas as different in style as Dallapiccola's *Il prigioniero*, Nono's *Intolleranza 1960* (1961), Bernd Alois Zimmermann's *Die Soldaten* (1965), John Adams's *The Death of Klinghoffer* (1991) and Maxwell Davies's *The Doctor of Myddfai* (1996) bear witness to that. This is not to suggest that all fantasy or comedy has been drained out of contemporary musical theatre, or that there is less generic flexibility in evidence than formerly. If anything, this flexibility is greater than ever since the example set by Weill in the Broadway musicals of his later years, and given that Leonard Bernstein was happy to write opera (*A Quiet Place*, 1983), musical (*West Side Story*, 1957) and 'comic operetta' (*Candide*, 1956). There may be little danger of confusing musicals with opera, whether they preserve spoken dialogue between numbers, like Stephen Sondheim's, or are through-composed, like Lloyd Webber's *Evita* (1978). Yet the application of the term 'rock opera' to the compositions of Lloyd Webber, or to a work like Stephen Schwartz's *Godspell* (1971), can be seen either as demonstrating strength through adaptability or as decadence through a change from sophistication to crudity. While an even better option might be to suggest that 'rock opera' has nothing to do with opera proper, it is dangerous to deny that opera can ever have a viably popular quality, especially in the light of the 20th-century operas in which young people and amateurs can be involved, from Menotti's *Amahl and the Night Visitors* (1951) and Britten's *Let's Make an Opera* (1949) and *Noye's Fludde* (1958) to Maxwell Davies's *The Two Fiddlers* (1978) and *Cinderella* (1980).

7. Chamber opera and music theatre. For many 20th-century composers, rejection of the large scale and elaborate resources of traditional opera was perceived as the best route to a more intense and focussed kind of dramatic expression. If Holst's *Sāvitri* was an early attempt at chamber opera, Schoenberg's *Pierrot lunaire* (1912) – first performed with its reciter in Pierrot costume and the instrumental quintet behind a curtain – was an early example of combining a chamber composition with an element of staging. This more explicitly hybrid enterprise, followed up as it was by Stravinsky's wartime theatre pieces and Walton's *Façade* (begun in 1921), explored possibilities of stylized and allusive dramatic presentation which were taken up with greater consistency and inventiveness after 1950.

Britten's commitment to chamber opera was manifest in the three church parables, *Curlew River* (1964), *The Burning Fiery Furnace* (1966) and *The Prodigal Son* (1968), each of which lasts about an hour and requires a



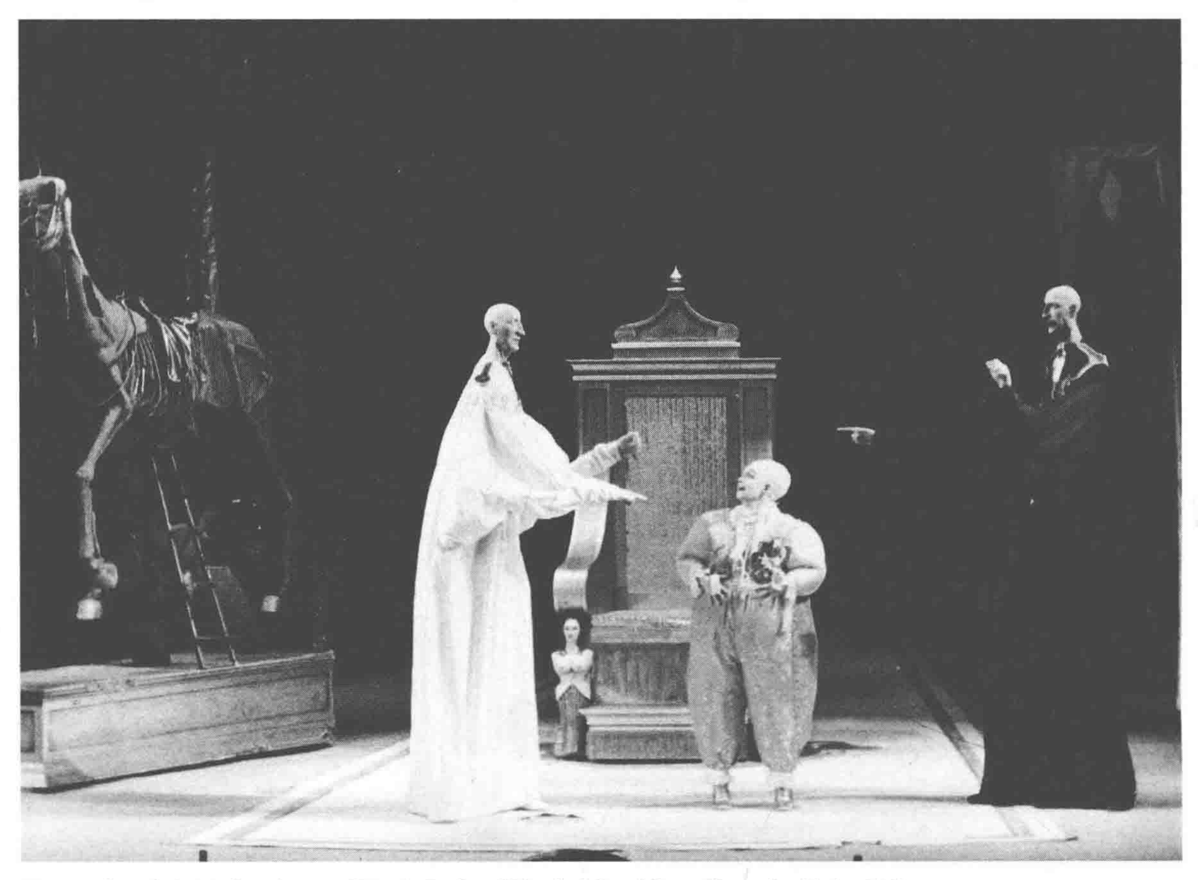
27. Peter Pears in the title role of Benjamin Britten's 'Peter Grimes', Sadler's Wells, London, 1945, with Leonard Thompson as the boy apprentice

performing group of at least a dozen (male) singers and eight instrumentalists. Another pair of works from the 1960s, Ligeti's *Aventures* and *Nouvelles aventures* (1966), is more typical of the time in its combination of expressionistically fragmented music and a surrealistic style of presentation. Music-theatre works by several of the most prominent younger composers are comparable to the Ligeti works in their challenging yet sharply controlled and economically structured designs: these include Birtwistle's *Down by the Greenwood Side* (1969), Maxwell Davies's *Eight Songs for a Mad King* (1969), Henze's *Der langwierige Weg in die Wohnung der Natascha Ungeheuer* (1971) and Berio's *Recital I (for Cathy)* (1972). Although all these composers had also written full-size operas, and would write more, it was possible to imagine in the early 1970s that music theatre might supplant opera itself as the favoured medium of dramatic expression, at least for composers of a progressive turn of mind. That this soon proved not to be the case may have something to do with the extent to which music theatre could easily seem closer to the 'happenings' and multimedia events promoted by experimental composers, especially John Cage, than to more mainstream music drama: the co-existence of contrasts provided a more practical way forward than the kind of progress in which the new completely obliterates the old.

8. Operas about opera. The capacity of operas to contain elements of self-reference – by using actors or opera singers as characters, or the writing or performance of opera as a subject – has been evident since Mozart's *Der Schauspieldirektor* (1786). Richard Strauss made significant 20th-century contributions in *Ariadne auf Naxos* and *Capriccio* (1942), while Britten, in *Let's Make an Opera*, contrived a simple yet lively way of involving audiences with a mixture of adult and child singers in rehearsing and performing an 'entertainment for young people', *The Little Sweep*.

At the other extreme, operas about opera moved into the surreal regions of John Cage's series of five works each called *Europera* (1985–91), a 'homage to the genre' which, at the same time, is a deconstruction of it. In these works Cage applied his characteristic chance operations to existing operatic materials, so that the singers perform 18th- and 19th-century arias for specified periods while the instrumentalists play operatic music that is likely to be quite different, and costumes, sets and all other aspects of production – even the programme synopses – are randomly selected.

Cage's enterprise in the *Europeras*, like other comparable experiments, such as Kagel's *Staatstheater* (1971), can be regarded as an extension of the kind of surrealistic attitude to the genre's traditional subject matter and formal principles found in Virgil Thomson's *Four Saints in Three Acts* (1934) and Poulenc's *Les mamelles de Tirésias* (1947). No less modernist in its aesthetic concept than Cage's work, though very different in musical character, is Berio's *Opera* (1970, rev. 1977). Here the title's literal meaning, 'works', is used to promote alternation of and interaction between three quite different stories, represented in turn by Striggio's libretto for Monteverdi's *Orfeo*, a Brecht-like treatment of the sinking of the Titanic, and materials from the Open Theatre of



28. Scene from the original production of Ligeti's 'Le Grand Macabre', Royal Opera House, Stockholm, 1978

New York's *Terminal*, a strong attack on the way in which terminally ill hospital patients are treated. If the topic of death ensures a common theme, the very different nature of the three types of material ensures that the structure as a whole is fluid and multivalent.

9. Opera and literature. *Opera* is neither Berio's most successful nor his most conventional work for the theatre: *Un re in ascolto* has a particularly rich and consistent musical character, serving to project a story which, like Tippett's *The Knot Garden* (1970), refers to Shakespeare's *Tempest* as one particularly effective way of declaring solidarity with the longstanding tradition of theatre as a magical, transcendent enterprise. Operas embodying such allusions seem to have achieved greater artistic success in the later 20th century than those more directly based on great works of literature, though even here the level of achievement varies: Samuel Barber's *Antony and Cleopatra* (1966, rev. 1974) was more widely admired on revision than in its original version, while Aribert Reimann's *Lear* (1978) has a powerful impact, even if of necessity (it is set in German) it is far removed from the full, elaborate rhetoric of the Shakespearean original. By contrast, Dallapiccola's *Ulisse* (1968) seems too deeply in awe of its Homeric source, while Iain Hamilton's *Anna Karenina* (1981) appears merely parasitic in the sense that, like many television adaptations of major literary texts, only the bare bones of plot and character are preserved; perhaps because the music has little of the strong sense of contemporaneity found in the original novel, the result is more a trivialization than an enhancement of the original. Such failures at least invite a more positive appreciation of more successful adaptations, from Prokofiev's *War and Peace* (begun 1941, completed 1953) to Henze's *Der Prinz von Homburg* and *The Bassarids* (fig.29) and Britten's *Death in Venice*, where the intensity and personal identity of the music enable a good deal of the stature, if not the actual style, of the literary sources to be preserved. Among younger composers contributing to the operatic canon, none has shown a stronger or more inventive commitment to adaptations of major dramatic sources than Wolfgang Rihm: his works include *Die Hamletmaschine* (1987), a fantasy using Shakespeare as its starting-point, and *Oedipus* (also 1987), which similarly places its Sophoclean topic within a context of more modern commentary. Alfred Schnittke contributed to the long list of operas based on the Faust story, in his *Historia von D. Johann Fausten* (composed 1983–94).

10. Conclusions. Musical life in the 20th century involved an intricate interaction between old and new, progressive and conservative. Opera houses that were built, and rebuilt, reflect 20th-century principles of design and use specifically 20th-century materials, but at the same time represent concepts of the role of musical composition and performance within society that are not fundamentally different from what they were before 1900. The rebuilding of the Vienna Staatsoper after 1945 was one particular prominent example signifying a deep-rooted belief in the continuing vitality of opera as an institution not requiring radical rethinking in the light of



29. Scene from the original production of Hans Werner Henze's 'The Bassarids', Grosses Festspielhaus, Salzburg, 1966, designed by Filippo Sanjust, with Kerstin Meyer as Agave

changing social and cultural conditions. New or newly restored opera houses were not primarily intended for the performance of 20th-century operas. For most operatic administrations, experiment was focussed less on challenging new works than on encouraging radical productions of operas from the standard repertory; and touring organizations, which do not depend on a large, fixed establishment, performing instead in a variety of non-standard venues, preferred slimmed-down versions of *Le nozze di Figaro*, *Carmen*, *La traviata*, even *The Ring*, to new or neglected 20th-century works. The engagement of opera with the 20th-century mass-media of radio and television was no less tangential, and even operas dealing very directly with contemporary subject matter, such as John Adams's *Nixon in China* (1987), tended to be conceived with the traditional resources of the old-style opera house in mind. (*See* TELEVISION, §IV.)

Because several of the most popular operas – *Madama Butterfly* and *Der Rosenkavalier*, in particular – have been written since 1900, it is not strictly possible to categorize 20th-century opera as an entirely peripheral phenomenon. Yet with a few exceptions, of which *Wozzeck* is probably the most striking, operas using the 20th century's more progressive compositional techniques have not attracted regular performance in the theatre. Many have nevertheless achieved a certain permanence through issue on CD and video, and the reciprocal relationship between live and recorded performance, if it continues, is likely to play an important role in assisting the dissemination of the more experimental kinds of opera. In this respect such an enterprise as the issue in 1995 of a 1993 Salzburg Festival performance of Luigi Nono's 'tragedy for listening', *Prometeo* (1985), is especially significant.

Many of the finest opera composers of the 20th century successfully explored a notable variety of dramatic subjects. Since Strauss followed *Elektra* with *Der Rosenkavalier*, and Stravinsky moved (over a much longer period) from *Oedipus rex* to *The Rake's Progress*, Henze explored the very different worlds of *The English Cat* (1983) and *Das verratene Meer*, while Birtwistle relished the contrasts between *Gawain* (1991; fig.30) and *The Second Mrs Kong* (1994). Such contrasts show the adaptability of a consistent musical style, rather than an ability to transform style itself from one kind of opera to another, and that ability may be no less apparent in major composers (for example Puccini and Britten) in whom such wide contrasts of dramatic topic are less evident. This adaptability is one reason why opera, along with associated forms of music theatre, may have a healthy future. If, as seems conceivable, music in the 21st century pursues a kind of classicism that attempts to integrate elements that 20th-century modernism sought to keep separate, then opera is no less likely to benefit from the development than other traditional genres which, despite all the odds, have survived the great 20th-century experiment.

VII. Production

1. 17th-century Italy. 2. France from Lully to Rameau. 3. *Opera seria*. 4. Enlightenment tendencies. 5. From Weber to Verdi. 6. Wagner and after. 7. Since World War II.

1. 17TH-CENTURY ITALY. Although Italian opera was a brand new form in the decade 1598–1608, it was able, where matters of production and staging were concerned, to draw on many established 16th-century procedures. Indeed, only one expertise had to be newly created for it: the ability of a leading singer-actor to sustain a single role through several operatic acts. With that exception – a significant one, as the future of opera was to prove – the skills required for the staging of opera were available for borrowing and adaptation from earlier musical and/or theatrical forms. 'Dramatic' presentation of solo song involving face-play, gesture and bodily movement; deployment on stage of singing choruses and *comparse* (silent supernumeraries); the mounting of elaborate sung-and-danced 'production numbers'; the use of oil- and candle-lit changeable scenery (pastoral and urban); the revelation of hells and heavens and the flyings about the



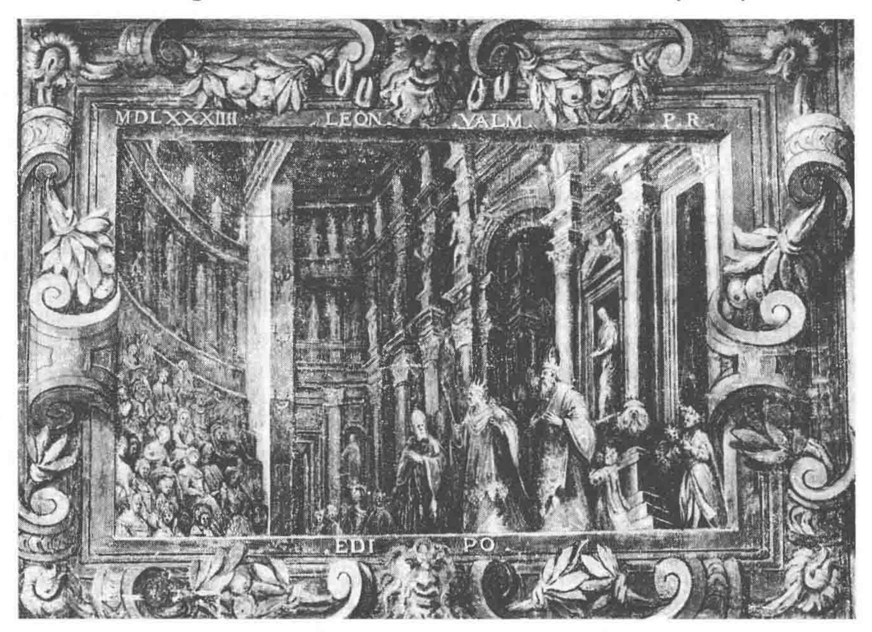
30. Entrance of the Green Knight (John Tomlinson) from Act 1 of Harrison Birtwistle's 'Gawain', Royal Opera House, Covent Garden, 1991

stage of supernatural beings (their songs accompanied by instrumentalists who were cunningly hidden behind the scenes): all these were to be found in Cinquecento courtly music-making, in humanist essays in the staging of classical or neo-classical tragedy, comedy and satyr play-cum-pastoral, or in the spectacular musical *intermedi* sometimes set between the acts of spoken dramas (*see also* INTERMEDIO).

The exclusive court-connectedness of opera in its first 40 years provided a further reason for operatic staging's being able to slip fairly unobtrusively into existence. It inherited the general convention in Renaissance court theatricals that there was a more or less amiable co-existence between the experts responsible for different aspects of a show, under the exigent or indulgent eye of the local autocrat or 'academy', or of an executive nominee: such a figure as Leone de' Sommi or Angelo Ingegneri (both of whom wrote illuminating accounts of staging in the late 16th century that are relevant to the mounting of early opera), or like Emilio de' Cavalieri, who, having been involved practically with *intermedio* and pastoral comedy in the 1580s and 90s, ghosted a preface on the singing and staging of his own operatic *Rappresentatione di Anima, et di Corpo* in 1600. It is in the tradition of such hands-on activity and treatise writing that the composer Marco da Gagliano printed an introduction to his *Dafne* (1608) which makes detailed but undogmatic suggestions about that opera's staging, and an anonymous Florentine around 1630 wrote *Il corago* – an extended job description and handbook for the *corago*, who is a courtly master of theatrical revels (including opera) and unites the roles, later to be separated, of impresario, intendant, drama teacher, director and stage manager.

It is clear from such treatises as these that true acting (as the Renaissance understood it) was required from opera singers, not mere standing and warbling: that a performer's facial play and seemingly natural movement about the stage should embody the meaning of the libretto, and that specifically operatic techniques – slowing down of gestures so that they last the full length of the sung phrase, movement during ritornellos rather than while singing – were thought to be additions to, not substitutes for, serious attention to the eloquent, expressive and lucid presentation of character out towards the audience that was required of spoken acting. The *comparse* and the chorus (when there was one) needed to be equally attentive: the *comparse* learning the elaborate battles devised for them by a master of fencing and gracefully filling stage space granted them by the principals in ceremonial scenes; the chorus respectful and responsive to the principals, its movements carefully synchronized but avoiding any sense of a regimented *corps de ballet*. Behind these, the symmetrical scenery, made more easily

31. Sophocles' 'Oedipus tyrannus' (choruses set by Andrea Gabrieli) as staged by Angelo Ingegneri for the inauguration of Palladio's Teatro Olimpico, Vicenza, 1585; fresco in the ante-odeon of the Teatro Olimpico

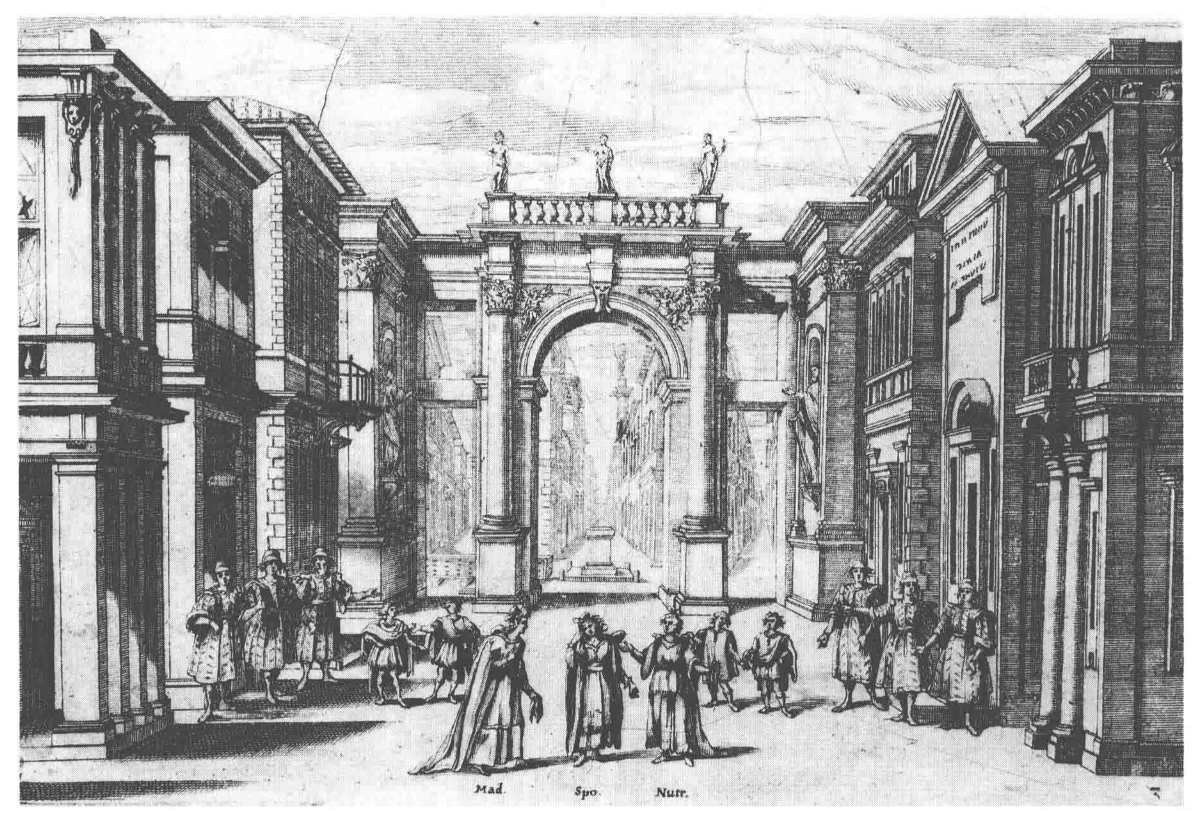


32. Marco da Gagliano's 'La regina Sant' Orsola', Act 2 (the battle between the Romans and the Huns at Cologne), Palazzo degli Uffizi, Florence, 1624, as directed by the dancing-master Agniolo Ricci; etching by Alfonso Parigi after the design by Giulio Parigi

changeable in the early 17th century by the introduction of sliding wing flats (but best kept at a distance by performers, wherever possible, for fear of showing up the flat-painter's radical foreshortening of perspective); and above them, the supernatural machines which, it was stressed, had to be moved at a tempo that harmonized with the music and did not discommode any performer who had to sing while riding on them.

The expansion of operatic activity from the later 1630s onwards to include the public and commercial had its shop window in Venice, where paying citizens could see features of production that had been hidden behind princely doors in Florence, Mantua or Rome. Accounts of the Venetian *Andromeda* (1637) and *Bellerofonte* (1642), for instance, celebrate their stylish acting and glittering costumes, their crowds of well-dressed, well-drilled *comparse*, their frighteningly realistic monsters and sophisticated dance interludes, their spectacular machine apotheoses and their smooth changes of scene before the audience's eyes: the décor of *Bellerofonte* was by the inventive and influential scenographer Giacomo Torelli. For the next 40 years, from Naples to Vienna and beyond, commercial, courtly and academic Italian opera was to develop a wide spectrum of scale and finesse in performance, from the productions of small companies touring the Italian cities much in the manner of the popular itinerant *commedia dell'arte* troupes to grandiose and prestigious events like Cesti's *Il pomo d'oro* at Vienna in 1668 (see fig.6 above), where the 24 souvenir engravings of Ludovico Burnacini's sets during performance vividly illustrate the culmination of the 17th century's tendency to impose a strong axial symmetry on performers as well as on scenery. Yet an integrated approach to acting in opera – and one the author of *Il corago* would have approved – probably continued in favour well beyond the middle of the century. Even the progressive increase in the length, complexity and potential for vocal display of the operatic aria did not remove the concept of sheer acting skill as a desideratum in the new species of opera star. For instance, in his *Dell'arte rappresentativa* (1699), Andrea Perrucci is as insistent as his forebears on the expressive use in sung as well as in spoken drama of head, eyes, arms and body (deriving much of what he says from the teachings of classical rhetoric) and on a clear frontal presentation of character. In discussing a particular phobia of his – collisions between actors making entrances and those leaving the stage – he suggests that a good way of avoiding these, with entrances from behind an upstage flat and exits as close as possible to the proscenium arch, would be of special value to the opera singer, who can thus leave from the front of the stage (where the light is strongest and contact with the pit band easiest) just after an aria. With *opera seria* and its proliferation of exit arias just coming on stream, this is advice that would have decades of relevance.

2. France from Lully to Rameau. Though the librettist of a new Italian piece may have had a considerable say as to its staging, in person or through the stage directions he was able to broadcast over his text, mid- and late 17th-century Italian opera seems not in the main to have been wedded to production practices that required



33. Scene from Act 1 of Stefano Landi's 'Il Sant'Alessio', revival at the Palazzo Barberini alle Quattro Fontane, Rome, 1634: engraving by François Collignon after the design variously ascribed to Pietro da Cortona, Francesco Buonamici and Gianlorenzo Bernini; Alexis's wife is placed down centre, flanked by his mother and nurse, and backed by a symmetrical arrangement of supernumeraries (the 'comparse')

firm, centralized directorial control; but in the 1670s and 80s they ordered things differently in France. There, Lully's reign over the French opera he had virtually created shows directorial presence at its most absolutist, working (probably not coincidentally) in the service of the arch-absolutist Louis XIV. In establishing *tragédie en musique*, Lully was clearly concerned that its staging should not suffer in comparison with that of the spoken comedy and tragedy that was then having such a golden age in France; so this hands-on composer-dancer-violinist-*corago* thought it best to have a direct say in everything (though in matters of design there were major delegations to significant figures, for example Carlo Vigarani and Jean Berain). Lully instructed his casts in person as to entrances and exits, moves and deportment, sometimes showing a performer every gesture of his or her role or demonstrating the pantomimic parts of the inset ballets. His mastery of the local details as well as the complex wholes of his operas in conception and in staging, his having their scores printed and (in effect) copyrighted, his arranging for uncut revivals and his personal training of a generation of actor-singers to perform them: all this led to Lullian opera becoming an influential national institution, and to Lully himself posthumously becoming a potent directorial phantom at the Opéra.

In the 18th century, French opera was more *galant* in mood and also more demanding vocally – provoking the remark ascribed to Rameau that, while Lully's operas needed actors, his own needed singers – but Lullian constructions and stage procedures were still pervasive. Operatic tradition went on setting great store by *le merveilleux*, which meant a greater emphasis on the vertical aspect of the stage – celestial descents, infernal trapdoors and the like – than was called for most of the time in the more 'historical' (and hence horizontal) Italian operas of the age. Then, true to that part of its origins that lay in *ballet de cour*, the tradition also insisted on the frequent incorporation into the action of dance sequences: hence the presence of a *corps de ballet*, which not only danced the symmetrical *fêtes* for the opera's principal characters but was also the resource for any troops of warriors, priests, genii or the like that might be required, in marked contrast to the non-dancing *comparse* who filled equivalent roles in Italian opera.

Another vital distinguishing feature of opera in Paris was its continuing commitment to a major role for a sizable chorus. The entry of the chorus at the Opéra in a *tragédie en musique* or an *opéra-ballet* was a spectacular moment: its richly dressed members advancing in two ranks, one from each side of the stage, to take up their places in an elegant U-formation. By framing the activities of principals, dance troupe and any active theatrical machines in this way, the chorus helped maintain a strong axial symmetry, which may partly explain the rarity on the French operatic stage (outside the work of Servandoni) of the skewed *scena per angolo* that was becoming a popular part of operatic décor elsewhere in Europe.

It is not clear whether in the early 18th century there was much active collaboration, beyond the necessary polite co-existence, between these operatic elements and departments. An at best benign convergence of the arts rather than an organic compounding of them seems to have been the rule. In the performance itself, principals sat graciously out of harm's way during the inset *fêtes*; the dancers tended to wear masks, which set them apart from other performers; and, once settled into its U-formation, the chorus seems rarely to have bestirred itself very much. Still, royal edicts which rationalized the company structure at the Opéra in 1713–14 provided for the appointment of two active administrative 'syndics' (later known as 'directeurs'); and making sure that there was at least a bare sufficiency of liaison must have been the responsibility of 'le syndic chargé de la régie du théâtre'. This officer dealt with artistic planning and

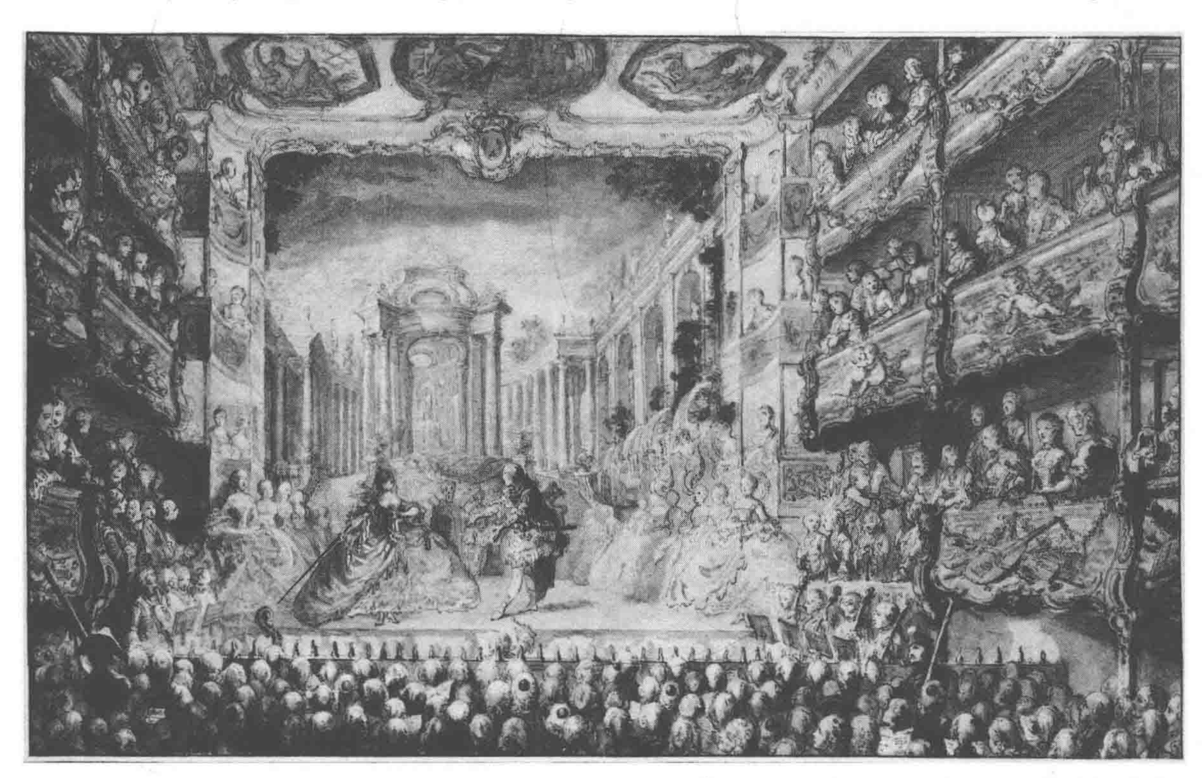


34. Tapestry (probably from the Gobelins workshop) apparently depicting the 'Divertissement du sommeil' (the scene of good and evil dreams in the Cave of Sleep) during Act 3 of Lully's 'Atys', first performed before the king under Lully's direction at Saint Germain-en-Laye, 1676, with choreography by Pierre Beauchamps and designs by Jean Berain I (Schloss Charlottenburg, Berlin)

casting (in consultation with the composer, if still living) and nominally oversaw all rehearsals and performances. It is a moot point how far his role in the staging of an opera was a creative and how far a purely diplomatic-administrative one; but it is clear that his drawing together of strands made for memorable performances at the Palais Royal. Reviewers would occasionally congratulate 'MM. les Directeurs' on brilliant and satisfying shows that excelled in words, music, casting, décor, costumes, choreography and execution. And individual performances could impress the most demanding critics. Even Rousseau, no lover of the opera as an institution, was impressed enough by the performances there of C.L.D. Chassé – he created several important bass-baritone roles for Rameau – to cite him in the *Encyclopédie* as everything a good operatic performer ought to be: never dropping his character to become merely a singer; forever interesting, even in silence; and conspiring by steps, looks and gestures to make his audience feel that the music rising from the orchestra pit was rising from his soul.

3. 'Opera seria'. In the Italian tradition as in the French, increasing emphasis was placed on sheer vocal expertise as *opera seria* established itself; and from this sprang the new tribe of Italian vocal virtuosos who had considerable success in the opera house for all that their acting abilities were fairly rudimentary. Yet the truly desirable opera singer was still generally deemed to be one who had (as an intendant of the royal opera in Lisbon in the 1760s put it) 'buona voce a grande estensione di corde, buona figure e buona azione'.

Once such performers were under contract, and provided they were not too fractious, the staging of *opera seria* was a relatively simple undertaking. The strong segmentation of the form allowed for discrete cells of activity. If there were ballets, battles or ceremonials to attend to, there was likely to be a *maître de danse* on hand (and perhaps an associated fencing master) to arrange them; a machinist could advise performers about any theatrical *coups* they might be involved in (descents of airy chariots, magical transformations, collapsing of city walls and the like); and a creative scenographer, or simply a resourceful scene-store keeper, would be ringing the changes on elaborate perspectives ('straight' or *per angolo*) which rendered a fairly limited range of motifs: palace, temple, street, harbour, cave, camp, garden, wilderness and so on. As for the principals working up the recitative-and-aria scenes of psychological interplay that are the staple of the *seria* form, their rehearsals of a new piece may quite possibly have been brief and not strongly directed, but need not be thought of as careless or primitive. For one thing, there were the stage directions of the libretto to be observed, not only for entrances and exits but often also for characters' moods and stage business. For another, performers could easily and independently apply to their recitatives the age's basic courtly stage deportment (a singer could find several primers in print for tragic acting in the spoken theatre, many of the techniques of which would apply equally well to opera). Again, since at the centre of *opera seria* was a spectrum of general emotions expressed one after another in a series of arias, an experienced performer coming to a new opera would almost certainly have given formal histrionic expression to all his or her character's feelings before – sometimes in exactly the same words (as multiple settings of successful librettos were common), sometimes even in the same music if the 'new' piece was



35. Confrontation of Armide and Renaud in the enchantress's palace garden in Act 5 of Lully's 'Armide', as revived by the Académie Royale de Musique (the 'Opéra') at the Palais Royal, Paris, 1747: watercolour with pen and ink by Gabriel de Saint-Aubin (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)

a pasticcio. Stage performance of a *seria* aria seems to have been not unlike the 18th-century speaking actor's delivery of a tragic tirade or soliloquy.

Hence a group of competent principals might achieve a fluent, decorous, pointed and telling staging of an *opera seria* (in all but any spectacular or balletic parts) with no more external help than was needful for recording which wings were used for which entrances, the assigning of courtly retinues of *comparse* and the resolution of any points of princely etiquette or clashes of artistic temperament. Sometimes the impresario or manager might provide such help, or the prompter or the *maestro di cappella* (who might anyway be the opera's composer). But most often it was the theatre's resident poet, in which case he might perhaps take on a more consequential, directorial role at rehearsals.

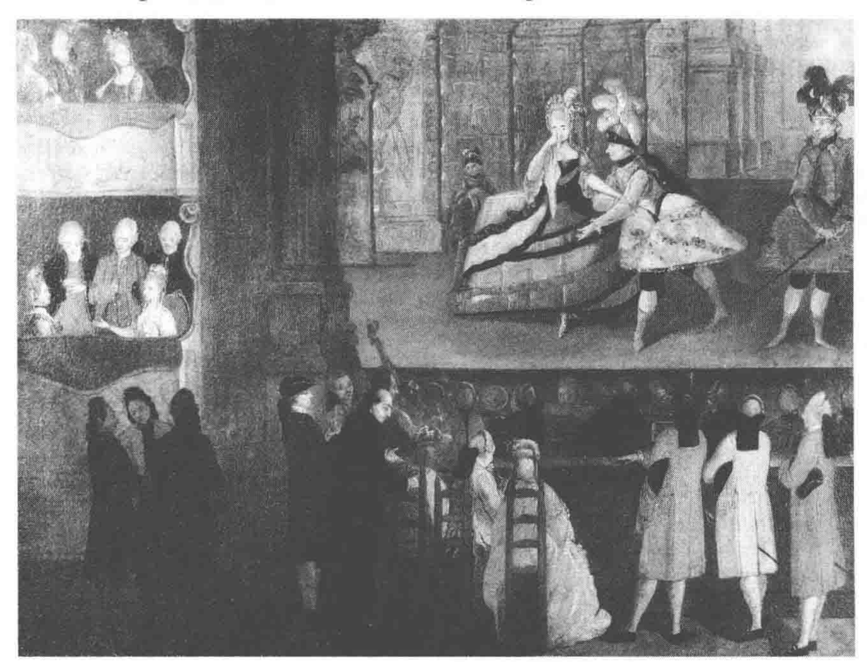
The comic ironies of Benedetto Marcello's *Il teatro alla moda* (D1720) carry the strong implication that a theatre poet worth his salt would explain the dramatic conception and intentions of his text to the performers in rehearsal, advise them on costume, gestures and the proper sides of the stage for their entrances and exits, and insist on a clear enunciation of his words. Later, Goldoni, who himself had had responsibility 'for directing and coaching the performers' during a stint as poet to a Venetian opera house in the 1730s, put such a figure into his comedy *L'impresario delle Smirne* (1761). There his Maccario, armed with the works of Zeno and Metastasio, some old plays and a rhyming dictionary, practises his specialities of writing new librettos, adapting old ones, fitting new words to old music, instructing the singers in acting, directing the scenes, attending the ladies to their boxes, looking after the *comparse* and blowing the traditional whistle for scene changes. Metastasio himself would have recognized at least some of this activity. Though it would not have been possible for him to rehearse all the settings of his librettos in person, his letters from Vienna to various sorts of theatre people from the 1730s to 50s show him to have been a careful director – concerned with the effective 'blocking' of scenes, making diagrams of the disposition of characters on stage, supplying detailed analyses of principal characters for composer and singer, offering suggestions for optional stage business over and above that in the printed text to busy intendants three or four countries away. Metastasio's letters also reveal that, however formalized the stage action may have been in *opera seria*, the genre's leading librettist was convinced that telling theatricality in the communication of feeling was the essence of its staging, not the blind following of formula or protocol.

4. Enlightenment tendencies. Though librettos of Metastasio went on being set and staged into the 1820s and occasionally beyond, by the 1760s more progressive spirits in writing and staging were entering a new age of sensibility, enlightenment, 'sublime simplicity' and growing concern for theatrical realism, the last partly expressed in a canonization of Shakespeare and a fresh respect for the arts of comedy. One aspect of this was the appeal that *buffo* acting came to have for serious opera lovers. The tiny, often two-person troupes performing farcical intermezzos between the acts of *opera seria* and the rather larger companies giving more extended *opere buffe* had developed a style of acting that was brisker, saltier and more immediately alluring, if not a great deal less governed by convention, than that seen in loftier opera. The unpretentiousness of this style and the leeway it gave for sharp observation of contemporary life endeared it to such observers as Arteaga and de Brosses, who saw its vivacity and 'air of truth' as rebukes to the traditional high operatic stage's tendency to what had come to seem stiffness and frigidity. At a time when David Garrick (the living demonstration that 'Shakespeare and Nature were the same') was shifting the norm of serious acting in spoken theatre away from weighty, slow-moving declamation towards a more energetic, pantomimic mode, it is likely that some of the more seemly aspects of *buffo* style, along with some Garrickian traits, were sharpening the





36. Demonstrations of Baroque acting from Franz Lang's 'Dissertatio de actione scenica' (Munich, 1727): (a) the proper placing of figures, arms and legs (Lang, a Bavarian Jesuit drama teacher or 'choragu', states, however, that the back should not be presented to the audience); (b) a properly managed stage entrance, with body and face immediately turned to the front so that in them the spectator can read the character's state of mind



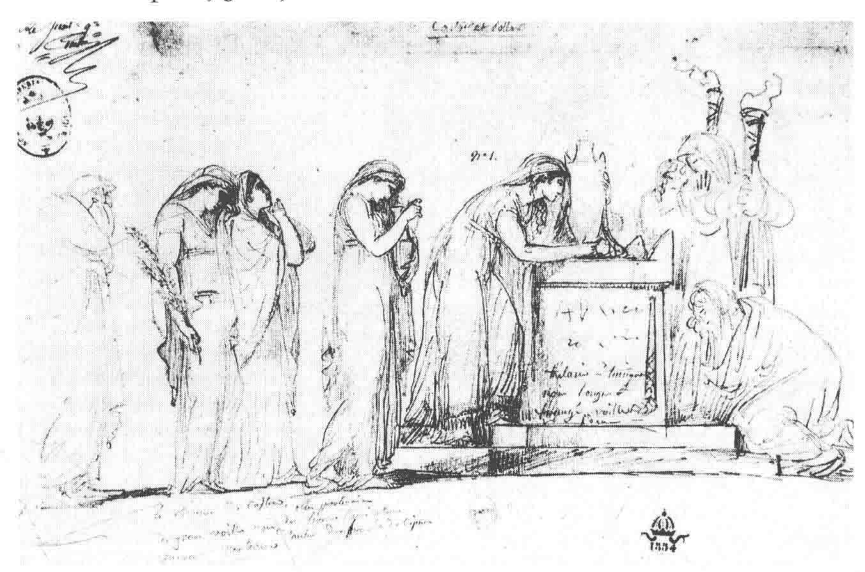
37. Performance in an Italian theatre, probably of an opera seria: painting by Giuseppe de Albertis, late 18th century (Museo Teatrale alla Scala, Milan); note the pageboy on stage holding the diva's train, and the seated gentleman in the pit holding a libretto

immediacy of serious operatic acting and increasing *its* air of truth.

Garrick was the model for several of the new men of operatic Europe in the mid-18th century, not least Noverre, for whom he was 'the Proteus of our time' and an inspiration behind Noverre's campaign to unmask the dancers in opera and so increase their histrionic potential. But if Garrick was a Proteus, it was the Gluck of the 'reform' operas who was seen by his admirers as the modern Prometheus where, *inter alia*, staging was concerned. One of them in the 1770s describes him as having to deal at first with principal singers whose acting was either lifeless or grotesquely mannered and with 'a collection of mannequins called a chorus'; but 'Prometheus shook his torch and the statues came to life', the principals realizing that the idiom of Gluck's music needed only to be felt to bring strong and true stage impersonation with it, while the chorus members in his operas were 'amazed to discover that they were actors'.

Garrick and Gluck, of course, were not alone responsible for all theatrical change at the time; but praise of this kind provides a frame for such things as the poet Verazi's stagings of his own librettos in the 1760s and 70s, noted for their treating the chorus 'as actors, not statues'; his printing his librettos with stage directions for elaborate business during the normally direction-free da capo arias; the increasing trouble taken by such composers as Jommelli to construct *buffo* ensembles which would permit 'natural' acting throughout; the growing tendency of the operatic stage space to be characterized by *chiaroscuro* in lighting, local colour in décor and asymmetry in the deployment of supernumeraries, dancers and scenery; the praises heaped on a singer like Sophie Arnould for her tenderness, energy, soul, sentiment and sensibility; and the determination of Gaetano Guadagni, who had learnt directly from Garrick and created the leading role in *Orfeo ed Euridice* (1762), to identify with his roles so fully that he refused to acknowledge applause after an aria or give encores.

Few singers may have gone as far as Guadagni in this; but his ideal chimes with a concept of opera involving a carefully monitored synthesis of theatrical arts, all blending together to present a heightened virtual actuality which will enthral, elevate and edify. The concept attracted support in the later 18th century, although there were differing views as to who should finally be responsible for the careful monitoring. Noverre and Algarotti, influentially urging this conscious integration of the arts as opposed to the traditional *laissez-faire*, both insisted that it was the poet-librettist who, as the begetter of the opera, should be the guardian of its wholeness, and that it was for the other theatre artists to embody the poet's unifying conception. Noverre further emphasized the need for the executive quintet of composer, designer, machinist, ballet-master and costumier to work closely together and for the poet to be on call throughout, which is what happened in the case of the team working on *Orfeo*. It was certainly an authority structure assured of some success in court theatres where the local prince himself was the librettist (or at least the influential drafter of scenarios). Elsewhere it might be the court composer, as with Jommelli at Stuttgart in the 1750s and 60s under the watchful eye of Duke Carl Eugen. According to Christian Schubart, Jommelli used his knowledge of singers, instrumentalists, audiences and theatre acoustics, plus the close cooperation of designers, machinists and choreographers, 'to move and uplift the coldest listener's heart and soul with one great totality'. Or it might be the court intendant for music and drama, as seems to have been the case with Count von Seeau at Munich in 1780–81 when Mozart and Varesco's *Idomeneo* was being prepared and rehearsed. Mozart's letters home suggest a careful collaboration under Seeau's control between composer, conductor, scenographer and choreographer. The lack of the librettist on the spot to advise singers about stage action suggests that the principals were expected to be largely self-reliant and to use appropriate modifications of well-tried *seria* and Gluckian techniques, taking advice

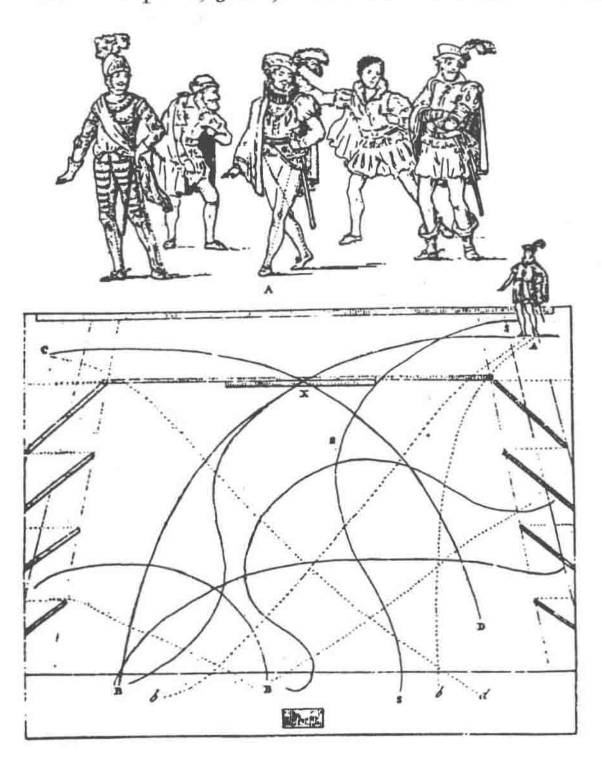


38. Obsequies at the tomb of Castor in Pierre Joseph Candeille's 'Castor et Pollux', Paris Opéra, 1791, as conceived by the production's costume designer, Jean-Simon Berthélemy: pen and ink (F-Pn)

where they found it. They would almost certainly have found it from Mozart in his role as composer-répétiteur, with his earnest concern that recitative should be fast-moving, spirited and fiery in performance, that singers should act, and that the most worthy criterion for librettists, composers and performers alike was theatrical effectiveness.

5. From Weber to Verdi. The idea of a 'great totality' of staging, integrated by one man, had a future. German-speaking theatre was allowing room in the 1790s for the notion of a 'Regisseur des Schauspiels' whose responsibilities included 'balancing all the individual details to create the overall effect'; and such ideas influenced influential operatic music directors, including Weber. As overseer of all aspects of vocal and visible activity on stage at the Prague Opera (1813–16), Weber conceived an ideal of a score and staging where 'every contribution of the related arts is moulded together in a certain way, dissolving to form a new world'; and at Dresden (1817–26) he was an advocate of the 'Leseprobe' (the early reading aloud by a company of the libretto to ensure that everyone involved had an idea of his or her place in the whole), was concerned to develop versatility in his soloists and acting ability in his chorus, and was minded to employ a 'literator' to discuss problematical aspects of librettos with performers and a dancing-master who would double

39. Backstage preparations for a revival of Mozart's 'Die Zauberflöte', Komödienhaus, Weimar, 1794, in an adaptation by Goethe's brother-in-law, C.A. Vulpius: watercolour by G.M. Kraus, director of the scenic workshop (Schloss Tiefurt, Weimar)



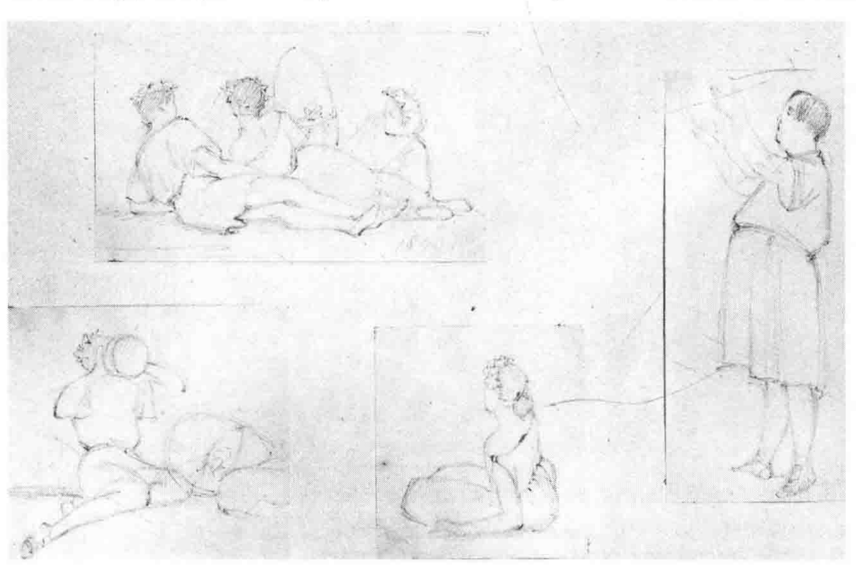
40. 'On Entering, Exiting and Walking upon the Stage', Lesson 2 from 'Theoretische lessen over de gesticulatie en mimiek' (1827) by the Dutch actor Johannes Jelgerhuis: (above) stage walking ('our walk on stage should be firm and bold'); (below) making entrances and exits (to perform these 'with decorum, that is, with grace and nobility, one must follow one of the continuous lines on the plan; to follow a dotted line is indecorous')

as a movement coach and also devise effective stage groupings.

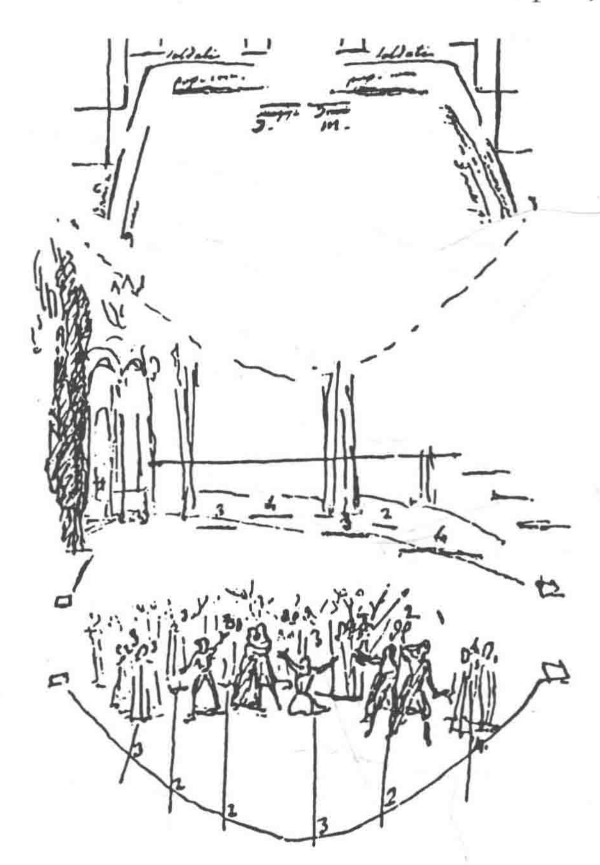
Individualized, picturesque-romantic stagings came to appeal to other national operas around Europe too. For instance, William Charles Macready, the English actor-manager in spoken theatre, was concerned to take great and detailed care in embodying the dramatist's 'picture' on the stage, 'complete in its parts and harmoniously arranged as to figure, scene and action', and saw no reason why he should not apply the same techniques to staging opera in English. But the detailed itemization of stage action that appears in his prompt-books is hugely outdone across the English Channel by the quantity of movement, stage business and character revelation (to say nothing of matters of scenery, costumes and props) recorded behind the scenes at the Parisian *grands spectacles* of the age of Meyerbeer, Auber and Eugène Scribe, for use by stage managers, prompters, répétiteurs and the rehearsers of revivals. Staging almost for staging's sake – flamboyant Romantic-historical décor, crowd effects, exploitation of the new-fangled gas illumination – found itself in the foreground in French *grand opéra*. Of course, the sheer vocal and histrionic skills of such principals as Adolphe Nourrit and later Pauline Viardot were vital to an overall theatrical success; but there was so much else as well to claim the attention. So it is not surprising, given the need to keep some control over it all, that positions with the fairly interchangeable designations *régisseur de la mise en scène*, *directeur de la scène* and *metteur en scène* begin to appear in Parisian personnel lists.

The newly prominent French régisseurs were entrusted with the task of conniving with the operatic team – librettist, composer, company director, scenic artist, costume designer, choreographer and leading singers – so as to devise a durable staging of the latest score, and of making sure that the staging was adhered to during the run. Indeed, it was likely to be set in stone, to become virtually part of the work itself for Parisian revivals and productions in other places, through the régisseur's compilation of a sophisticated *livret de mise en scène*, which included a movement-by-movement, prop-by-prop account of the whole complex spectacle. These *livrets*, which evolved from less ambitious attempts in the 1800s to fix the stagings of Parisian melodramas and *opéras comiques* for the benefit of provincial managers, were often put into print; by 1850 over 80 of them had been published in Paris – distant, indirect descendants of the practical preface Gagliano had written for *Dafne* in 1608.

In Italian-speaking opera houses at the time there would have seemed to be little need for such *livrets*. Staging



41. Groupings of Sicilian nymphs and shepherds devised by William Charles Macready for his revival of Handel's 'Acis and Galatea', Theatre Royal, Drury Lane, London, 1842: sketches by John Tenniel from his 'Pencillings in the Pit



42. Sketches by Salvadore Cammarano for the staging of two incidents in one of his operas, possibly 'Merope', as set by Pacini, Teatro S Carlo, Naples, 1847

methods which would have been familiar to Goldoni were still being carried out more or less efficiently, and there are records of librettists such as Romani, Cammarano and Piave listing props, coaxing some acting out of singers, 'blocking' chorus scenes (where such existed), organizing *comparse* and troubleshooting backstage at premières. But as Italian opera, largely through the maturing of Verdi's genius, became theatrically more complex and hence more at risk after the première (which was artistically in the hands of the composer and his close colleagues) – especially when taken up by another company at a distance – a more rigorous means of quality control in staging was called for. If Verdi created the problem, however, he also had, indeed insisted on, a particular solution. Louis Palianti's series of Parisian *livrets de mise en scène* had included accounts of two productions of Verdi pieces with which the composer had been closely involved while in France in the 1850s. Passionately concerned to get and keep stage business right, Verdi was much taken with the *livret* idea. That for *Les vêpres siciliennes* was translated into Italian, and from then on each of Verdi's new operas had its own *disposizione scenica* prepared and printed by his publisher Ricordi with the composer's collaboration. By the end they were immensely elaborate; that for *Otello* (1887) – one for *Falstaff* has yet to be found – includes 270 diagrams of stage positions and moves (see fig.21). 'Because of recent developments in the music-drama, every movement has its *raison d'être* and the old stage conventions are no longer acceptable', says Ricordi in his epilogue to the *disposizione* for *Aida* (1872). He had no cause to ponder what the status of the prescribed décors and movements might be when operatic staging itself had developed still further.

6. Wagner and after. The story of modern opera production may well be seen as beginning with the first Bayreuth Festival of 1876. Not only was Wagner the prototype of the 20th-century director, but also the festival he inaugurated remained for over a century one of the chief power-houses of developments in dramaturgy. By contrast with the previous theatrical practice, where staging might depend on a combination of interested parties, Wagner, in collaboration with his choreographer Richard Fricke, imposed himself as the central intelligence. Strong emphasis was placed on the role of improvisation and inspiration in stage blocking. Traditional stock histrionics were replaced by 'natural' expression, and singers were encouraged to ignore the audience and respond only to fellow performers on the stage. This was the apogee of illusionism, the prevailing mode in the spoken theatre, at least, from the mid-18th century.

Montfort. — Henri. — Procida. — Hélène.

Après le solo de Procida : *Protégé de Montfort, à lui la honte, etc., etc.*, Hélène, qui a reculé de quelques pas, redescend à la gauche de Henri. *Oui, à nous la gloire ! à nous la mort ! à nous la mort !*—Après le *Ah !* vocalisé, pas général en avant en attaquant le FORTÉ quatre temps : *O noble patrie ! etc., etc.*

Messieurs, mesdames des chœurs, et masses comme ci-dessus.

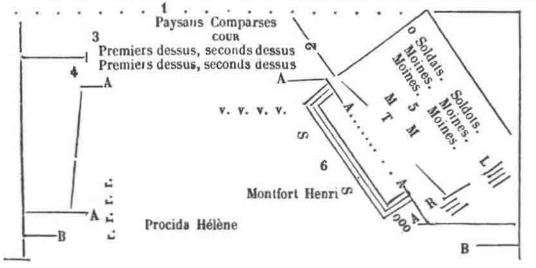
Vaudemont. — Béthune. — Montfort. — Henri. — Hélène. — Procida. — Mainfroid.

Depuis le changement de mouvement (ALLEGRO 6-8), Procida. Hélène, Mainfroid, Montfort et Henri reculent peu à peu. Dans ce mouvement, Procida se retrouve à la gauche d'Hélène.

Immédiatement après la dernière syllabe chantée, les mouvemens suivans s'exécutent très vite : — Une rue s'ouvre au milieu du théâtre. — Les soldats qui, au fond, sur la terrasse jardin, font face au public, descendent jusqu'au milieu du théâtre former l'aile gauche de la rue. Ils font alors face à leurs camarades qui occupent l'aile droite du théâtre, et qui ne bougent pas de place. — Henri veut s'élancer sur les pas de ses amis, qui le repoussent avec mépris. Vainement il se jette à leurs genoux. — Montfort seul le protège. — Tous les autres personnages qui également ont reculé de quelques pas, prennent part à l'action. — TABLEAU. — Le rideau baisse.

QUATRIÈME ACTE.

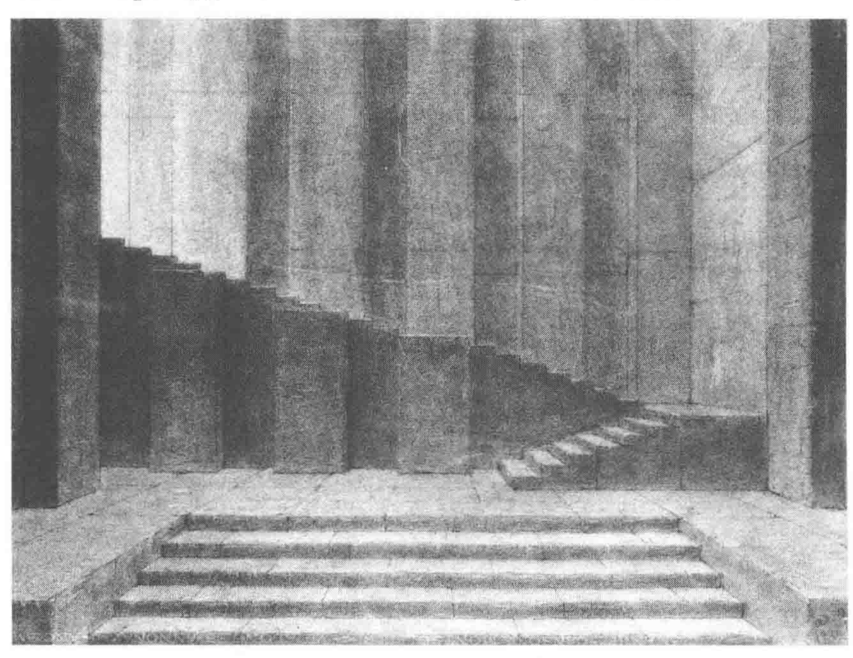
Grande pièce en pierres et à voûtes cintrées donnant sur la cour d'une forteresse.



1. Rideau de fond tombant sur le quatrième plan. Il représente, entourée de hauts murs crénelés, une grande porte donnant accès sur des remparts crénelés, laissant voir la campagne. — 2. Châssis représentant une autre porte conduisant censé à d'autres cours. — 3. Porte conduisant au dehors. — 4. Issue conduisant au logement des prisonniers. — Les plafonds cintrés tombent de A à A. — 5. Pièce sombre, à laquelle on monte par quatre marches de pierre 6. — L'entrée cintrée est entièrement masquée par un rideau en tapisserie devant lequel se trouve une grille haute de deux mètres environ s'ouvrant en deux parties. — Au-dessus de l'ouverture de la pièce 5 sont suspendus quelques vieux drapeaux. — D'autres vieux drapeaux garnissent aussi le haut des murs côté jardin. — B. Manteau d'arlequin. (Les positions indiquées ci-dessus sont celles du commencement du final.)

Le rideau se lève neuf mesures avant le récit d'Henri.

43. Page from Palianti's livret de mise en scène based on the original production of Verdi's 'Les vêpres siciliennes', Paris Opéra, 1855; Palianti details the movements, groupings and pieces of stage business (all closely linked to specific verbal or musical cues in the score) leading to the big tableau at the end of Act 3: Henri torn between his conspirator friends and his long-lost autocratic father. The diagram, part of the subsequent design specification for Act 4 (the courtyard of a fortress), incorporates the positions to be taken by the cast at the beginning of that act's finale, to which the livret will soon give 750 words of detailed description



44. Set design by Adolphe Appia for Gluck's 'Orfeo ed Euridice', 1926

Wagner naturally took a keen interest in the work of Georg II, the Duke of Saxe-Meiningen, whose coincident innovations with his travelling troupe were a huge influence on the evolution of stagecraft. In Meiningen productions, scenery (three-dimensional, using the box set) was designed to accommodate the movements of actors; costumes, props and lighting were exploited to create mood and atmosphere. The duke also did much to establish the supremacy of the director.

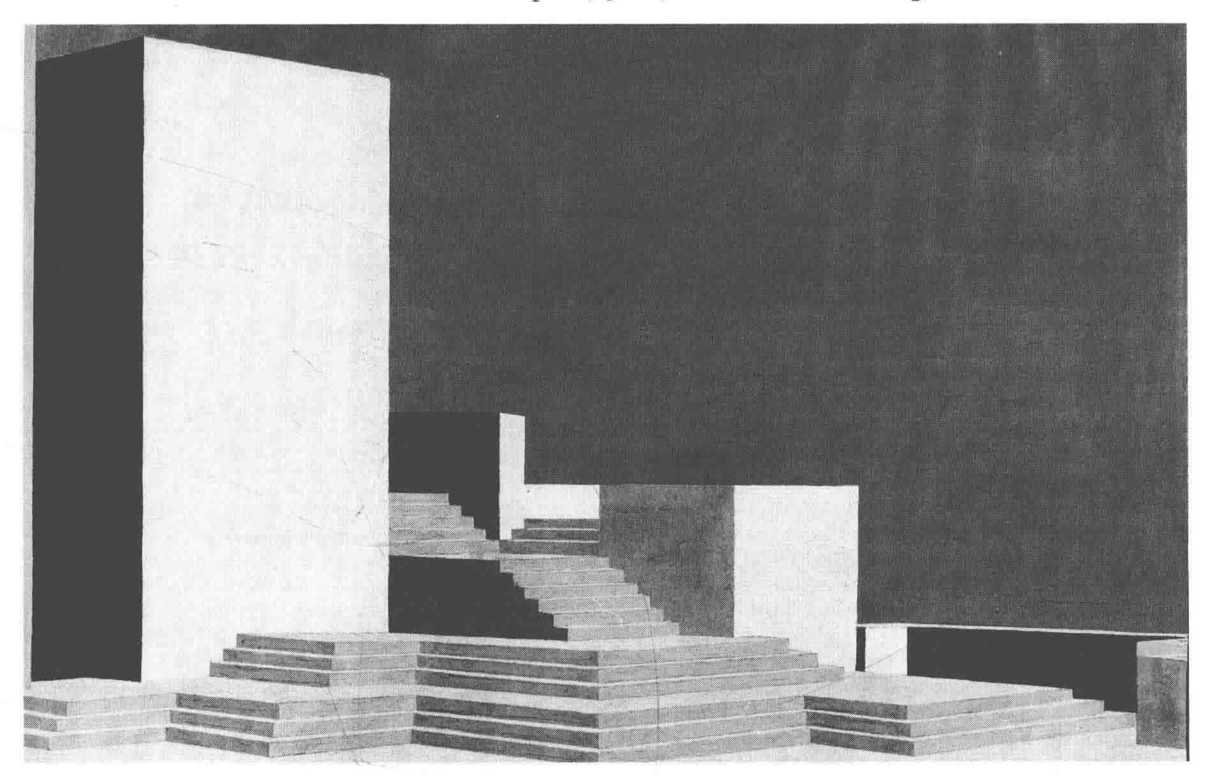
When Cosima Wagner assumed control of the Bayreuth Festival after the composer's death, she brought a natural dramatic talent to bear and continued the progressive tendency of naturalistic acting she had observed at the first festivals. At the same time, her pursuit of an 'ideal' performance such as Wagner would have approved led to over-prescriptiveness and the stifling of inspiration.

Naturalism in acting and staging was also sought by Konstantin Stanislavsky, who in 1898 founded the Moscow Art Theatre with Vladimir Nemirovich-Danchenko. Recognizing that the representation of inner truth on the stage might involve an abandonment of realism, he sought to project life not as it is perceived in reality but as it is experienced 'in our dreams, our visions, our moments of spiritual uplift'. These principles, grounded in the system known as the 'Method' (based on the actor's personal experience and identification with the role), were embodied in Stanislavsky's work in the Bol'shoy Theatre Opera Studio, which he founded in 1918. Fusion of words, music and movement was the object, but it was the score rather than the libretto that was to provide the cues.

More revolutionary was the Moscow Art Theatre Musical Studio, founded in 1919 by Nemirovich-Danchenko, who rejected naturalism and realism in favour of the kind of techniques pioneered by Emile Jaques-Dalcroze, strictly synchronizing movement and gesture in abstract settings. Nemirovich-Danchenko, like many others, was influenced by the ideas of the Swiss designer Adolphe Appia, who has been described as 'the father of non-illusionist musical theatre'. Appia aimed to create a theatrical space independent of reality: a 'living background' that projected mood and atmosphere predominantly by imaginative lighting. His set designs were geometrical structures inspired by contemporary constructivist principles but offset by evocative deployment of light and shadow (fig.44). His theories of opera production, expounded in a series of essays, also proposed simple, stylized costumes and quasi-symbolic, non-realistic stage movements.

Similar ideas were espoused by the English theatre designer and director Edward Gordon Craig, but he also attempted to replace painted scenery with screens, variable in shape, size and colour according to the mood of the scene. His uncompromisingly anti-realist stance further led him to propose replacing actors altogether with 'über-Marionetten': puppets manipulated by an omnipotent director. In his notable productions for the Purcell Operatic Society, 1900–03, his rejection of traditional stage conventions and deployment of coloured light bore witness to the symbolist approach that was to make its effect felt on subsequent generations of directors. As with Appia, Craig's influence was chiefly through his theories rather than his productions. Appia mounted *Tristan und Isolde* at La Scala in 1923 and designed an austere, abstract *Das Rheingold* and *Die Walküre* in Basle, 1924–5 (the *Ring* thus initiated was abandoned, after vigorous protests); but his ideas were contemptuously dismissed by Cosima Wagner and not taken up seriously at Bayreuth until the reforming regime of Wieland and Wolfgang after World War II.

There were, however, other progressive spirits in the early decades of the century who followed Appia in rejecting pictorialism. Gustav Wunderwald's anti-naturalistic representation of the rocky heights in his *Rheingold* for the Deutsche Oper, Berlin, in 1914 showed an awareness of Appia's ideas, as did the work of Alfred Roller in Vienna, Hans Wildermann in Cologne, Dortmund and Düsseldorf, and Ludwig Sievert, whose *Ring* was first seen in Freiburg in 1912–13, then again, with some variations, in Baden-Baden (1917), Hanover (1925)



45. Design by Ewald Dülberg for Act 2 of Beethoven's 'Fidelio', Kroll Opera, Berlin, 1927: gouache (Institut für Theaterwissenschaft, University of Cologne)

and Frankfurt (1926–7). Sievert was able to introduce both a cyclorama (such as Appia had wanted but had been prevented from executing) and a revolving stage. The influence of Appia is also evident in the dark, suggestive, geometric shapes of Sievert's *Ring* designs (the rocky cleft in *Die Walküre*, Act 2, for example), though the slanting walls and converging perspective here produce a composition that was quite original and in turn widely imitated.

Roller's designs for Mahler's Wagner and Mozart productions in Vienna from 1903 onwards applied elements of neo-romanticism to architectonic structures derived from Appia and Craig. A more thorough-going avant-garde director was Vsevelod Meyerhold, whose determination to draw attention to the artifice and mechanics of the act of stage production foreshadowed Brechtian alienation techniques. Meyerhold's first opera production was an imaginatively reductive *Tristan und Isolde* at the Mariinsky Theatre in St Petersburg in 1909.

Another prominent director who gave practical expression to the theories of Appia and Craig was the Austrian Max Reinhardt, who played a key role in establishing the director/impresario in the opera house, and is best known for his collaborations with Richard Strauss and Hofmannsthal. Reinhardt's approach was an eclectic one, incorporating elements of realism, symbolism and Expressionism in an attempt to recapture in modern terms the visionary experience afforded by the traditional theatre. The accusation that his 'obtrusive' production method obscured the author's or composer's intention is an early example of the critical reaction against 'producer's opera'.

A new wave of realism, rooted in the anti-romantic, functional principles of the Bauhaus, informed the most stimulating experiment in opera production in the 1920s: the Berlin Kroll Opera under Klemperer (1927–31). The artist and stage designer Ewald Dülberg, who was responsible for productions there of *Fidelio* (fig.45), *Oedipus rex*, *Der fliegende Holländer* and *Rigoletto*, aimed primarily at creating clearly defined stage spaces, with starkly lit compositions drawing on principles of Cubist abstraction. Dülberg's costumes for *Das fliegende Holländer* (directed by Jürgen Fehling) were both modern and timeless – Senta sporting a blue pullover, grey skirt and a bright red wig – while the ships were represented as geometric shapes looming in the dark. From 1928 Dülberg's monopoly gave way to the participation of such artists as Caspar Neher, Traugott Müller, Oskar Strnad, Oskar Schlemmer and László Moholy-Nagy. In Moholy-Nagy's controversial *Les contes d'Hoffmann*, Romantic scenery was replaced by constructivist designs consisting of geometric and spiral motifs in the style of the Bauhaus; there were sharp contrasts of lighting, and the playing space was occupied by surreal puppet figures and the first steel furniture to appear on the operatic stage.

Meanwhile, at Bayreuth, Siegfried Wagner celebrated the reopening of the festival after the war (1924) with a sustained attempt, in his final six years, to introduce solid three-dimensional sets and other cautious innovations more in tune with the times. The hand of hallowed tradition weighed heavily, but in his last new production, *Tannhäuser* (1930), there was at last some evidence that the progressive ideas of contemporary music theatre were making headway.



46. Scene from Act 2 of Heinz Tietjen's production of Wagner's 'Die Walküre', Festspielhaus, Bayreuth, with designs by Emil Preetorius, production staged annually from 1933 to 1941

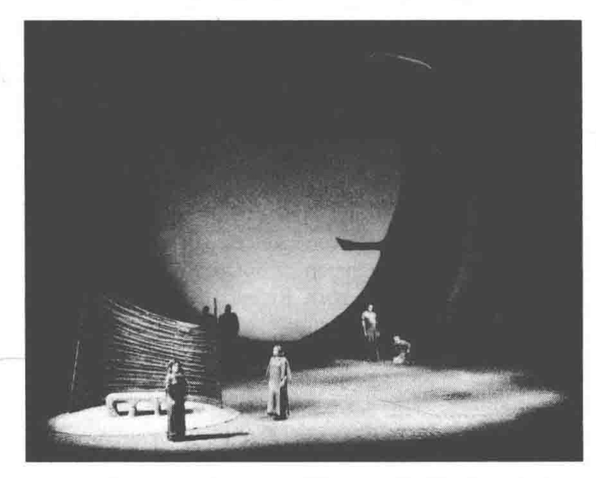
The ascendancy of the Nazis, however, put a stop to virtually all avant-garde experimentation in dramaturgy in Germany. Only at Bayreuth – ironically in view of the close links forged between the festival and the regime – was there any sign that creative thinking had been allowed to continue. Winifred Wagner's appointment of Heinz Tietjen as artistic director of the festival brought the scenic designer Emil Preetorius to the centre of attention (fig.46). In his essay 'Wagner: Bild und Vision', Preetorius drew attention both to the abundance of natural effects in Wagner's works and to their conception as allegories. On the one hand, he felt that these effects 'must be rendered clearly and with complete illusion'; on the other, he recognized that symbolism must play as important a role in the thinking of the designer as in that of the composer. Like Appia, he laid great emphasis on the use of lighting, allowing its deployment supremacy by reducing stage props to essentials.

At the Metropolitan, New York, at least one cycle of the *Ring* was conducted every year from 1929 to 1939 by Artur Bodanzky, using the faithfully naturalistic sets and bearskins of the Kautsky brothers first seen before World War I. The sets designed for the tetralogy after World War II by Lee Simonson also frequently sprouted foliage, but since Simonson was a Broadway designer, they had more than a touch of modernism as well, with echoes of Sievert and Preetorius.

7. Since World War II. The most radical shift in the staging of Wagner, and a key moment in the history of 20th-century opera production, occurred with the reopening of the Bayreuth Festspielhaus after World War II in 1951. Bayreuth had become indelibly associated with the Nazi regime, and it was in a conscious attempt to break with the ideology of the past that Wieland and Wolfgang Wagner, the composer's grandsons, discarded all the pictorial sets and their trappings that had become such an outdated fixture. Arguing that there was no incontrovertible reason why Wagner's works had to be given in the naturalistic mode in which they were first performed, Wieland reduced his sets to the bare essentials, essaying fidelity to the composer not on the surface but in terms of psychological truthfulness. The entire action was set on a circular platform or disc, and a cyclorama effectively suggested an endless horizon (fig.47). The stated aim was to reveal 'the purely human element stripped of all convention'. His abandonment of Wagner's specific instructions was justified by the drawing of a distinction between the stage directions, which remained bound to 19th-century theatrical modes, and the timeless ideas of the works themselves, which demand constantly new representations. The stage directions, in other words, he regarded as inner visions rather than practical demands.

A diametrically opposed set of dramaturgical principles was evident in the work of another hugely influential director of the same era, Walter Felsenstein. Having founded the Komische Oper in East Berlin in 1947, he remained its director until his death in 1975, establishing 'realistic music theatre' on the basis of long, intensive rehearsal periods and committed ensemble playing, but insisting that 'the central figure is, and remains, the singer-actor'. Felsenstein emphasized the creative contribution to be made by performers, inspiring them to replicate the psychological state of the characters they were playing, drawing on their own emotional reserves and experiences. The dramatic portrayals of characters and their interaction had to be persuasive, but Felsenstein also demanded that the act of singing in the theatre had itself to be experienced as a 'convincing, true and utterly indispensable mode of expression'.

Felsenstein's chief legacy was the psychological and social realism he brought to bear, and the emphasis he placed on role identification. His best-known pupils, Götz Friedrich (fig.48) and Joachim Herz, as well as such directors as Harry Kupfer, fused those principles with the

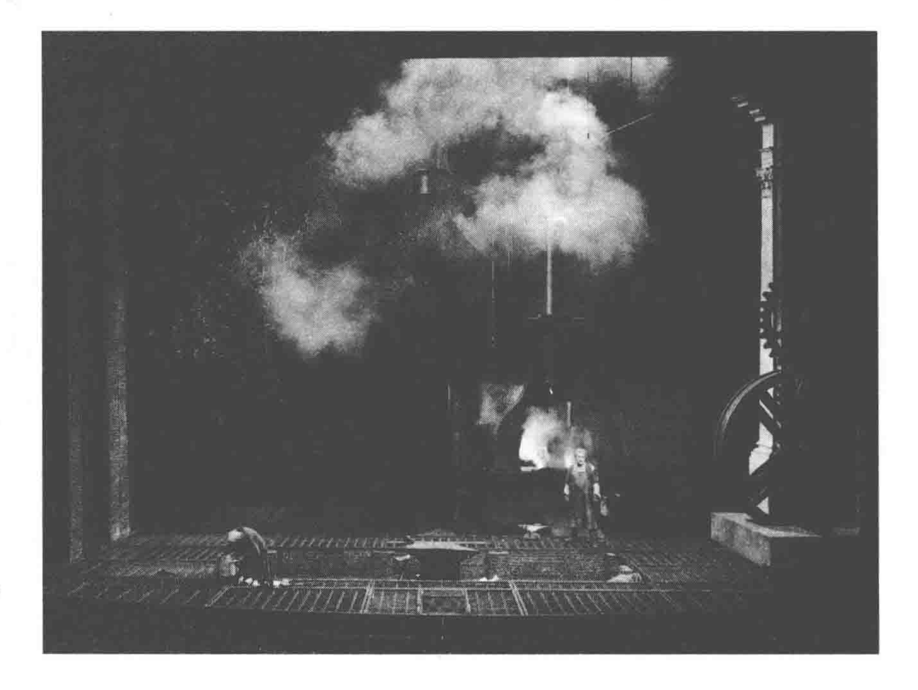


47. Scene from Act 1 of Wagner's 'Tristan und Isolde', Festspielhaus, Bayreuth, 1962, designed and directed by Wieland Wagner

48. Scene from Act 1 of Götz Friedrich's production of 'Siegfried', Covent Garden, London, 1975, designed by Josef Svoboda

quite contrary ones of Brechtian theory to establish the fundamentals of an approach that dominated the stages of Europe, in a variety of contrasting forms, throughout the 1960s, 70s and 80s. Brecht's determination to shatter the illusions constructed by traditional, 'culinary' theatre, as he disparagingly named it, led him to formulate the *Verfremdungseffekt*, usually rendered as 'alienation effect', though the intention was to alienate the audience from the action in order to engage it more immediately and intellectually.

Alienation techniques were used conspicuously by Friedrich in his two *Ring* cycles, where, for example, he caused Loge, Alberich and Wotan to step outside the framework of the drama to address the audience directly. Such techniques were used to heighten the contemporary relevance that became the hallmark of the work of Friedrich, Herz, Kupfer and other East German directors. Social and political commitment had been an intrinsic element of Felsenstein's productions too, but the incorporation of Brechtian techniques gave the work of the



49. Scene from Act 1 of Patrice Chéreau's production of 'Siegfried', Festspielhaus, Bayreuth, 1980 revival of the 1976 staging, designed by Richard Peduzzi



50. Scene from Act 2 of Franco Zeffirelli's production of Puccini's 'Turandot', Metropolitan Opera, New York, 1987

younger generation a sharper ideological edge. It was no doubt the potency of that ideological element that provoked bourgeois capitalist audiences and critics repeatedly to object to what was dismissed as socialist didacticism on the operatic stage – a stage, moreover, not traditionally associated with ideological engagement of any kind.

The Italian Giorgio Strehler and the Frenchman Patrice Chéreau (notably in his centenary production of the *Ring* at Bayreuth, 1976; fig.49) also attracted criticism in some quarters for the prominence they accorded to the ideological aspects of works. It is no coincidence that the trend they encouraged of directors turning from the spoken theatre to opera was concurrent with the rise of what came to be called, often pejoratively, 'producer's opera'. The age of the producer, or director (as he/she has come, following American usage, more commonly to be known), may be seen as a response to a set of sociocultural factors affecting the reception of opera in the modern era. Chief among these are the decline in the cult of the diva and, arguably, in the individuality of expression (though not technique) of singers; the passing of the era of the autocratic, charismatic conductor who fashioned the production in his own image; and the failure of opera in the 20th century to regenerate its forms or repertory in accordance with the needs of the age. The survival of an antiquated, obsolete genre has necessitated renewal in terms of presentation.

Not all 'interventionist' approaches have a political intention, however: some directors (notably Jonathan Miller) have probed the works from a psychological vantage-point, while others (notably David Freeman) have prioritized emotional directness. Present-day costumes and settings have sometimes, but by no means always, been the chosen means for such explorations. In the 1970s and 80s, some directors attempted to emphasize the universality and timeless relevance of works by incorporating props and costumes from various eras.

'Interventionist' opera productions have also gone hand in hand with the espousal of influential critical theories such as structuralism, post-structuralism (in particular deconstruction), reader-orientated approaches and feminism. The questioning of previous certainties such as the status of the author as the origin of the text, the source of its meaning and the principal authority for its interpretation effected a revolution in the way works, both classic and modern, might be presented. Brechtian theory had already suggested that the bourgeois theatre's illusion of reality could fruitfully be dispelled by disrupting the supposed organic unity of a work, emphasizing instead its discontinuities and contradictions. Now the wider possibilities of exploiting disjunctions between text and music, even of contriving them, and of generating creative tension between surface indicators in the score or stage directions and the action as played out on stage began to be realized.

Principles of this sort were initially most evident in the work of continental, primarily German, directors, though by the 1980s the torch had passed to the younger generation of directors active in Britain. Harry Kupfer had already created over 70 productions, mostly in East Germany, before he came to international attention in

1978; Patrice Chéreau's Bayreuth *Ring* (1976) was more immediately influential. The Gielen-Zehelein regime at Frankfurt (1977–87) produced a series of radical stagings by a team of guest directors including Ruth Berghaus, Alfred Kirchner, Christof Nel and Hans Neuenfels that pressed such ideas into the service of vibrant music theatre. Berghaus's stagings in particular, drawing also on surrealism and the Theatre of the Absurd, influenced the work of younger directors such as David Alden and Richard Jones. Others, such as David Pountney in Britain and Peter Sellars in the USA, ploughed their own furrows, in each case producing a corpus of work that by sheer force of conviction and flair in execution has often been well received even by those of a more traditionalist persuasion.

Alongside such radical developments, a conservative tradition has been maintained in various guises. Visconti's neo-romantic, picturesque opulence was continued by his protégé, Zeffirelli, notably at La Scala and the Metropolitan (fig.50), while 'fidelity to the text' has been the watchword both of those directors cleaving to the humanist, Leavisite tradition (Peter Hall is a prominent example) and, on the Continent, of those adhering to *werktreu* principles. It would be misleading, however, to suggest that either the mainstream traditional or the radical interventionist productions had a monopoly on invention and imagination. Peter Stein's *Otello* and *Falstaff*, for example, demonstrated that even a conventional concern for harmony of stage action and score can, in resourceful hands, have electrifying theatrical results.

The 1990s witnessed a backlash against iconoclastic productions, abetted on the one hand by critics and audiences who were never entirely comfortable with the interventionism of the 1970s and 80s, and on the other by a prevailing sense of ideological apathy and cultural malaise. The need, perceived by economically besieged managements, for surefire commercial successes is also a major contributory factor, and the eclecticism afforded by the aesthetics of postmodernism has allowed a wide variety of styles to be essayed with an exuberance and virtuosity that conceal an underlying conceptual vacuum. In general terms, with a few exceptions, the directors most in demand with the major opera houses have offered surface, design-led innovation rather than ideological engagement. Alfred Kirchner's Bayreuth *Ring* (1994–8) exemplifies the trend.

Shifts in public taste will no doubt continue to foster experimentation. In a postmodern age uncertain of its cultural identity, or of the role of opera in society, iconoclasm and traditionalism seem destined to co-exist, giving rise to a multiplicity of stylistic approaches for some time to come.

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HOWARD MAYER BROWN (I, II), ELLEN ROSAND (III), REINHARD STROHM (with MICHEL NOIRAY) (IV), ROGER PARKER (V), ARNOLD WHITTALL (VI), ROGER SAVAGE(VII, 1–5), BARRY MILLINGTON (VII, 6, 7)

Opera America. American organization. Founded in Washington DC in 1970 as a non-profit-making organization, it offers a wide range of services, products and information to professional companies in North America and affiliated organizations outside the country, as well as to performers and administrators, the media, funding bodies and the public. Its publications include regular reports and surveys on the practical and financial aspects of performance, production and management, a directory of sets and costumes, a guide to competitions and young-artist programmes, and various educational materials. Opera America also organizes an annual conference and other meetings. Its website includes information on many of its activities, links to its member companies' websites and databases of performing artists, opera performances around the world and production materials available for hire.

MARTHA PERRY/LAURA YOUNG

Opéra-ballet (Fr). A genre of French lyric theatre, cultivated in the period following Lully's death in 1687. An *opéra-ballet* normally consists of a prologue and three or four acts (called entrées), each with its own set of characters and its own plot; the plot usually relates in a general way to a collective idea expressed in the overall title of the work, and each entrée includes at least one divertissement of songs and dances.

The first *opéra-ballet* is generally considered to be *L'Europe galante* by André Campra, to a libretto by A.H. de Lamotte, which was first performed at the Paris Opéra in 1697 (see illustration). Immediate structural models are Collasse's *Ballet des Saisons* (1695) and quite possibly the ballet *Les jeux à l'honneur de la victoire* (1691, music lost) by Elisabeth Jacquet de La Guerre (see Cessac, 1995).

The innovatory nature of *L'Europe galante*, however, lay less in its structure than in its subject matter. This was recognized by Cahusac, who wrote: 'In creating a completely new genre, Lamotte gained the advantage of being copied in turn . . . *L'Europe galante* is the first of our lyric works that bears no resemblance to the operas of Quinault' (1754, iii, 108–10). The key words 'completely new' and 'no resemblance to the operas of Quinault' refer to more than just formal structure. The *opéras-ballets* represent a musical parallel to the 'pretty Watteaus' of Cahusac's own happy image. The main contribution to the *opéra-ballet*, then, by Campra and his followers, Mouret and Montéclair, was the introduction of flesh-and-blood characters in recognizable, contemporary settings. Country *seigneurs*, *petits-maîtres*, elegant ladies and their amorous confidantes replaced the mythological and allegorical figures of the earlier ballets and *tragédies en musique*. 'L'opéra' from Campra's *Les fêtes vénitiennes* takes place in the Grimani Palace in Venice; 'Les âges rivaux', from his *Les âges*, is set in Hamburg; while Marseilles is the location of Mouret's 'La fille' from *Les fêtes ou Le triomphe de Thalie*. The libretto to this last tells us that this is the first opera in which female performers were 'habillées à la françoise'; and in the entrée 'La Provençale', added in 1722, Mouret introduced local costumes, local musical instruments and popular meridional tunes sung in Provençal dialect.

Beginning with *Les fêtes vénitiennes* (1710), comic intrigue was skilfully exploited in the *opéra-ballet*. *Les fêtes ou Le triomphe de Thalie* (1714) had a *succès de scandale* because of the humiliating defeat of Melpomene (muse of tragedy) by Thalia (muse of comedy) in its prologue, set on the stage of the Paris Opéra.



Harem of Sultan Zuliman, from the entrée 'La Turquie' in Campra's opéra-ballet 'L'Europe galante', Paris Opéra, 1697: engraving from the libretto in 'Recueil général des opéra', vi (1703)

There was also an increasing effort to mirror the social and cultural mores of court life during the declining years of Louis XIV and, after 1715, the Regency. Rémond de Saint-Mard clearly understood the appeal of *opéra-ballet* for a public grown weary of the heroic gestures of the *grand siècle*: 'We have reached the point, Monsieur, where one desires only [*opéras-*]ballets. . . . Each act must be composed of a fast-moving, light and, if you wish, a rather *galant* plot. . . . You will find there the portrait of our mores. They are, to be sure, rather vile [*vilaines*], but they are nonetheless ours' (1741, pp.94–6).

For the librettist P.-C. Roy, the *opéra-ballet* 'pleases by its variety and sympathizes with French impatience' (1749, ii, 18). Flexibility of format made it possible to add or subtract entrées on a trial and error basis. From June to December of 1710, for example, eight entrées had been composed for *Les fêtes vénitiennes*, making this *opéra-ballet* a most kaleidoscopic translation of 'French impatience'.

The 23 years between 1697 and 1719 may be said to constitute the 'first period' of the genre on the basis of subject matter and structure. The end of the Regency of

Philippe de Bourbon and the end of the first-period *opéra-ballet* followed closely upon one another. On 13 July 1723 the first performance of Collin de Blamont's *ballet-héroïque*, *Les festes grecques et romaines*, took place at the Paris Opéra. For the librettist, Fuzelier, this was a 'completely new type of ballet . . . that brought together all the best known Festivals of Antiquity, which appeared to be the most adaptable to the stage' (*Avertissement*). Various causes have been put forward for the sudden demise of the first-period *opéra-ballet*: the continuing opposition of many aestheticians to comedy on the French lyric stage; the return of a king (albeit a boy king) to the French throne; and the reversion by librettist and composer alike to the elusive tragic muse (Cahusac wrote that Lamotte believed that only *tragédie en musique* was 'worthy of his attention').

In any case, the *ballet-héroïque*, with all the trappings of monarchical opera, replaced the more frivolous earlier type. The fanciful characters, amorous ladies and lively *petits-maîtres* of the first-period *opéra-ballet* disappeared, to find a place in parodies, vaudevilles and the budding *opéra comique*. The structure of the *ballet-héroïque* is identical with that of the *opéra-ballet* – that is, three or four acts, each with its own plot; it may be thought of as a specific type of *opéra-ballet* that made up the second and final period of the genre.

By the time of Mouret's *Les amours des dieux* (1727), any pretence of avoiding a return to mythology was cast aside, although the *Avertissement* states that the work is 'absolutely in the heroic genre' in spite of its mythological characters. The rare use of comedy in the *ballet-héroïque* demands explanation: 'The public has decided that if Comedy is allowed on the stage, it may be only a noble Comedy that bears the character of Antiquity' (*Avertissement* to Destouches' *Les stratagèmes de l'amour*, 1726). The musical highpoint of the *ballet-héroïque* was reached in the examples by Rameau of which several are specifically called *ballets-héroïques*, among them *Les Indes galantes* (1735), *Les fêtes de Polymnie* (1745) and *Les fêtes de l'Hymen et de l'Amour* (1747). *Zaïs* (1748), which has a unified plot, is also described as a PASTORALE-HÉROÏQUE, a type of *ballet-héroïque* whose plot is generally concerned with the loves in an Arcadian setting between nobles or gods (or goddesses) and shepherdesses (or shepherds). The last *ballet-héroïque* performed at the Paris Opéra was E.J. Floquet's *L'union de l'Amour et des arts* (1773).

Single entrées from the more popular *opéras-ballets* and *ballets-héroïques* survived into the second half of the 18th century as parts of *fragments* (known also as 'spectacles coupés'), a curious genre in which a new production was formed from three or four acts picked arbitrarily from different *opéras-ballets*, one-act operas or *actes de ballet* (one-act ballets). Thus in 1759, 'Les devins de la Place St Marc' from *Les fêtes vénitiennes* formed part of a set of *fragments* that also included Rousseau's *Le devin du village* (1752) and *Ismène* (1747), an *acte de ballet* by Rebel and Francoeur.

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Opéra bouffe (Fr.). A mid- to late 19th-century French comic opera in which a witty spoken dialogue and sparkling, light music combine in a genre designed to entertain. Its period of greatest popularity coincided with the reign of Napoleon III. It takes its name from the theatre directed by Offenbach where many were first performed, the Théâtre des Bouffes-Parisiens (opened in 1855; *see* OPERETTA, fig.1). It differs from *opéra comique* of the same period in its more frankly humorous tone, often bordering on farce, and its use of parody and satire (literary, musical, social and sometimes political). The earliest example is Offenbach's own *Orphée aux enfers* (1858). For over two decades Offenbach continued to write *opéras bouffes*, some of which, like *La belle Hélène* (1864) and *La vie parisienne* (1866), have long outlasted

the society whose foibles were their targets. Among the most successful and prolific of his contemporaries and successors were Hervé (also a singer and theatre director) and Charles Lecocq, whose *La fille de Madame Angot* (1872) and several other works remain in the French light opera repertory.

See also OPERETTA.

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Opéra bouffon (Fr.). In 18th-century France the customary designation for Italian *opera buffa* performed in the original language or in French translation (for example, Paisiello's *Le roi Théodore à Venise*, a 1786 parody of *Il re Teodoro in Venezia*). It was also occasionally applied to *opéras comiques* whose plots were indebted to Italian or Spanish prototypes for characterizations or dramatic construction and, more broadly, to those in which the comedy approached farce (as in Philidor's *Blaise le savetier* of 1759 and Grétry's *Les deux avares* of 1770). A few contemporary writers, notably Contant d'Orville, used *opéra bouffon* as a synonym for *opéra comique*.

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Opera buffa (It.: 'comic opera'). The term 'opera buffa' was first applied to the genre of comic opera as it rose to popularity in Italy and abroad over the course of the 18th century. At first, 'opera buffa' did not appear as a designation in the librettos. Like 'opera seria', it was used in informal writings (letters, memoirs etc.) and in ordinary conversation, with reference to the spectacle as a whole. Librettists, even in the lowlier comic genre, had literary pretensions and accordingly entitled their work in ways that emphasized its status as literature. 'Dramma giocoso' occurs as early as 1695 (in G.C. Villifranchi's preface to his *L'ipocondriaco*, composer unknown, performed at the Villa Medici at Pratolino) and recurs sporadically thereafter, alternating from about 1740 with terms such as 'dramma bernesco', 'dramma comico', 'divertimento giocoso' and 'commedia per musica'. The last-named survived on an equal footing with 'dramma giocoso' from about 1760. The early Neapolitan-dialect librettos favoured 'commedeia pe' museca'. No special significance can be attached to any of these designations.

1. COMIC OPERA BEFORE THE 18TH CENTURY. A small number of comic operas were produced in the 17th century, although no great need for them can have been felt at a time when 'serious' operas were liberally interlaced with comic episodes. Comic opera had no conventions of its own at this time but on the whole tended to be modelled on the (spoken) *commedia erudita*. Both Villifranchi and his rather more famous predecessor at the Medici court, G.A. Moniglia, pointed to Terence as their model. Florence, indeed, could be said to have been the 'centre' of this 'erudite' type of comic opera: the inaugural work at the Teatro della Pergola in 1657 had been Moniglia's *dramma civile rusticale*, *Il potestà di Colognole*, set to music by Jacopo Melani. It was followed, at irregular intervals and at different public or Medici theatres, by a dozen more such works up to 1699, when there occurred a hiatus of nearly 20 years before the next comic production.

Rome had pioneered in this field with Giulio Rospigliosi's *Chi soffre speri* (1637 as *Il falcone*) and *Dal male il bene* (1653), the former based on a Boccaccio *novella*, the latter on a Spanish *comedia*, and so both, quite clearly, in the 'erudite' tradition. Bologna, too, witnessed some comic operas in the 17th century, several of them imported from Florence. Here the Inquisition inhibited the free growth of what might otherwise have been a truly popular genre: eight different indigenous *scherzi giocosi* are listed by Ricci for the period 1669–98, after which, as at Florence, no more comic operas were seen for some 20 years. It is perhaps no coincidence that Rome, Florence and Bologna were to become important stations in the spread of the 18th-century *opera buffa*, a more 'modern' genre whose true birthplace was Naples.

2. NEAPOLITAN 'OPERA BUFFA' TO *c*1730. It was at Naples that a new type of comic opera had its beginnings, patronized at first by eminent and, it would seem, enlightened members of the legal profession and aristocracy. The earliest known example is *La Cilla* (music by Michelangelo Faggioli, a lawyer, text by F.A. Tullio, later a prolific librettist), first performed in 1706 presumably at the home of the Neapolitan minister of justice to whom it was dedicated, then revived at the palace of the Prince of Chiusiano in 1707 and 1708. Only the libretto survives (no score from earlier than 1717 has been preserved, and no complete score earlier than 1722), but it, at least, is the very prototype of the kind of spectacle that was soon to thrive in the 'little theatres' of Naples: the setting is a district of the city itself, and the characters all speak in the local dialect. This lends an air of unadorned reality to what would otherwise have simply been the conventional characters and plot of an 'erudite' comedy. The *innamorati*, true to convention, are serious roles; but as they express themselves in the everyday dialect, their sentiments sound natural rather than stylized. Later Neapolitan comic operas often feature two pairs of lovers (the male lovers often portrayed by female sopranos) and the plot hinges on their fate. Surrounding them one finds such stock comedy figures as the old man, the old woman (a tenor role), the swaggering captain (bass) and the saucy shop boy (soprano). The local dialect and setting transmute all these traditional types from the caricatures they had been in earlier, Baroque comedy (both written and improvised) into more believable characters. Thus from the very beginning Neapolitan *opera buffa* reflects a new perception of everyday life; and from the very beginning

it deals with both serious and comic characters and situations. These traits remained characteristic of the genre even after it was divested of the local setting and dialect, and became cosmopolitan.

The Teatro dei Fiorentini, a century-old playhouse, became the earliest public theatre to house Neapolitan *opera buffa*. Its first offering, in October 1709, was *Patrò Calienno de la Costa*, with music by Antonio Orefice, words by 'Mercotellis' (a pen-name); this was soon followed by another dialect opera, *Lo spellecchia*, with music by Tommaso de Mauro, words by C. de Petris. According to one witness, a northern nobleman, Neapolitans now began to abandon the S Bartolomeo theatre, home of *opera seria*, preferring to fill 'the Teatro de' Fiorentini, which is presenting real trash [*una vera porcheria*], unworthy of being seen, in the Neapolitan language' (see Croce, 4/1947, p.140). Other theatres, the Nuovo and the Pace, opened their doors to *opera buffa* in 1724, by which time the new genre was a Neapolitan fixture attracting some of the best *opera seria* composers (Alessandro Scarlatti had tried his hand at it in 1718 with *Il trionfo dell'onore* at the Fiorentini, an unusual work in that the text was in Italian rather than Neapolitan, and the lovers were aristocrats). The new generation of composers – among them Vinci, Hasse and Pergolesi – were equally at home in both the serious and the comic genres.

The earliest singers were for the most part local and not professionally trained. Their music is accordingly relatively free of bravura passages but in other respects not unlike that of the contemporary *opera seria* (the arias are nearly all in da capo form). Like *opera seria*, these works are in three acts; Acts 1 and 2 often end with a short brawl for three or four of the cast, the germ of what later, in the north, was to become the extended *opera buffa* finale. The overtures, three-movement sinfonias, are indistinguishable from those of *opera seria*.

3. THE NORTH TO *c*1750. From Naples, *opera buffa* spread to Rome. Bernardo Saddumene, one of the leading Naples librettists, arrived there with some *buffo* singers and a composer (Giovanni Fischietti) in January 1729. Having recruited local castrato singers to play the female roles (women were not allowed on stage in Rome), he produced his *Li zite 'ngalera* (performed at Naples in 1722 to Vinci's music) under a new name, *La Costanza*, and with new music (by Fischietti). The serious roles were sung in Italian, the comic ones in the original dialect (a scheme that Saddumene later introduced to Naples, where it remained standard for the rest of the century). This and his *La somiglianza* (produced in February) appear to have been the earliest Neapolitan comic operas performed in Rome. The time was evidently ripe for the new genre to spread north. During the 1730s Rome became a centre of *opera buffa*; italianized Neapolitan operas as well as original Italian ones were produced there, principally at the Teatro Valle. Among the former, Gaetano Latilla's *La finta cameriera* (1738, known in Naples as *Il Gismondo*, 1737), among the latter Latilla's *Madama Ciana* (1738) and Rinaldo di Capua's *La commedia in commedia* (1738) and *La libertà nociva* (1740) formed the nucleus of Roman operas that soon began travelling north (one G. Barlocci is credited with having written or adapted their librettos). The composers, it should be noted, were at first all Neapolitans, while the singers tended to be native, often with previous experience as intermezzo specialists.

La finta cameriera travelled by the following route: Naples, 1737; Rome, 1738; Faenza and Modena, 1741; Siena, Florence, Genoa, 1742; Bologna, Venice, Vicenza, 1743; Milan, 1745; Turin, Mantua, Verona, Parma, 1747; and meanwhile, Graz, Leipzig, Hamburg, 1745 (carried there from Venice by the Mingotti troupe). The work's progress reflects fairly exactly the northward progress of the new *opera buffa*. There were early excursions outside Italy, and by the 1750s *opera buffa* was spreading to most of Europe.

4. THE LATER 18TH CENTURY. Venice quickly capitulated to the new genre. After the Teatro S Angelo produced *La finta cameriera* in May 1743, the S Moisè and S Cassiano theatres threw their doors open to *opera buffa*, remaining its chief purveyors until 1748, when other theatres joined in. The earliest composers were Latilla, Pietro Auletta, Rinaldo di Capua, Antonio Palella and Giuseppe Avossa, all Neapolitan. But in January 1745 they were joined by the Venetian Baldassare Galuppi, whose first *opera buffa*, *La forza d'amore*, was produced at the S Cassiano. Other northerners, Giuseppe Scolari and Ferdinando Bertoni, followed the next year; and yet another, Vincenzo Ciampi, made his Venetian *opera buffa* début in autumn 1748, having enlisted the aid of the then relatively unknown Carlo Goldoni. The Ciampi-Goldoni collaboration extended to two more works, but meanwhile Galuppi and Goldoni produced their first joint effort, *L'Arcadia in Brenta* (S Angelo, 14 May 1749), thereby initiating a new epoch in the history of the genre.

In a series of highly successful works, Galuppi and Goldoni established a model for the *opera buffa* just as it was beginning to rival the *opera seria* in popularity. It was a propitious moment, and several of the brilliant actor-singers at their disposal (e.g. Francesco Baglioni, Francesco Carattoli, Filippo Laschi, Serafina Penni) were to carry the new repertory far and wide, repeating their Venetian successes in other cities and countries. Notable among the new operas were *Il mondo della luna* (S Moisè, 1750), *La calamità de' cuori* (S Samuele, 1752), *Il filosofo di campagna* (S Samuele, 1754) and *La diavolessa* (S Samuele, 1755), all of which, but especially *Il filosofo di campagna* (see illustration), were to enjoy European fame (see *LoewenbergA*). Goldoni's spoken comedies were then in the ascendant, and his librettos were merely lucrative by-products; yet they are cleverly wrought, treat a wide variety of subjects from the realistic to the fanciful and (unlike his plays) are always rich in scenic effects. How much their musical component reflects Galuppi's wishes it is impossible to say, but the composer is given splendid opportunities with such standard features as opening ensembles, metrically varied arias (often departing from the da capo convention), a comic vocabulary designed for musical reiteration and, above all, 'chain' finales, of which, according to Gozzi, Goldoni was 'the first inventor'. A forerunner of this highly important innovation is already present in their *L'Arcadia in Brenta*; Act 2 ends with a play within the play, most of it set to music. In succeeding librettos, the finales to the first two acts, growing out of the plots themselves, become increasingly long and eventful, and Galuppi set them as a series of separate sections contrasted in key and tempo, assigning to the orchestra the task of continuing the music amid the hectic comings and goings of the actors onstage.



Galuppi's 'Il filosofo di campagna': engraving by G. Zuliani from Carlo Goldoni's 'Opere teatrali' (Venice: Zatta, 1788–95)

The importance of this new feature, which was hugely enjoyed by the public, lies in the fact that here, for the first time in opera, action, not just sentiment, was being set to music. This trend was to gain in importance in later years, affecting even *opera seria*. Act 3 normally closes with a simpler ensemble or chorus, but in the penultimate scene Goldoni introduces yet another convention: the duet of reconciliation between the two principals, patently a legacy from the now obsolescent intermezzo.

As early as 1749 (in *Il conte Caramella*, another Galuppi opera) Goldoni listed his characters under the headings 'seri', 'buffi' and 'mezzi caratteri', the last denoting something between 'serious' and 'comical'. He was not blazing new trails but merely codifying what doubtless was already theatrical jargon: the same categories would have been applicable to the earliest Neapolitan comic operas. And when he wrote *La buona figliuola* for the court of Parma in 1756 (the composer was Duni), he dispensed with those headings altogether. Yet this libretto, as reset in 1760 by Piccinni in Rome, is widely quoted by historians as marking a turning-point in the history of *opera buffa* because of its mixture of comedy with a sentimental, 'larmoyant' element. However, the opera's resounding success in Rome and throughout Europe cannot be ascribed to a formula that was in itself not at all new. Here again, a conjunction of work, place and time must be considered responsible: Piccinni undoubtedly struck just the right note in portraying the sufferings of Cecchina, the innocent heroine (played in Rome of course by a castrato) and Europe must have been ready just then to take such a heroine to its heart, having already embraced the heroines in novels (notably Richardson's *Pamela*, Cecchina's model) and in the French *comédie larmoyante*.

Despite the great success of *La buona figliuola*, Italian *opera buffa* did not develop farther along the lines of sentimentality. The sly observation of human foibles within the context of contemporary society was and remained its main business; and, precisely because of its success in this, *opera buffa* now became the dominant form, greatly reducing the role of *opera seria* everywhere. It successfully reflected the Zeitgeist and thus exerted a widespread influence, infusing with its spirit the new instrumental genres of the Classical period as well as the comedies of contemporary authors such as Goldsmith, Sheridan and Beaumarchais. Not the least of its effects was the stimulus it provided for the development of new, national forms of opera in countries other than Italy (e.g. *opéra comique*, Singspiel, zarzuela etc.).

With the rise in prestige of *opera buffa*, its history in the later 18th century becomes virtually that of opera in general and its composers. In Italy, the new composers were Anfossi, Francesco Bianchi, Cimarosa, Giuseppe Gazzaniga, P.A. Guglielmi, Paisiello and Sarti among countless others; the new librettists Giovanni Bertati, G.B. Lorenzi, Pasquale Mililotti, Giuseppe Palomba, Giuseppe

Petrosellini and others, among whom Bertati stands out as a talented innovatory man of the theatre. Some of the most important operas of this period were first performed in foreign capitals; for example Paisiello's *Il barbiere di Siviglia* (librettist unknown; 1782, St Petersburg) and *Il re Teodoro in Venezia* (G.B. Casti; 1784, Vienna); and Cimarosa's *Il matrimonio segreto* (Bertati; 1792, Vienna). Non-Italian composers, from Gassmann to Martín y Soler, became adept practitioners. It was left to one of them to crown the development of *opera buffa* in the 18th century with three enduring masterpieces. Mozart's *Le nozze di Figaro* (1786, Vienna), *Don Giovanni* (1787, Prague) and *Così fan tutte* (1790, Vienna), to librettos by Da Ponte (who, like Casti and some others, never wrote for Italy), may in some respects be regarded as characteristic of their time: their one-movement overture form and two- or four-act division, the proliferation in them of action set to music in numbers other than the finales proper, and the variety of aria forms (including the nascent cantabile-cabaletta type) were not his inventions. In their psychological depth, dramatic timing and technical mastery, however, Mozart's Italian comic operas stand alone, dwarfing their predecessors and reducing the prior history of the genre, in the perspective of later generations, to a period of preparation for his coming.

5. THE 19TH CENTURY. In the Romantic age the importance of *opera buffa* became vastly diminished. Here the forms are generally freer and less extended than in the serious genre and the set numbers are linked by *recitativo secco*, except in the solitary case of Donizetti's *Don Pasquale* (1843). With Rossini a standard distribution of four characters is reached: a prima donna soubrette (soprano or mezzo); a light, amorous tenor; a *basso cantante* or baritone capable of lyrical, mostly ironical expression; and a *basso buffo* whose vocal skills, largely confined to clear articulation and the ability to 'patter', must also extend to the baritone for the purposes of comic duets. The classic *opera buffa* of the early 19th century is Rossini's *Il barbiere di Siviglia* (1816, Rome), that of the Romantic age Donizetti's *L'elisir d'amore* (1832), in which the hero's silliness is tinged with pathos. Sometimes there is a second *basso buffo* and even a sub-heroine, as in Verdi's *Un giorno di regno* (1840). The last example of the genre to survive is Luigi and Federico Ricci's *Crispino e la comare* (1850), a morality which breaks with the Italian tradition by admitting an element of the supernatural (hence its description as 'opera comico-fantastica'). Backstage comedy persisted well into the 19th century, notable examples being Grecco's *La prova d'un opera seria* (1803), Donizetti's *Le convenienze teatrali* (1827) and Pedrotti's *Tutti in maschera* (1856). After 1860 *recitativo secco* was dropped from comic opera and with it the title of *opera buffa*, to be replaced by *dramma comico*.

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Opéra comique (Fr.). Term for a French stage work of the 18th, 19th or 20th centuries with vocal and instrumental music and spoken dialogue (though it may also include recitative). Its origins are found in the 18th-century Parisian Fair Theatres (known from about 1715 as the Opéra-Comique) and also the Comédie-Italienne (*see* PARIS, §IV, 3 and THÉÂTRES DE LA FOIRE). The essentially popular appeal of these repertories formed the antithesis of the stately *tragédie mise en musique* and allied works at the Académie Royale de Musique (the Opéra). Soon, however, a broad range of subjects and styles was developed: *drame* and other literary and dramatic models became important. The word 'comique' should thus be broadly construed, in the spirit of Balzac's term 'la comédie humaine'.

1. TERMINOLOGY. The term first appears in current usage in the 18th century when, in the phrase 'opéra-comique en vaudevilles' (or similar expression), it designated stage works using pre-existing tunes and usually spoken dialogue (as in C.S. Favart's *L'amour au village*, 1745). Sometimes modified, for example by 'en ariettes et en vaudevilles', it was extended to works using a mixture of *timbres* (or traditional ditties) and newly composed *airs* (e.g. *La fausse aventurière*, libretto by Anseaume and P.A.L. de Marcouville, with additional music by Laruette, 1757). At this time it rarely designated *opéras comiques* in the modern sense.

In spite of inconsistencies in terminology among some theorists, critics and authors during the 1750s and 60s, the phrase *comédie mêlée d'ariettes* soon became the generally accepted designation during the *ancien régime* for the majority of what are now called *opéras comiques* (there are numerous examples in the output of Egidio Duni, Monsigny, F.-A.D. Philidor, Grétry and their contemporaries). 'Comédie' attests to the significance of certain literary norms in part judged by the standards of French spoken theatre, and 'mêlée d'ariettes' to the unique quality of the genre in which specially written music (mostly, though not exclusively, lighter *airs* for soloists was implied) had an increasingly significant role.

Other words or phrases also appear on the title-pages of librettos and scores or in contemporary descriptions.

Some point to additional literary models; others to subject matter ('féerie' for fairy stories, 'chevaleresque' for knightly or pseudo-medieval tales); still others to style or tone dominating the text and sometimes matched by the music (e.g. 'larmoyant' for sentimental comedies). M.-J. Sedaine (1764) was not alone in protesting that 'ariettes' could not effectively describe the range of music in the new genre: 'mêlée de musique' or 'mise en musique' became alternatives.

By the Revolution, 'comédie mêlée d'ariettes' declined in usage and was restricted, in the main, to lighter, old-fashioned works. 'Opéra comique' still almost always meant 'vaudeville'. Many librettists and composers sought greater precision: they continued to borrow terms from spoken theatre (as in 'comédie héroïque'), modifying the phrases with 'mise en musique' or 'lyrique', as had occasionally been found before. More works were called *drames lyriques*, and the rise in the number of operas based on recent historical events resulted in a huge increase in the designation *fait historique* (particularly in 1793–4). More frequently, authors opted for the comparatively neutral 'opéra' for their works in a serious tone. Frankly comic operas, especially those influenced by *opera buffa* models, were termed *opéras bouffons*, as custom dictated.

Only with the Empire and the Restoration, in the early decades of the 19th century, does 'opéra comique' appear in its modern sense – French operas with spoken dialogue – with any frequency, and even then authors were loath to apply it to their works where comic elements were less important than dramatic or melodramatic ones (for example, Méhul's *Joseph* is called an *opéra* or *drame mêlé de chants*). Castil-Blaze (1821), among others, agreed with librettists and composers and argued that the repertory of the Opéra-Comique was too varied to fall into a single category and that the term was entirely misapplied to many items performed there. Authors' continuing commitment to accurate labelling remained a feature into the 20th century, and often newly invented terms or unusual ones appear: 'roman musical', 'complainte', 'fantaisie lyrique', to cite but a few. Monsigny's *Le déserteur* (1769), Cherubini's *Médée* (1797), Gounod's *Faust* (1859), Bizet's *Carmen* (1875), Massenet's *Manon* (1884), Milhaud's *Le pauvre matelot* (1927) and many others were not called 'opéras comiques' by their librettists and composers; indeed, the use (or misuse) of the term to cover all French operas with spoken dialogue, at least those given at the Opéra-Comique, seems to date from the late 19th century (it so appears in the writings of Pougin, Félix Clément and Larousse, and the first edition of Grove's *Dictionary*).

Finally, the French 'comédie' and 'comique', when used by librettists, composers and their contemporaries, have no precise equivalents in other languages: European traditions differ, at times substantially. J.F. Marmontel (*Encyclopédie*) defined *comédie* as 'staged mores' designed to portray the human condition and human frailties while entertaining (sentiments in part echoed in Balzac's phrase 'la comédie humaine'). Marmontel divided *comédie* into three distinct categories – 'bas', 'bourgeois' and 'noble' (or 'haut') – based not just on the rank and social position of the leading characters, but also on the tone (from the farcical to the tear-jerker) and type of humour (or absence thereof). Even so, he oversimplified the then current situation, as his own qualifications (for example, his exclusion of satire and the 'comique grossier' of the *comédie-parade*) indicate, and a survey of theatrical productions including works using music would support. French playwrights drew on a rich heritage that included the works of Rabelais, the satirical and licentious 16th-century poet, Marivaux, the witty early 18th-century playwright noted for sparkling bourgeois dialogues, and Molière, whom Marmontel and others took as the model for *comédie*. It is impossible to define Gallic humour in a few words; Marmontel mentioned 'malice naturelle', certainly a component, but repartee, word-play and other elements contribute as well.

Rather than the blind labelling of all French lyric works with spoken dialogue as 'opéras-comiques', a more fruitful approach to individual works is to heed the terminology of the authors and their contemporaries and, with that as a guide, to place them in appropriate theatrical, musical, literary and aesthetic traditions. In any case, 'opéra comique', as currently used, is not so much a genre (with many sub-genres) as an indication of procedure: the mixing of spoken and sung elements.

2. 18TH-CENTURY ANTECEDENTS AND MODELS. Mid-18th-century *opéra comique* drew on a rich theatrical heritage. The Théâtres de la Foire of St Germain and St Laurent (the Opéra-Comique) offered passers-by numerous vaudevilles in which earthy humour and social and sometimes political critique were often intermingled, and the official, prestigious theatres (the Opéra and the Comédie-Française) were not spared biting satirical treatment in parodies. The mixture of well-known *airs*, the audience's interpretation of the couplets (in part informed by the recollection of the original words and an appreciation of the irony resulting from a comparison with the new) and, in the spoken dialogue, witty repartee among the actors (in which improvisation had a significant role) all contributed to the popularity of the genre. Many of the early librettists of *opéra comique* had extensive experience in the vaudeville (Favart is an excellent example), and the tradition continued well into the 19th century (in the works of Eugène Scribe and his contemporaries). Occasionally an *opéra comique en vaudevilles* was reset as a *comédie mêlée d'ariettes* (e.g. J.-P.-E. Martini's *Annette et Lubin* of 1789, based on Favart's 1762 work). A.-F. Quétant (1765) and others felt that the *vaudeville* was the major source of the *opéra comique*. The Théâtres de la Foire and the Comédie-Italienne provided other models in their *comédies-parades* with stock characters drawn from the *commedia dell'arte* tradition, but now with a distinctive Gallic accent and with slapstick remaining an important ingredient.

Other successful theatrical entertainments, too, showed the way for later 18th-century authors. Divertissements were a frequent and popular feature of the Comédie-Italienne play repertory, though little of the music survives (except in Mouret's work). Dance forms and rhythms permeated many vaudevilles and *ariettes*. Molière's *comédies-ballets* often lampooned middle-class stereotypes in a way that had a lasting appeal; they not only combined vocal music, dance and dialogue effectively but also proved that verbal finesse and comedy could co-exist. In fact, to separate 'opera' and 'play' into neat categories does a disservice to French theatre of the 18th century. Marivaux, the most famous Comédie-Italienne playwright of the first half of the century, provided enduring bourgeois characters and situations in sparkling dialogue

exploited by librettists for more than 100 years. The tighter dramatic structure, the 'better' tone and other features distinguishing his works from the vaudevilles and *comédies-parades* influenced, among others, Favart, whom Voltaire credited with the creation of *opéras comiques* suitable for polite society (unlike the offerings of the Théâtres de la Foire). Finally, authors at the Opéra-Comique and the Comédie-Italienne (which absorbed its rival in 1762) were sensitive to the elements that contributed to favourable reactions to the repertory at the Académie Royale de Musique, particularly certain *opéras-ballets*. Though the staging and costumes could not compare with those at the *premier théâtre lyrique*, the taste for the fanciful and exotic, for an idealized *villageois* and for a display to please the eye as well as the ear was common to both.

No single genre provided the unique source for *opéra comique*. Authors drew from different parts of the French heritage in varying degrees and sometimes added to it elements from foreign theatrical traditions in plays (such as the English) and in operas (particularly the Italian *opera buffa*). But the result was truly French, and the best works had continuing popularity in Paris and a wider, European appeal.

3. FROM THE QUERELLE DES BOUFFONS TO THE END OF THE 'ANCIEN RÉGIME'. *Opera buffa* and intermezzos had made occasional appearances in France before the mid-18th century without arousing much interest or controversy. But in 1752–4 a visiting Italian troupe's performances of Pergolesi's *La serva padrona* and other works at the Académie Royale de Musique initiated the Querelle des Bouffons, during which the merits of Italian (comic) opera and French (serious) opera were hotly debated. An ardent italophile, J.-J. Rousseau nevertheless produced a charming *intermède*, *Le devin du village* (1752), French in spirit though using some *buffo* forms. In it he sought to capture village innocence in naive melodies: his strengths lie in a sensitivity to declamation, and even his lack of interest in complex harmonies and orchestral textures becomes an asset for the unsophisticated tale. Sung throughout and in the repertory of the Académie Royale, this work as well as the *opere buffe* served as a model for *comédies mêlées d'ariettes*.

The entrepreneurs of the Théâtres de la Foire and the *sociétaires* of the Comédie-Italienne soon capitalized on the public curiosity and fondness for these works. During the 1750s *opere buffe* in French translation and sometimes with additional pieces appeared, and other works with new plots and dialogue parodied Italian models for the music. *La servante maîtresse*, Baurans' translation of Pergolesi's masterpiece at the Comédie-Italienne (1754), proved a favourite. Sedaine's *Le diable à quatre* at the Opéra-Comique (1756) drew on pieces by several composers, including Galuppi and Duni. Newly composed scores in similar vein soon appeared. Dauvergne's *Les troqueurs* (libretto by J.-J. Vadé, Opéra-Comique, 1753), at first falsely announced as an Italian-based work for publicity purposes, is the earliest example.

By the 1760s *comédies mêlées d'ariettes* were more than mere *opere buffe* in French. Lively spoken dialogue and constructions of scenes and acts in accordance with *comédie* principles reflected the native heritage. Audiences required excellence in acting as well as in singing. From the vaudeville and the divertissement composers inherited strophic and other simple forms for their *airs* and a vocal style often close to popular songs. Librettists (who were often also playwrights) ensured that the texts presented a variety of theatrical entertainment and kept up with the latest trends. But *opera buffa* did provide important models for more florid *airs* (generally assigned to the heroine), for conversational duets and for an occasional extended ensemble.

Three composers merit special mention. Duni, an Italian who arrived in Paris in 1757, immediately achieved a stunning success with *Le peintre amoureux de son modèle* (Opéra-Comique, libretto by Anseaume), in which he showed his assimilation of French features within a light and lyrical style. Other influential works at the Comédie-Italienne soon followed, such as the *villageois Les deux chasseurs et la laitière* (Anseaume, 1763) and the *féerie La fée Urgèle* (Favart, 1765). Philidor, from a long line of French musicians, also had English experience, and in *Tom Jones* (Poinsinet, 1765), based on Fielding's novel, he sought to exploit a growing anglophile trend. In it he handled duets and ensembles with dramatic and musical flair. In collaboration with Sedaine, Monsigny contributed to the variety of types – from the lighthearted *On ne s'avise jamais de tout* (Opéra-Comique, 1761) to another English-based work, *Le roi et le fermier* (Opéra-Comique, 1762), in which a benevolent monarch appears as a central character, and the *drame lyrique Le déserteur* (Comédie-Italienne, 1769), in which comedy and pathos are adroitly juxtaposed in the libretto and supported by an appropriate musical translation.

The works of Grétry at the Comédie-Italienne best represent the achievements in *comédie mêlée d'ariettes* and other operatic types of the *ancien régime*. He combined a gift for lyricism matching the declamation of the words with a fine dramatic sense and an ability to depict individual characterization musically. He experimented with matching musical forms to scenic requirements, and particularly in his later works sought more extended structures. Marmontel's librettos often reflect a moralizing sentimental tone and exploit currently fashionable themes: for example, the noble savage (*Le Huron*, 1768), intrinsic merit as more important than birth (*Lucile*, 1769) and conjugal love in adversity (*Silvain*, 1770). The most popular of his collaborations was *Zémire et Azor* (1771), an ambitious *opéra féerie* in four acts. Grétry responded with scores dominated by touching *airs*, but ones in which duets and ensembles played an increasingly important role in defining characters and translating their emotional states (in *Zémire* the trio of the heroine's grieving family shown to her in a magic picture is an excellent example of Grétry's artistry; fig.1). He also continued to set more frankly comic works reminiscent of the repertory of the Théâtres de la Foire: the *comédie-parade Le tableau parlant* (Anseaume, 1769), with its witty dialogue and light *airs*, proved an enduring opera.

With the mid-1770s and 1780s came some works in a consistently serious tone, although comedies remained the core of the Comédie-Italienne's repertory. The librettist B.F. de Rosoi led the way with his patriotic *Henri IV* (set by J.-P.-G. Martini, who used a military and heroic musical style to good effect, 1774) and his classical *drame Les mariages samnites* (set by Grétry, 1776); significantly, neither was a popular success. A much better man of the theatre, Sedaine provided Grétry with a series of challenges



1. Scene from Act 3 of Grétry's 'Zémire et Azor': engraving by Pierre-Charles Ingouf after a gouache by François-Robert Ingouf, c1771; the heroine's grieving family are is to her in a magic 'picture'

in 'chevaleresque', pseudo-historical and *drame* or *drame*-influenced works, including *Aucassin et Nicolette* (1779), their masterpiece *Richard Coeur-de-lion* (1784), *Le comte d'Albert* (1786) and *Raoul Barbe-bleue* (1789). Grétry responded with scores in which some attention was given to aspects of 'local colour' or music's contribution to definition of a specific setting (such as Blondel's 'Une fièvre brûlante', in which Grétry re-created, though did not precisely imitate, a medieval tune and used it symbolically in recurring fashion at strategic moments in *Richard Coeur-de-Lion*). *Barbe-bleue* especially is remarkable for its time for the freedom and continuity of musical forms to underline the dramatic situations. A newcomer, Dalayrac, also made notable additions to the repertory in *Nina* (1786), on a *larmoyant* subject, and in the 'chevaleresque' *Sargines* (1788). Both composers made effective use of expansion of resources at the theatre in terms of personnel (a greater number of soloists, a newly formed chorus and a slightly larger orchestra) and of staging (with an increase in spectacle, particularly in 'chevaleresque' works). While *air*-dominated operas, true *comédies mêlées d'ariettes*, remained very popular, these works pointed the way to the next decade.

By the eve of the Revolution, operas with spoken dialogue on a wide range of subjects and in a variety of styles were the most important part of the Comédie-Italienne's repertory, so much so that Italian plays were dropped in 1780 and the proportion of new vaudevilles and French plays declined. The troupe enjoyed increasing aristocratic and royal patronage (particularly that of Queen Marie-Antoinette) during the final two decades of the *ancien régime*. The move to a new theatre building in a better quarter (1783) was one sign that it had become accepted by polite and fashionable society: its Fair origins were scarcely mentioned. Furthermore, the export of the operatic successes to the provinces (Lyons and Bordeaux, for example) and to other European centres (Vienna and St Petersburg among them) is a measure of their extraordinary popularity.

4. From the Revolution to the Restoration (1789–1830). To be sure, genuinely comic or lighthearted 'villageois' works did not disappear altogether from the stage during the 1790s. Popular items from the *ancien régime* repertory (such as Grétry's *Le tableau parlant* and Monsigny's *Rose et Colas*) were still performed in Paris and elsewhere. New works relying on tested formulae, such as J.-P. Solié's *Le secret* (libretto by F.-B. Hoffman, 1796), with its plot turning on mistaken identities and unfounded jealousy, were successfully given. But more often comedy was combined with and subordinated to dramatic twists and melodramatic elements, as in Le Sueur's *La caverne* (libretto by Dercy, 1793).

Still, 1789 and the early years of the Revolution brought major changes to the Comédie-Italienne (from 1793, the year French plays were dropped, called the Opéra-Comique). First, its monopoly on operas with spoken dialogue was challenged and soon disappeared, the Théâtre de Monsieur (from 1791 the Théâtre Feydeau) becoming a powerful rival. Other theatres sprang up and many put on vaudevilles and shorter operas. The Opéra-Comique had to compete for audiences and for authors – the more so since court patronage, of course, disappeared and some of the other rich patrons suffered (although both it and the Feydeau remained out of the reach of all but the better-off). The 1790s saw a huge increase in the number of lyric works; few achieved lasting success. In 1801 the Feydeau and Opéra-Comique, both beset by financial troubles, merged, and in 1807 Napoleon again extended a measure of official protection by regulating the repertories of other theatres and suppressing several.

The Revolution brought changes to the repertory. 'Royalist' works (such as Grétry's *Richard Coeur-de-lion*) disappeared after 1792 and the declaration of the Republic, and 'aristocratic' ones (such as Dalayrac's *Raoul, sire de Créqui*, 1789) were subject to revision or suppression. Topical references to recent events or political and social questions were frequent. Indeed, *faits historiques*, hurriedly written and staged, were little more than dramatic re-enactments fleshed out with appropriate additional details created by the authors; the rhetoric often mirrors that of government leaders and influential journalists. While most of these ephemeral works were by minor librettists and composers, occasionally recognized authors contributed, as did Grétry in *Callias* (libretto by Hoffman, Opéra-Comique, 1794) and Méhul in *Le pont de Lody* (libretto by E.-J.-B. Delrieu, Feydeau, 1797).

More significant musically and theatrically are substantial works without such obvious propagandist intentions (though less direct reflections of current ideals are not infrequent). In several exceptional compositions, so far have the composers moved from the models of their predecessors one may detect in them a new spirit and even the development of style and procedures important for Romanticism (as Dean, 1967–8, and Dent, 1976, have done). In this group, best represented in the works of Méhul, Le Sueur and Cherubini, the *comédie mêlée d'ariettes* virtually disappeared in fact as well as in terminology. *Drame lyrique*, *comédie lyrique* and *opéra* became the most frequent designations: they were not



2. Act 1 scene vii (Dickson receives a letter from the White Lady) of Boieldieu's 'La dame Blanche', Opéra-Comique (Salle Feydeau), Paris, 10 December 1825, with (left to right) Jenny (sung by Mme Boulanger), Dickson (M. Fériol) and George Brown (Louis Ponchard)

merely semantic choices, but proof of their authors' intentions to point to aesthetic principles of French dramaturgy and the importance of models from serious *opéra* (though the heritage of the Comédie-Italienne persisted in the *romances* and the increasingly few comic pieces). Hitherto forbidden subjects on these stages were tackled, from classical tragedy (Cherubini's *Médée*, 1797) to incest (Méhul's *Mélidore et Phrosine*, 1794), and the general tone was heroic, at times violent.

Individual numbers, even most of the *airs*, are more substantial and have greater musical weight than those of the previous generation. Méhul's *Stratonice* (libretto by Hoffman, Comédie-Italienne, 1792), with only six pieces in one act, takes longer to perform than his predecessors' scores with double that number. Principles of symphonic development were exploited in often complex textures, as in the quartet from the same opera. Here and elsewhere, the orchestra is more than mere accompaniment to tuneful vocal lines: it becomes the main means of cohesion and of articulation of form. Distinctive timbres and orchestral effects are used for expressive purposes. Much of the dramatic action takes place in huge ensembles, as in Cherubini's *Lodoïska* (Fillette-Loraux, Feydeau, 1791), Le Sueur's *La caverne* and Méhul's *Ariodant* (Hoffman, Opéra-Comique, 1799). More extended harmonic vocabularies and sometimes remote modulations, too, set the works of all three apart from 1780 norms. Musical contrast (as in Grétry) becomes at times striking musical confrontation: contemporaries considered Méhul's jealousy duet from *Euphrosine* (Hoffman, Comédie-Italienne, 1790) particularly impressive. The chorus, often representing a picturesque group (brigands, Savoyards, monks, sailors) or even two opposing groups in conflict, take on major roles. Romantic aspects in the libretto prompted often descriptive musical responses: a violent storm in Le Sueur's *Paul et Virginie* (Dubreuil, Feydeau, 1794) and an avalanche in Cherubini's *Elisa* (Saint-Cyr, Feydeau, 1794). Against a more symphonic orchestral part, composers could write emotionally heightened parts for the voice where beauty of melody took second place to theatrical truth: the Countess in Méhul's *Euphrosine*, Calypso in Le Sueur's *Télémaque* (Dercy, Feydeau, 1796) and the title character in Cherubini's *Médée* are examples. All three composers experimented with making opera with spoken dialogue a more continuous and integrated form. Among the techniques found in varying degrees were the reduction of spoken dialogue, effective employment of *mélodrame*, linking of pieces, overall tonal structures to scenes, acts and sometimes entire operas, and sophisticated orchestral use of reminiscence motifs as much more than melodic tags. Cherubini's *Médée* and Le Sueur's *Télémaque*, both on librettos intended for the Opéra, reflect concern for unity, but probably the most remarkable work from this point of view is Méhul's *Mélidore et Phrosine* (A.-V. Arnault, Opéra-Comique, 1794), particularly for its third act.

Beginning with the Thermidorian reaction and more pronounced during the Consulate and Empire, audiences favoured lighter, less moralizing and dramatic fare. *Comédies-parades* again became popular (for example Méhul's *L'irato*, B.-J. Marsollier des Vivetières, Opéra-Comique, 1801). The Maltese composer Isouard excelled in ensemble writing in *buffo* tone and style (*Les rendez-vous bourgeois*, Hoffman, Opéra-Comique, 1807, and other works). Successes among the *drame*-influenced works again included comic figures and situations with greater frequency, as in Cherubini's *Les deux journées* (J.-N. Bouilly, Feydeau, 1800). Entirely serious works, such as Méhul's biblical opera *Joseph* (A. Duval, Opéra-Comique, 1807), were more admired than popular in Paris. Boieldieu's *La dame blanche* (Scribe, after Scott, Opéra-Comique, 1825; fig.2), whose plot combined in a mildly Romantic brew a long lost hero, a haunted castle and buried treasure, had a tuneful score with touches of 'local colour' (such as the citation of 'Robin Adair' in the last act) and proved a long-lasting crowd pleaser. The achievements of Revolutionary opera (in orchestration and structure) were not forgotten entirely (Méhul continued to experiment with the sombre middle range of the orchestra, going so far as to replace the violins with violas

for his Ossianic *Uthal*; J.M.B.B. de Saint-Victor, Opéra-Comique, 1806), but the spirit in the majority of works – and nearly all those that stayed in the repertory – ranged from sentimental to comic: in short, more in keeping with the aesthetics of the generation of Grétry (many of whose works were revived at this time), though without a return to forms of that period.

5. 1830–70. Between the July Revolution and the Franco-Prussian war, the Opéra-Comique offered Parisians numerous new works in accordance with its policies of promoting the French language and French composers and artists, generally eschewing the low humour of the boulevard theatres and the often farcical or satirical situations of the *opéra bouffe*. *Opéra comique* authors provided romantic tales allowing for the exploitation of 'local colour' and with happy endings as well as 'chevaleresque' works and comedies relying on traditional formulae. Rossini's influence was strong, demanding Italian vocal virtuosity, but these *grands airs* contrasted with sentimental romances and comic strophic songs, the French heritage. Auber (in collaboration with Scribe) was one of the most prolific and popular: *Fra Diavolo* (1830) and *Le domino noir* (1837) remained repertory items into the 20th century. The contributions of Hérold and Adam held the stage in Paris for over 50 years.

Foreigners also tried their hand at *opéra comique*: the most successful example was Donizetti's *La fille du régiment* (1840), which remains close to *opera buffa* in style. Meyerbeer's works for the Opéra-Comique are richer orchestrally and scenically than the norm: his *L'étoile du nord* (1854) demonstrates most clearly the influence of *grand opéra*.

Specifically French in flavour and almost an *opéra bouffe*, Massé's *Les noces de Jeannette* (1853) proved with its over 1500 performances in Paris alone the continuing vitality of well-known plot formulae. Better known for his operas and ballets for the Opéra, Halévy also wrote for the Opéra-Comique: *Les mousquetaires de la reine* (1846) is a fine example of the 'chevaleresque' and sentimental. Increasing interest in the exotic is perhaps best exemplified in David's *Lalla-Roukh* (1862), set in Kashmir. Finally, towards the end of this period there was a shift to a predominantly serious tone. In Thomas' *Mignon* (1866), after Goethe, melodic grace and gentle, chromatic harmonies match the melancholy of the libretto.

The Opéra-Comique was not the only Parisian theatre to put on opera with spoken dialogue. Though generally presenting a more conservative and traditional repertory (including revivals of Grétry and Méhul) and introducing the public to foreign works in translation and adaptation (including operas by Verdi), the Opéra-National also provided opportunities for French operatic newcomers, such as David and Bizet (*Les pêcheurs de perles*, 1863). Furthermore, composers were allowed to experiment in more intense, almost psychological dramas, avoiding the grandiose favoured at the Opéra and the sometimes facile humour and resolutions of the plot preferred at the Opéra-Comique. The best example is surely the original version of Gounod's *Faust* (1859), still among the most admired of 19th-century French works in the repertory.

In short, there was at the Opéra-Comique and the Théâtre Lyrique a wide range of subjects, an eclecticism in musical styles and forms and a willingness to adapt from other genres. Tradition dictated that acting and stage presence remained important. The costume and set designs and mise en scène now often more elaborate than in previous generations and newly prepared for each work, were exported along with the scores.

In 1856 Offenbach published an extensive guide to the traditions of *opéra comique*, sending a copy to potential entrants to a competition for a one-act operetta. He saw it as a particularly French creation, distinguishable from the Italian *opera buffa*, on which it had originally been modelled, by its love of wit and mischief. He lamented the hybrid forms, leaning more towards the traditions of *grand opéra*, which had seduced several composers away from the pure traditions of *opéra comique* and which he regarded as a stream that had turned into a river and subsequently burst its banks.

Certain features can be considered to distinguish *opéra comique* traditions from those of *grand opéra*, apart from its convention of spoken dialogue rather than recitative. First, there was a tendency for grand spectacle at the Opéra, only rarely matched by the Opéra-Comique. A tendency, around 1860, for the theatre to become 'a branch of the Opéra' did not pass unnoticed among the critics. Secondly, while ballet was *de rigueur* at the Opéra, it was not at the Opéra-Comique which preferred crowd scenes involving choral writing.

While large-scale works at the Opéra generally had two prominent and vocally demanding female roles, the Opéra-Comique tended to require a leading soprano role with a flexible and agile voice (*sopran à roulades*) and a supporting soprano, light rather than virtuoso or dramatic in character, for whom many a composer wrote *couplets* or *romances* that were a hallmark of *opéra comique*. There was a similar preference for a lighter voice in the male roles, the *ténor léger* and the *basse chantante*. It was not until 1871 that a *fort-ténor* was employed at the Opéra-Comique.

These four decades saw the premières of some of the most popular operas ever produced, and they remained in virtually continuous repertory in Paris and throughout the world wherever French opera was staged until World War II. Many had more than 1000 performances at the Opéra-Comique alone and were the staples of regional theatres in Germany and Austria as well as francophone countries.

6. 1870–1918. The Théâtre Lyrique did not long survive the Franco-Prussian War. The Opéra-Comique took over part of its repertory and, to a greater extent than before, included recent foreign works (by Mascagni and Puccini, for example). The most memorable of the new operas by Frenchmen departed from the conventional mould for this theatre. In all of them comedy is minimal or entirely absent, and there were several works that included no spoken diologue. Of these Gounod's *Roméo et Juliette* was the first, followed by Massenet' *Werther* and *La Navarraise* and Bizet' *Les pêcheurs de perles* as well as operas by Bruneau. Works performed at the Opéra-Comique were less and less frequently characterized by their composers as *opéras comiques*, and there was a return to the practice of naming each work appropriately. Thus titles such as *comédie lyrique*, *roman musical* and *conte lyrique* were used, and once and for all the link between genre and theatre was broken.

Among the most enterprising in finding ways of combining spoken dialogue with sung sections was Bizet's *Carmen* (1875). Here melodrama, pantomime, recitative and aria were combined with spoken sections with offstage

military and bull-fight music. Its Spanish setting, incorporating hispanic modes, dance forms and popular song, was a model for subsequent composers. Offenbach in *Les contes d'Hoffmann* (1881) produced an episodic fantasy while Massenet's *Manon* (1884) presented another strong heroine. In *Louise*, a *roman musical* (1900), Charpentier sought social realism in a working-class setting. Debussy's *Pelléas et Mélisande* (1902) finally demonstrated that the Opéra-Comique could rival the Opéra in terms of seriousness. Debussy wrote a subtle work in which the natural quality of conversation contributes to its lightness of touch. Its fairy tale setting and unspecific historical place accorded with the essential definition of *opéra comique* as a play turned into opera.

7. Epilogue. After World War I the Opéra-Comique remained committed to producing new works for its audience, but the genre of *opéra comique* took on a new lease of life with the neo-classicists and Les Six. Although none of Milhaud's works is named as an *opéra comique* several have a *buffo* element and *Esther de Carpentras* is categorized as an *opéra bouffe*. These trends were continued by Jacques Ibert, whose tight style matched that of Milhaud and whose *Le roi d'Yvetot* he called an *opéra comique*.

Situation comedies and operas with a 'kitchen-sink' setting, as well as parodies of classical myths and *commedia dell'arte* subjects, also became prime material for *opéra comique* or *opéra bouffe*. Into these categories fall Roussel's *Le testament de la tante Caroline* (1963), Barraud's *Lavinia* (1969) and André Bloch's *Guignol* (1949), along with many of the operas for which Nino wrote the librettos.

3. Poster by Prudent Louis Leray for Bizet's 'Carmen' (showing the final scene in Act 4), printed for Choudens at the time of the original production at the Opéra-Comique (Salle Favart), Paris, 1875

The Opéra-Comique also mounted premières of operas written for other theatres, such as Stravinsky's *The Rake's Progress* (1951; 1953) and Britten's *The Rape of Lucretia* (1946; 1971) and a few world premières of works by French composers. Among the most significant were Milhaud's *Le pauvre matelot* (1927) and two works by Poulenc: *Les mamelles de Tirésias* (1947), an *opéra bouffe* whose mordant wit caused an uproar at its première and *La voix humaine* (1959), a *tragédie lyrique* for solo soprano.

But the Opéra-Comique was no longer the leader: theatres in Monte Carlo, Brussels and Geneva rivalled or surpassed it in the performance of new works (as sometimes benefited Honegger, among others). Dramatic composers preferred to write operas sung throughout or to explore new areas, such as film music or works for radio. Furthermore, the Opéra-Comique's audience dwindled for the recent operas, whatever their critical reception, to the extent that none of the post-World War I works entered the standard repertory as had those by earlier composers from Grétry to Massenet; only war-horses, such as *Mignon*, *Carmen* and *Manon*, could draw the public consistently. The dissolving of the resident troupe in 1972 marked the end of a distinguished tradition, which for over two centuries had given Paris and other cities some of the most endearing and enduring examples of music theatre.

See also Opera, §IV, 2 and §V, 4.

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M. ELIZABETH C. BARTLET (5–7, with RICHARD LANGHAM SMITH)

Opéra féerie (Fr.). A type of French opera or *opéra-ballet* that has a plot drawn from fairy tales and/or makes extensive use of elements of magic and the *merveilleux*. In his *ballet-héroïque Les fêtes de Polymnie* (1745), Rameau ranked the 'féerie' with history and fable as a resource for the lyric stage. A huge corpus of *opéras* (such as Monsigny's *La belle Arsène*, 1773), *opéras-ballets* (such as *Zélindor, roi des sylphes* by François Francoeur and François Rebel, 1745) and *opéras comiques* (such as Duni's *La fée Urgèle*, 1765, and Grétry's *Zémire et Azor*, 1771) of the late Baroque and Classical periods in France attests its popularity. While the term *opéra féerie* was uncommon in the 18th century (although it did exist, e.g. Dezède's *Alcindor*, 1787), and entered the current vocabulary only after 1800, modern scholars use it with justice to refer to these earlier works. Some early 19th-century examples employ the term (e.g. Isouard's *Cendrillon*, 1810, Catel's *Zirphile et Fleur de Myrte*, 1818, and Carafa's *La belle au bois dormant*, 1825). After this period the *féerie* survived in ballet. (For the German 19th-century fairy tale opera, *see* MÄRCHENOPER.)

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Opéra National du Rhin. French opera and dance company founded in 1972, based in Colmar, Mulhouse and STRASBOURG.

Opera North. English opera company founded in 1977, based in LEEDS.

Opera of the Nobility. The name sometimes given to the London opera company active, in rivalry to Handel's company, from 1733 to 1737, initially at Lincoln's Inn Fields Theatre, later at the King's Theatre. *See* LONDON, §V, 1.

Opera Restor'd. Touring opera company formed in 1979 as the Holme Pierrepont Opera Trust, originally based at Holme Pierrepont Hall near NOTTINGHAM.

Opera Română (Rom.: Romanian Opera). Opera company founded in BUCHAREST in 1877.

Opéra Royal de Wallonie. Opera company based at the Théâtre Royal de Liège since 1967. *See* LIÈGE.

Opera semiseria (It.: 'half-serious opera'). An intermediate genre first identified during the early 19th century. The term was originally applied mainly to Italian equivalents of the French post-revolutionary 'pièce de sauvetage' such as Paer's *Camilla* (1799) or Simon Mayr's *Le due giornate* (1801), sometimes labelled 'drammi eroicocomici'. Later it was extended to comedies, akin to the French *comédie larmoyante*, that contain a strong element of pathos. The range of characters is generally wider than in *opera buffa*, but the same types prevail, the *basso buffo* being often more dangerous than his purely comic counterpart (as in Rossini's *La gazza ladra*, 1817). During the Romantic period *opera semiseria* usually has a pastoral setting, its heroine being a village maiden whose innocence, at first called into question, is finally vindicated amid general rejoicing. Examples include Donizetti's *Linda di Chamounix* (1842) and *Il furioso all'isola di San Domingo* (1833). Bellini's *La sonnambula* (1831) has all the attributes of the genre except the *basso buffo*; hence its description as a 'melodramma' *tout court*. *Opera semiseria* shares with *opera buffa* the tradition of 'recitative

secco'. A late example is Mercadante's *Violetta* (1853). Thereafter the term lapses, but it is noteworthy that in 19th-century Italian revivals Mozart's *Don Giovanni* (1787) was frequently described as an *opera semiseria*.

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JULIAN BUDDEN

Opera seria (It: 'serious opera'). A term used to signify Italian opera of the 18th and 19th centuries on a heroic or tragic subject. The term was rarely used at the time; it can sometimes be found on manuscript scores, particularly in the last quarter of the 18th century, but 'dramma per musica' is the usual genre description on most 18th-century and many early 19th-century printed librettos. 'Opera seria' appears occasionally on librettos late in the 18th century, for example for Prati's *Armida abbandonata* (1785, Munich). Only as serious opera of this period came to be viewed historically was the term 'opera seria' applied exclusively to it.

1. DRAMATURGY. The characteristics of *opera seria* took shape during the first two decades of the 18th century as part of a literary reform led by the Arcadian Academy of Rome established in 1690. Responding to French criticism of Italian poetry and drama, the reformers looked with particular disfavour on the undisciplined, irrational and often licentious opera librettos then in use. They took steps to bring the libretto into accordance with the principles of classical Greek drama as set forth in Aristotle's *Poetics* and as exemplified in the 17th-century French neo-classical dramatists, JEAN RACINE and PIERRE CORNEILLE.

By the end of the first decade of the 18th century a number of practices had been established as desirable. The action should be limited to a single, central argument involving no more than eight characters, whose entrances and exits were strictly regulated so that the stage was never empty except during set changes and between acts. The action should take place within a short period of time, preferably 24 hours, and in locations of close proximity.

The rules of verisimilitude and good taste rejected tragic endings as unworthy of the civilized state now enjoyed. Poets were expected to portray what, according to an orderly moral system, should have happened rather than what actually did happen. Death, if unavoidable, should be handled with dignity, and preferably off stage. Suicides and deaths in battle could be tolerated but murder could not. Subject matter from ancient history was preferred to fables or myths. Spectacle should be confined to natural phenomena and human activity. Resolutions should occur through natural means, not through supernatural intervention (in contrast with French opera). Trips to the underworld were banished, along with all but an occasional ceremonial chorus. Ballet and the coarse, unseemly behaviour endemic to comic scenes were relegated to entr'actes (or intermezzos) unrelated to the serious drama.

Poets were admonished to strive for simplicity, naturalness, verisimilitude and dignity, and to instruct as well as to entertain. The end result should be of high enough literary quality to be enjoyed as literature. No attempt was made to alter the established theatrical format. The action moved forward in *versi sciolti* (freely alternating, unrhymed seven- and eleven-syllable lines) to be realized in spare, continuo-accompanied recitative, broken from time to time with moments of reflection, reaction or summation, in strophic verse, to be realized in da capo arias accompanied by strings, possibly with horns and oboes (occasionally flutes). The reform produced librettos with a greatly expanded number of *versi sciolti* and a decrease in the number of arias to no more than 30. Theatres, in turn, persistently reduced the amount of recitative to a minimum, indicating cuts in the *versi sciolti* by enclosing them in *virgole* or quotation marks in the printed libretto: the original text might thus be read in full, though only those lines essential to the understanding of the plot might survive in the setting. Operas in three acts persisted, unaffected by attempts to follow the French pattern of five. Ensembles were restricted to one per opera, usually a duet for the principal couple, and a closing tutti (*coro*) for all the characters at the end of Act 3.

By 1710 the 'exit aria' was firmly established as the norm: arias were always placed at the end of a scene, after which the singer would leave the stage. Occasionally a cavatina (a short aria without exit) would appear in a scene in which the same singer would later perform a full-length exit aria. In an *opera seria* libretto the scene as a block of text with a stable number of characters on stage was generally observed. As soon as someone arrived or left, a new scene began.

At the next level of organization in an *opera seria* libretto, a set of scenes is terminated either by a change of stage setting or by the end of an act. There is normally one set change in the middle of each act. The number of characters on stage tends to increase towards the centre of each set of scenes and then to decrease to the point where one character is left on stage to sing a monologue and aria. Only Act 3 ends with everyone on stage, to celebrate the happy conclusion. The second stage setting in each act tends to be a public scene with many extras and perhaps some spectacle – often a public ceremony or a military procession. By about 1750 the emphasis began to shift from the middle to the end of each act, which then becomes the province of the principals, whether in solo, duet or trio.

Librettists usually served as poets for a specific court or theatre, where they often remained for their entire careers; their duties included the revising of existing librettos and the writing of new ones to suit local requirements. Composers took similar permanent positions as *maestro di cappella* for a theatre or court; their duties included preparing revivals of their own operas and those of others as well as composing new operas, always designed to enhance the strengths and to conceal the weaknesses of the singers assembled for the season. They directed performances while providing continuo realizations from the harpsichord. Haydn's operatic activities at Eszterháza conformed to just such a position. Many composers depended on church-affiliated posts for their livelihood and contracted with individual theatres to compose one or more operas per year; such composers were expected to travel to each theatre in time to become acquainted with the singers and to write their arias and ensembles (recitatives might be written in advance; the opening

sinfonia was often the last component to be written). Whereas the same setting of an *opera buffa* might be performed at 20 different theatres, and *opera seria* setting was usually performed only one season; for subsequent productions, the libretto was usually heavily revised and would either be set afresh or would acquire new or borrowed arias, thus moving towards a PASTICCIO. Such borrowed arias were often the favourites of the singers, who carried them from theatre to theatre. In most theatres, pasticcios were used to round out the season, though in theatres of modest means, and in London, they predominated.

By the middle of the century the concentration of musical interest in the aria and the practice of tailoring roles to suit individual performers gave extraordinary power and control to singers. A complex set of rules maintained a strict hierarchy of rank, regulated the distribution of arias and determined their characteristics. At the pinnacle of the profession were the best of the castratos – an aberration inherited from the previous century and fostered in part to maintain the treble voice in both ecclesiastic and secular situations where women were prohibited. A castrato played the leading man (primo uomo or primo musico); he and the first woman (prima donna), male or female, usually formed the principal romantic couple. The number of arias per opera had been further reduced to about 20; the principal couple would have four or five each. Duets were virtually the exclusive province of this pair. The tenor, usually a patriarchal or ruling figure, might be either first or second ranking; he might join the principal couple in a trio. The second ranking couple had three or four arias each. Advisers and confidants would have no more than one or two each. Librettos were often revised to ensure that the least of this group sang the 'sorbet' aria (*aria di sorbetto*), at the beginning of Act 2, when sorbet was served and the clinking of spoons on glass is said to have obscured the singing. As the total number of arias decreased, the number assigned to individuals of each rank decreased proportionately. Ensembles might be counted as arias, as might sizable monologues. Each role required arias in a variety of affections or styles (*aria cantabile*, *aria d'affetto*, *aria di bravura*, *aria di mezzo carattere*). A character with a dominant musical personality would have at least one aria in contrasting style. Arias in the same style or key could not follow one another. The loose textual relationship between an aria and the preceding scene made it easy for a singer to substitute a favoured aria or aria text of the appropriate affection.

Meeting both the strict literary requirements and the unyielding theatrical conventions presented the librettist with a formidable task. Often little remains of a historical plot once the librettist has altered events to avoid offence while at the same time inventing enough political and amorous intrigue to create dramatic tension and provide excuses for 25 arias, properly distributed among six singers, and strategically placed to allow each character reasonable exits. Critics agreed that the two who came closest to realizing the ideal were Apostolo Zeno and Pietro Trapassi, known as Metastasio.

Zeno, greatest of the first generation Arcadian reform librettists, took little interest in how his librettos were translated into musical productions. An appointment to the Vienna court late in his career finally allowed him to write librettos without the love interest and intrigue required in Italy. Metastasio, on the other hand, inherited the reform libretto in its mature form. The remarkable success of his librettos resulted from a number of factors. First and foremost they embodied Enlightenment ideals, portraying characters able to overcome selfish human desires in order to achieve greatness in thought and deed in a world where monarch and subject alike must adhere to the highest moral principles. In their universality his messages remained apolitical and so posed no threat to the nobility who supported the theatre in most Italian centres. Secondly, Metastasio was greatly admired for his rational approach to the libretto, for the purity, elegance, clarity and dignity of his texts, and for the skill and artistry with which he was able to breathe realism and drama into the form he had inherited and went on to perfect. A third aspect of Metastasio's librettos was their supreme suitability for musical setting. Metastasio had begun his career under the tutelage of the venerable soprano Marianna Benti-Bugarelli, called 'La Romanina', and during his early career had worked closely with the young composer Vinci, whom 18th-century critics and historians consistently cited as among the originators of the modern or *galant* style in opera. The librettos Metastasio wrote for Vinci during the 1720s endured for 75 years, were set and reset by composers of several generations, and became the ideal against which all subsequent works were measured. The association ended with Vinci's death and the appointment of Metastasio to replace Zeno in Vienna, where he remained. Though Metastasio continued to experiment in his own librettos, by the middle of the century his *Artaserse* (1730) had become a rigid model that theatre poets followed in reworking librettos (Metastasio's as well as others') for local presentation (fig.1). Thus the genre and the dramaturgy it represents came to be called Metastasian.

The format of the reform libretto endured in no small part because it produced an evening of entertainment that served the social functions of the theatre. The opera house in 18th-century Italy was an important social meeting place. The fashionable part of the audience, who customarily owned boxes or rented them by the season, attended night after night. Since the season consisted of a few works, each given a continuous run of up to several dozen performances, the audience could scarcely have been expected to sustain a close interest in the stage action; and since the literate part of it knew Metastasio's dramas virtually by heart, they could dip in and out at will, interrupting the flow of social intercourse to attend to the most affecting scenes or the favourite arias of the leading singers. From this resulted the audience's noisiness and inattention, so often remarked upon by foreign visitors.

2. 1720–40. Although *opera seria* acquired its definitive literary and dramatic form only during the 1720s, many of its musical characteristics were present earlier. In Naples, Alessandro Scarlatti began to simplify his accompaniments, thus placing greater emphasis on the melodic line. In his *La Griselda* (1721), arias in the old style coexist with a newer type characterized by static bass lines and slower harmonic change.

Excluding Handel, whose operas, written for London, lie outside the Italian tradition and had little or no influence, the dominating figures of the first age were Vinci, Leo, Porpora, Hasse and Pergolesi, who followed Scarlatti in pursuing the new, more clearly articulated melodic style and its simple, harmonically generated



L'Artaserse Atto III.

ATTO TERZO.

SCENA PRIMA.

Parte interna della Fortezza, nella quale è ritenuto prigione Arbace. Cancelli in prospetto. Picciola porta a mano destra, per la quale si ascende alla Reggia.

ARBACE, POI ARTASERSE.

ARBACE.

Perchè tarda è mai la morte,
Quando è termine al martir?
A chi vive in lieta sorte,
E' sollecito il morir.

1. Opening of 'Artaserse', Act 3 scene i, from Pietro Metastasio's 'Opere' (Venice: Zatta, 1781–3), with (left) an engraving of the final scene by G. Zuliani after Pietro Antonio Novelli

accompaniment. Their style was perceived as a departure; its success carried their music not only all over Italy but also throughout Europe. Vinci was credited with a major role in its formation, especially as regards periodic melody, with balanced (often three-bar) phrases. His settings of Metastasio for Naples, from *Didone abbandonata* for Carnival 1726 to *Artaserse*, completed shortly before his death in 1730, proved epoch-making. Through their collaboration the Arcadian reform libretto and the new *galant* or early Classical style became inextricably linked.

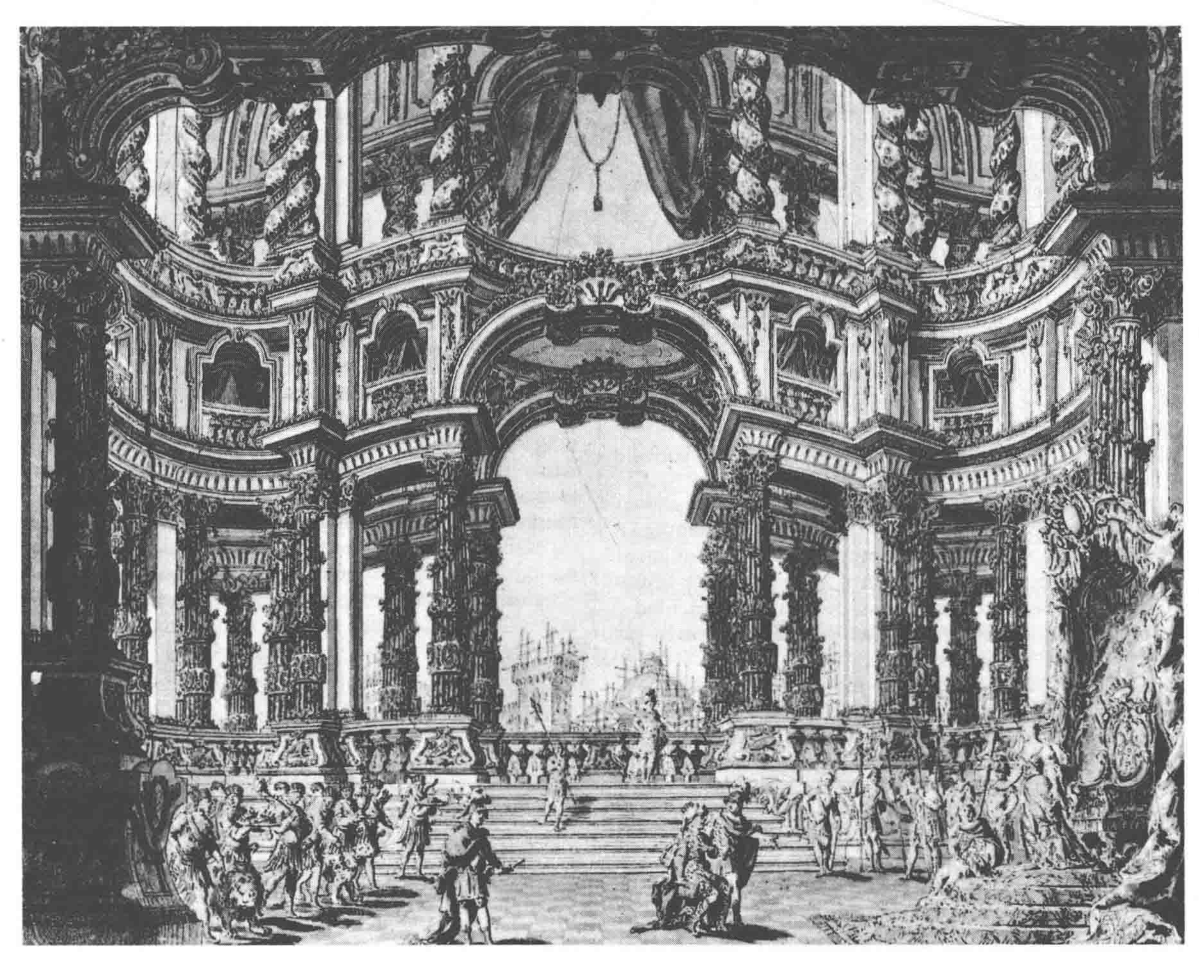
For composers, the primary problem in putting together an opera of 25 or more arias was that of contrast. Metastasio's fine control and subtle variety of moods helped solve it. Departures on the composer's part, such as the omission of a ritornello, as well as the singer's improvised decorations, accomplished still more. Instrumental colour remained fairly uniform and minimal. Metric variety was limited. Expressive harmonic nuance was used sparingly and restricted to Neapolitan 6ths, augmented 6ths, diminished 7ths, deceptive moves, modulation and modal contrast. Tonal planning consisted of selecting keys to suit the affections of the arias. The recitative that connected them moved towards the flat side or into the minor mode for tender emotions or 'negative' events and towards the sharp side for 'positive' events or aggressive actions. The keys used rarely went beyond three accidentals. As a result several arias were likely to share the more popular ones (such as D major for bravura, D minor for rage, E♭ for pathetic affects, G minor for lyrical yearning, G major for pastoral tone, A major for amorous sentiment, etc.). D major remained the overwhelming favourite for the opening sinfonia and the closing *coro*. Characters tended to acquire either a sharp- or flat-dominated personality and even occasionally a predominant tonal reference, but always with one aria in a contrasting tonality. In observing the rules dictating that affections must alternate between successive arias, composers often wrote arias alternately in sharp and flat keys; some composers also seem concerned with establishing close key relationships among arias within a set of scenes or at major articulations, such as the beginning and ending of an act or a group of scenes. Symbolic relationships of a tritone or a semitone may be found, and the composer may also set up moves in one direction or the other (towards the sharp or flat side) within groups of scenes or acts. Last-minute revisions, transpositions and substitutions may obscure such planning, which tends to disappear in later revivals, especially when additions and substitutions are made. In spite of whatever tonal planning the composer might have had in mind, the stark stylistic contrast between aria and recitative tends to produce the impression of a loose stringing together of individual numbers rather than an organic unity; efforts in achieving the latter were made only slowly and fitfully.

3. 1740–70. The second age of *opera seria* was dominated by Hasse, Jommelli, Galuppi, Traetta, G.F. de Majo, Perez, Terradellas and J.C. Bach, most of them Neapolitan or Neapolitan-orientated. The careers of Gluck and Graun ran parallel with it. Several important composers worked outside Italy, and this period was marked by the diffusion of *opera seria* and its associated styles throughout Europe. Hasse carried the perfected form to Germany in the 1730s and was long *maestro di cappella* at Dresden. In 1737 the great castrato Farinelli, Metastasio's adopted brother, entered the employment of the Spanish court in Madrid, where he directed Italian *opera seria* until his retirement in 1759. In 1749 Jommelli

and Galuppi, at turning-points in their careers, were called to Vienna; Majo and Traetta were later called to both Vienna and Mannheim. Perez moved to Lisbon in 1752 and Jommelli began his long reign at Stuttgart in 1754. During the 1760s in Mannheim, the Italian librettist Mattia Verazi provided innovatory librettos for a succession of guest composers. In France, at the middle of the century, an Italian *buffo* troupe inspired the QUERELLE DES BOUFFONS and paved the way for the eventual arrival in Paris of Gluck, Piccinni and others, who established an international style in the French *tragédie en musique* during the 1770s and 80s.

Metastasian librettos quickly gained popularity and dominated the Italian repertory during the 1750s. Thereafter the works of younger librettists, reworkings of earlier librettos, and a growing interest in comic opera gradually eroded this monopoly. Opera continued to consist of a succession of simple or continuo-accompanied recitatives and orchestrally accompanied arias. The action moved forward in *recitativo semplice* (simple recitative), composed in a spare, narrow-ranging, declamatory style with a basso continuo made up of a harpsichord, cello and violone providing one or two harmonies per bar. Usually no more than one or two select solo scenes or speeches leading to an aria or ensemble would be set in *recitativo obbligato*, where strings enhance the drama by providing expressive ritornellos and obbligato motivic commentary in vocal caesuras. To heighten the effect of solemn pronouncements, the strings might play sustained harmonies, a style known as *accompagnato* or accompanied recitative. Occasionally a composer provided recitative with a measured accompaniment in aria style. Jommelli, a commanding figure in *opera seria* at the middle of the century, was among the first to exploit the heightened dramatic intensity inherent in orchestral recitative. As early as the 1740s, before his foreign visits, he was transforming *opera seria* through the use of obbligato recitative and through the introduction of declamatory elements into the arias, the exploration of orchestral sonorities (including four-part textures) and the development of the crescendo and other dynamic contrasts.

Ensembles gradually became more frequent, often contributing to a decrease in the number of arias by replacing the last few scenes and arias of an act, where the characters were reflecting on the action, singing arias and leaving one at a time. The quartet in Act 1 of Galuppi's *Artaserse* for Vienna (1749) is an early example (Mozart may well have modelled his quartet in *Idomeneo* on it). In the 1760s only Jommelli in Stuttgart and Galuppi in Venice regularly concluded Act 1 and Act 2 with ensembles, a duet and a trio (occasionally a quartet). The predominantly French-inspired modifications in *opera seria* that Algarotti sought to promote were much more



2. Design by Galli-Bibiena (probably Giuseppe) for Act 1 of a production of 'Didone abbandonata', possibly in Hasse's setting, Berlin, 1753

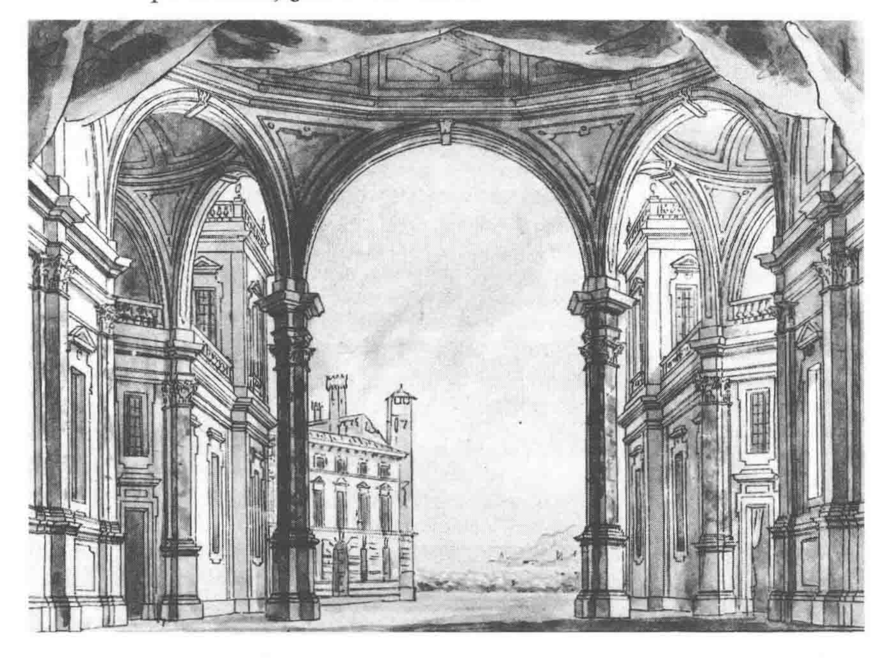
likely to be realized, as he noted, in the great authoritarian capitals – the court-sponsored theatres of Berlin, Dresden, Vienna, Paris and St Petersburg – than in the mainly civic enterprises of the Italian towns or London.

Efforts to escape from the rigidity of the Arcadian reform libretto began in 1755, with Jommelli and Verazi's French-inspired *Enea nel Lazio* and *Pelope*, for Stuttgart. They blurred the lines between recitative and aria (with obbligato recitative and the infusion of the aria with declamatory elements and action), circumvented the exit-aria convention with cavatinas and reintroduced long-banished spectacular elements. These works, based on mythological subject matter involving deities, superimpose supernatural appearances, machine spectacle, chorus and pantomime on an italianate format. In 1759 Traetta, in Parma, became involved in quite another approach, that of setting Italian translations by C.I. Frugoni of two reworked French operas by Rameau, as *Ippolito ed Aricia* and *I tindaridi*. This much-heralded breakthrough produced similar results: Italian aria opera on mythological subject matter with choruses, programmatic orchestral music and spectacle. In 1762 Traetta was invited to Mannheim for a collaboration with Verazi on *Sofonisba*. Here can be found the earliest of Verazi's efforts to challenge Italian formal and dramaturgical conventions: the tragic ending (Sophonisba dies after drinking from a poisoned cup) is a flagrant departure from the laws of verisimilitude; pantomime ballet invades the programmatic overture as well as the opera itself; extensive obbligato recitative and declamatory elements in the arias blur the normally stark demarcations between the two. Finally, Verazi invented for Traetta a trio of diminishing forces which, like the ending of an *opera seria* act, closes with a single character on stage.

In Vienna, as early as 1760, Hasse's *festa teatrale Alcide al bivio* showed French influence. Traetta was invited to Vienna in 1761 to write a short, French-inspired serious piece, *Armida*, which closely follows Quinault's libretto for Lully (1686). An *azione teatrale* in 20 scenes, it carries the *divertissements* for chorus, dance and pantomime found in the original. Gluck's celebrated *Orfeo*, a similar piece, followed in 1762. Spectacular elements as well as the suspension of the exit aria convention are not uncommon in the *azione teatrale* and do not constitute the same deviation from conventional practice that they would if appearing in a full-length *opera seria*. In 1763 Traetta wrote the first such opera for Vienna, on a text by Coltellini, *Ifigenia in Tauride*. The libretto is based on classical subject matter and focusses on a single action, but the work still largely adheres to the formal and musical conventions of *opera seria*. Its principal departures take the form of several scene complexes (single scenes encompassing a multiplicity of set pieces, usually cavatinas, choruses and dance, without the disruption of an exit aria), a duet with chorus and a duet for Iphigenia and her confidante. The French-inspired scene complex stands at odds with Italian practice, which dictated that exits must follow all ensembles and most arias, and that choruses and ensembles must be kept to a minimum. Furthermore, composers frequently set scene complexes in orchestrally accompanied recitative, whereas in Italian opera before 1790 orchestrally accompanied recitative was still invariably reserved for emotional solo scenes and seldom accompanied action. In Mannheim, Verazi responded with his own *Ifigenia in Tauride* libretto the following year. Here the emphasis is on spectacle – shipwrecks, battles, gladiatorial games, magnificent ceremonies and processions. Formally, Verazi too builds great scene complexes; but most challenging to Italian formal tradition are the multiple ensembles – a quartet, two duets and two trios that slim down to duets and then solos. Majo responded with through-composed arias and ensembles, elaborate choruses and programmatic orchestral music. Gluck's *Alceste* had its première in Vienna in 1767, and in Stuttgart the next year Verazi and Jommelli produced their most radical collaboration, *Fetonte*. Here the multiple ensembles of diminishing personnel, the choruses, the great scene complexes and the first action finale in an opera seria cut the exit arias to less than half the usual number. As in *Alceste*, neither the exit aria nor the simple continuo-accompanied recitative has entirely disappeared, but the restoration of death and tragedy, chorus, ensemble and pantomime to the stage as well as the formal innovations look forward 20 years.

Gluck's unique contribution in *Orfeo* and the principal implications inherent in his reform efforts as they impinge on the history of *opera seria* lie in his attempts to erase the harsh lines of demarcation between action (recitative) and reflection (aria) and to create a musical and dramatic unity from diverse components of chorus, air, ballet, ensemble – a scene complex that encompasses the entire work. Secondly, he maintained a heightened dramatic intensity by confining the action to a single central argument taken from classical Greek sources. Calzabigi's libretto is *sui generis*: it is neither a translation of a French opera nor an Italian opera with French elements. There are no secondary characters, and there is no attempt to provide scenes with arias for the third-ranking ones (except for Ismene's sorbet aria at the beginning of Act 2). As a result the number of arias is greatly reduced, and various choruses step to the forefront, becoming characters in the drama and bringing the first and third acts to a close. The classical subject matter and the superimposed, divinely achieved happy ending betray its French origins even if the remnants of simple recitative and the occasional exit aria point to two of the strongest and most persistent Italian practices. The fluidity of its scene complexes and its great stretches of orchestrally accompanied recitative remain a bold challenge to formal and musical conventions in *opera seria* for the rest of the century.

4. 1770–1800. About 1770 a stylistic break was apparent on several levels, one that condemned most of the mid-century composers to rapid oblivion. The last works of Hasse and Jommelli, composed for Italy in the early 1770s, were not particularly successful, and Galuppi wrote his last serious opera in 1772, 12 years before he died. Traetta spent most of his years after 1770 in St Petersburg. The major figures replacing them were Piccinni, Sarti, Sacchini, Anfossi, Salieri, Paisiello and Cimarosa, and among non-Italians J.G. Naumann, Haydn and Mozart. There was some overlapping of generations: Piccinni managed to modify his style and to stay active into the last decade of the century, including a successful sojourn in Paris, where he was placed in competition with Gluck. Near the end of his life he made yet a second transition to the new Venetian style in his *Ercole al Termedonte* (1793, Naples). These composers were melodists in a more modern style, using a greater variety of aria forms including a new popular favourite, the expressive RONDÒ (a two-tempo aria, slow–fast). Paisiello



3. Final scene of Act 3 in the original production of Giuseppe Colla's 'Didone', Teatro Regio, Turin, Carnival 1773: design by Fabrizio Galliari, pen and ink with wash (Fondazione Giorgio Cini, Venice)

appears to have been a leading figure in the establishment of the new style. His broad, simple melodic lines and longer periods took centre stage, while accompaniment styles carried over entire sections with little change and seldom stepped out of the role of beat-keeping repeated notes or arpeggiation except to insert brief obbligato motif 'comments' during vocal caesuras. Orchestras had become larger, making the contrast between segments for full orchestra and the thin string accompaniments maintained during the vocal sections even greater than before. Great crescendos of thickening texture and quickening rhythmic motion combined with expansive displays of vocal *fioritura* to articulate major sections.

During the 1770s da capo and dal segno aria forms quickly disappeared in favour of various types of through-composed ternary, binary and rondo forms that shared characteristics with instrumental sonata and concerto forms. By the 1780s, most operas showed a combination of very long arias, some based on three strophes of poetry, with very short ones often based on only one. The climactic arias for the principal roles was usually a rondò. Only the newly fashionable minuet retained the da capo form. The number of arias per opera continued to decline, from about 15 during the 1780s to fewer than ten in the 1790s. The third act often had only one or two scenes and sometimes disappeared completely. Ensembles took the place of the solo scenes and arias at the ends of Acts 1 and 2. They no longer took the prevailing aria forms but were through-composed, usually with one or more tempo changes moving from slow to fast. During the 1780s, the final *coro* began to expand to include soloists. These as well as the ensemble finale gradually began to fluctuate in personnel and to incorporate action. After 1785, finales that function in the same way as those of comic opera appeared in *opera seria* in all the major musical centres. The extensive action finales in Paisiello's *Pirro* (De Gamerra; 1787) were neither the first (they had earlier appeared in operas to librettos by Verazi) nor the only ones of that year, though they were certainly new to the Italian operatic mainstream, as De Gamerra claimed in his preface. In the mid-1790s action ensembles moved to the interiors of acts when the scene complex became the preferred closing construction. During the 1780s scenes realized in obbligato recitative became more common and longer. They became quite elaborate, involving wind instruments, and combining obbligato commentary during vocal caesuras with *accompagnato* chords or tremolo during the vocal declamation, and occasionally moving into measured style or cavatina; often they were the ravings of a character insane with fear and dreadful imaginings. They remained introspective solo scenes for the principals until the late 1780s, when they began to encompass action.

Metastasio's librettos still provided a substantial proportion of the repertory, enduring the usual cuts in recitatives and arias, the substitution of new texts, the addition of a scene for the sorbet aria, the condensing of act endings into ensembles, the omission of choruses, and the combining of the second and third acts into one. As the number of arias shrank, the number of exits without aria increased, giving rise to many compound exits at the end of an aria and the practice of having the remaining character deliver a short speech before an aria-less exit. Among the steady supply of new librettos, a goodly number originated in French librettos and plays.

The 1780s were a decade of experimentation and innovation, but actual change in the make-up of the theatrical repertory came gradually, and most operas remained solidly based in traditional practices and precepts that harked back to the Arcadian reform. These did not truly begin to give way until the 1790s. Not surprisingly, among the most widely performed operas of the decade were settings of *Medonte*, to the innovatory librettist De Gamerra's most conservative libretto, and of Giovannini's *Giulio Sabino*, which was performed more widely and more frequently than any other *opera seria* setting in the history of the genre. Sarti's masterly settings of these librettos contributed greatly to their success. His *Giulio Sabino* (1781, Venice) shows how little mainstream *opera seria* had changed since the 1760s. Composers and librettists, when writing for the Italian public, continued

to rely mainly on the aria and on principles originating in the Arcadian reform.

In 1778 Verazi was called back to Italy from Mannheim to produce four spectacle operas for the opening of La Scala, Milan. The goals of his *drammi in azioni* differ little from those of Calzabigi and Gluck in *Alceste*. His approach shares some of their means – spectacle, ballet, chorus and scene complexes connected by obbligato recitative – but the differences are pronounced. In Verazi's librettos the secondary characters and complex intrigues remain. Rather than attempt to re-create an aura of antique tragedy with a French-inspired *deus ex machina* to soften the unhappy ending, Verazi amplified the spectacular, the terrifying and the horrific and ignored the laws that proscribed death on stage and unhappy endings. The first of the new La Scala works, Salieri's *L'Europa riconosciuta*, inspired a storm of outraged protest. In the last two operas Verazi was forced to relinquish chorus and dance and to restore the exit aria without disruptive dramatic action. Apparently the Italians were willing to tolerate the multiple ensembles, the introductions and finales, and in Anfossi's *Cleopatra* the unhappy ending with two staged deaths. After 1785 these and other of his innovations gradually gained acceptance – single sex duets, arias and ensembles with interjections from others (*pertichini*) in solo, ensemble or chorus (possibly yet another borrowing from French opera), the integration of chorus and dance into the action, multiple scene complexes, and the abrogation of many of the rules pertaining to the hierarchy of singers, including a suspension of the exit-aria convention.

Verazi's innovations were not the only factors pushing Italian theatres towards change. Coltellini's French-inspired librettos received new settings for Italian theatres in the 1780s and Bertoni reset Calzabigi's *Orfeo* for Venice. Gluck's *Alceste* was performed without the usual revisions and substitutions, as an integral unit. Their multiple scene complexes, ballets and choruses remain anomalies until the 1790s, though the increasing attraction of the 'merveilleux' of French-style subjects was evident even in conservative Naples in such works as Cimarosa's *Oreste* (1783) and Paisiello's *Fedra* (1788). Turin, close neighbour to Stuttgart and Mannheim, borrowed the man- and nature-inspired spectacle but not the attendant dramaturgical innovations, a tendency observed throughout the repertory of the 1780s. Paisiello returned from St Petersburg to compose *opere serie* incorporating action ensemble finales (*Pirro*) and French spectacle (*Fedra*). He also brought a Metastasian text infused with scene complexes (*Nitteti*), which was quickly adopted by others. Marmontel's *Les Incas* offered the exotic Peruvian setting for Moretti's *Idalide* and Foppa's *Alonso e Cora*. Voltaire's tragedy *Sémiramis*, Noverre's bloodstained ballets and Alfieri's equally bloody tragedies impelled the Italians towards the restoration of tragedy and death to the stage.

Several composers working with innovatory librettists in the 1780s escaped the notice of contemporary critics and commentators. Bianchi, who became associated with Sertor, the earliest of the innovatory Venetian librettists, specialized in *opera seria* at a time when most composers were engaged in *opera buffa*. He was the first to set several of Sertor's librettos, among them the first of a number of 'morte' operas, *La morte di Cesare* (1788), a work also distinctive for the active role of the chorus as a participant in the drama. Bianchi's *Alonso e Cora* (1786), also a pioneering work, was the product of a collaboration with Foppa, another innovatory Venetian librettist probably ten years younger than Sertor. Here the extensive opening chorus, the many cavatinas of up to three strophes, and the scene complexes incorporating cavatinas, ensembles, chorus and dance that conclude Act 1 and Act 3 served to reduce the number of exit arias from about 14 or 15 to only 11. Angelo Tarchi worked with the innovatory Milanese librettist Moretti before the latter was called to St Petersburg. Their landmark opera *Il conte di Saldagna* (1787) treats a subject from medieval history in which the hero dies by design of an unrepentant ruler on stage during a celebration of his marriage. In applying French-inspired elements to plots based on human affairs rather than mythology, this opera and Bianchi's *Alonso* stepped beyond the innovators of the past and opened the door for Romantic opera of the 19th century. Prati's setting of Giovannini's libretto *La vendetta di Nino* (1786, Florence) contained the first staging of a parricide in more than a hundred years and initiated a vogue for ghost scenes.

Thus the way was paved for a group of Venetian librettists led by Sertor, Foppa and Sografi to break away from singer-dominated Arcadian reform dramaturgy and to begin providing operas with a rich variety of newly available dramatic and spectacular options. Their activities may account for the increase in the output of *opera seria* in the 1790s, especially in Venice where production nearly doubled. Choruses, ballet, introductions, finales, ensembles (including single-sex duets, trios and quartets), cavatinas and scene complexes reduced the number of arias to below ten. Arias, ensembles and obbligato recitatives increasingly carried the action. Arias often included interjections by other characters or incorporated chorus, and ensembles frequently fluctuated in personnel. Action ensembles began appearing within acts when divertimento-like scene complexes became the favoured act ending.

Divertimentos within the opera itself succeeded in absorbing the ballet, which as entr'actes had threatened to engulf the parent genre a decade earlier. Sografi led the way towards the development of an entirely new concept of operatic dramaturgy moving freely among textual options in such fluid constructions that by the mid-1790s most operas no longer fitted the traditional definition of *opera seria*. At the same time subject matter came increasingly from medieval European history, imparting a decidedly 'modern' aspect. The plot for Andreozzi's and Giordani's *Ines de Castro* (1793, Venice) was taken from medieval Portuguese history, and Trento's *Bianca de' Rossi* (1797, Venice) was a medieval Italian tragedy in which Bianca kills herself with her dead husband's falling tomb cover. There were even a few plots based on 18th-century history in locations far removed: *Cook o sia gl'inglesi in Othaiti* (anonymous, 1785, Naples) and Rossi's operas for Venice: *Pietro il grande* (1793) and *Carolina e Mexicow* (1798). These developments coincided with the social and political turmoil caused in Italy by the French Revolution, culminating in the French invasion of 1796 and engendering an egalitarian climate in which Arcadian idealism and the dramaturgy it spawned seemed increasingly obsolete. Under these conditions the most persistent of all the *opera seria* conventions – the exit aria and the hierarchy of singers – gave way, hastening the demise of 'aria' opera and its attendant

excesses. In the newly established Italian republics, rulers were no longer free of vice nor immune to violent ends. In the conclusion of Nasolini's *Merope* (Zeno's libretto reworked by Botturini, 1796, Venice), the dead monarch, victim of his own son's treachery, lies unnoticed during the victory celebrations. At the same time the principal composers of the preceding period – Cimarosa, Sarti, Paisiello and Guglielmi – were replaced by a group of new composers, including Nasolini, Zingarelli, Mayr, Paer, Portugal and Generali.

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Opera-torneo (It.: 'opera-tourney'). A tournament with music in an operatic style, cultivated mainly in the 17th century at the ducal courts of northern Italy and in Paris, Vienna and Munich. *See* TOURNEY.

Opera voor Vlaanderen. Company created in 1981 by the merging of the Koninklijke Opera companies of ANTWERP and GHENT.

Operetta (It.: diminutive of 'opera'; Fr. *opérette*; Ger. *Operette*; Sp. *opereta*). A light opera with spoken dialogue, songs and dances. Emphasizing music rich in melody and based on 19th-century operatic styles, the form flourished during the second half of the 19th century and the first half of the 20th. During the 20th century it evolved into and was largely superseded by the MUSICAL COMEDY. The term 'operetta' was originally applied in a more general way to describe works that were short, or otherwise less ambitious, derivatives of opera.

1. NATURE AND DEVELOPMENT. As a specific artistic form, what we now regard as operetta evolved in Paris in the 1850s as an antidote to the increasingly serious and ambitious pretensions of the *opéra comique* and vaudeville. It was to fill this gap that various attempts were made to establish a home for short, lighthearted operatic-style works. The particular success of Jacques Offenbach and his company at the Théâtre des Bouffes-Parisiens, offering programmes of two or three satirical one-act sketches, was such that it led to the extension of the format into works of a whole evening's duration and to the establishment of *opéra bouffe* as a separately identifiable form of full-length entertainment.

The success of Offenbach's works was not confined to France, and their popularity in other countries led to the development of various national styles. It was with the evolution of the *Operette* in Vienna during the 1870s that the term first became applied to full-length works. When English-language works were produced, the terms customarily used were 'comic opera' or 'comedy opera'; it is only in retrospect that the term 'operetta' has come to be applied to all national schools.

In Austria the importation of Johann Strauss into the theatre from the ballroom provided Viennese operetta with a composer to rival Offenbach. Strauss also provided the characteristic Austrian style – romantic rather than satirical and with a strong dependence on dance rhythms, especially the waltz. Meanwhile a counterpart had emerged in Spain with the revival of the ZARZUELA, §3, at first owing much to that country's Italian operatic traditions but later developing an essentially Spanish national style. The English-language counterpart, most notably the 'comic operas' of Gilbert and Sullivan, owed much to the British theatrical traditions of ballad opera and burlesque and even something to the Victorian choral tradition.

As a popular form of entertainment, the operetta reflected contemporary taste in the nature of its plots and moral attitudes as well as in topical references. As the predominant form of popular musical theatre of its time, it attracted composers, librettists, performers, managers, directors and designers. The importance of its dialogue made it even more dependent than opera upon a strong libretto. Some of its major successes involved recognized comic playwrights such as Henri Meilhac and Ludovic Halévy in France and W.S. Gilbert in Britain. Many of the most successful and enduring of 19th-century Viennese operettas also had librettos adapted from French originals, which again were often by Meilhac and Halévy. Specialist performers developed who could combine singing with acting (and perhaps dancing) ability. Although composers such as Bizet, Chabrier and Delibes tried their hand at operetta in its early years, the most successful were generally specialists in such lighter forms.

By the 1880s and 90s the expansion of the form from its one-act origins had brought it to a point where it occupied much the same position as the *opéra comique* of 40 or 50 years earlier. With the passing of many of the major practitioners of operetta and the periodic quest for change that typifies the popular musical theatre, elements of the contemporary variety theatre were increasingly incorporated in the 1890s, a trend that evolved particularly in London under the designation 'musical comedy' or 'musical play'. Where previously the logical development of the story had been of particular importance,

displays of female glamour, fashionable dress and elaborately staged routines assumed greater importance.

At least until World War I the operetta, along with the early musical comedies, retained much of its traditional grounding in 19th-century light operatic styles. Indeed it enjoyed a powerful renaissance as a new school of more sensuous Viennese operettas, exemplified by Franz Lehár's *Die lustige Witwe* (1905), gave the genre its most glittering international success. Lehár himself continued to maintain high standards of musicianship, rooted in a European classical musical training, so that he could aspire to write for the opera house while Puccini (in *La rondine*) aimed to write operetta in the manner of Lehár.

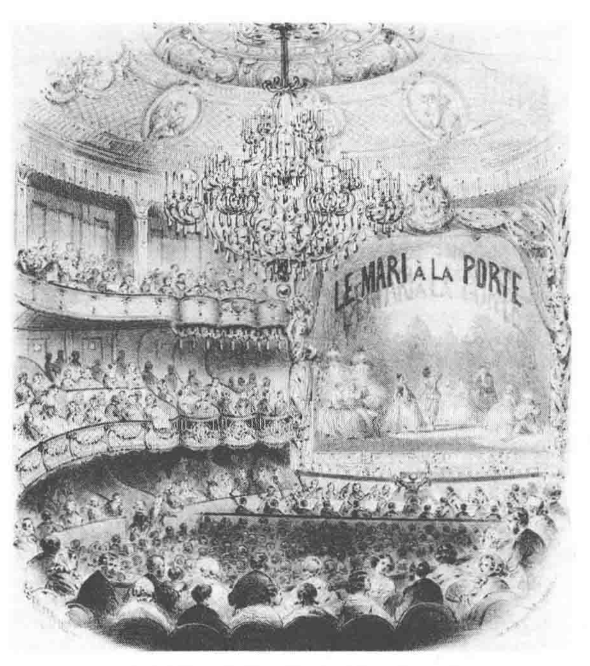
Yet after World War I, and increasingly during the 1920s, the works of André Messager, Reynaldo Hahn and Lehár that conspicuously sought to maintain classical operetta standards were becoming the exceptions in a popular theatrical scene increasingly dominated by song-and-dance musical comedy based on American vaudeville and dance-band song styles, seeking relief from the escapist, Ruritanian operetta world of dukes and princesses. To all intents and purposes the era of the classical operetta ended before World War II, though in Europe the term has continued to be attached to works that evoke European traditions.

There remains no clearly defined and universally agreed dividing line between operetta and the musical, and different lines of demarcation are drawn depending upon nationality, individual taste and prejudice. Such works as *South Pacific*, *My Fair Lady*, *West Side Story*, *Fiddler on the Roof* and *Sweeney Todd* have been seen as a modern continuation of operetta (Bordman, 1981). However, for all the undoubted operetta characteristics to be found in them, they are more precisely musicals, and their structures, production techniques and audience appeal are significantly different from those of the classical operetta.

2. France. Although it was not until the mid-1850s that what is now regarded as operetta began to emerge as a separately identifiable genre, works that would today be classified as such were already in existence. Adolphe Adam's *Le chalet* (1834) and *La poupée de Nuremberg* (1852), Massé's *Les noces de Jeannette* (1853) and Offenbach's *Pépito* (1853) had scores far more operatic in form than the collections of songs provided for vaudevilles but were nonetheless lighter and more modest than the works increasingly being accepted by the Opéra-Comique.

Adam himself had opened an Opéra-National in 1847, though the venture proved short-lived. More successful was Hervé's Théâtre des Folies-Nouvelles opened in 1854 as the Théâtre des Folies-Concertantes. However, it was with the opening of Offenbach's Théâtre des Bouffes-Parisiens during the Paris Exhibition year of 1855 that these foundations were firmly built upon (see fig.1). The works of Offenbach's repertory were initially little more than satirical sketches with just a few musical numbers. However, the improbable plots and the wit and sparkle of the productions, composed not always by Offenbach himself but also by such men as Adam, Emile Jonas and Delibes, made them the rage of Paris. Within a couple of years Offenbach was able to tour not only in France but abroad.

With a small theatre licensed initially for only three or four stage performers, Offenbach's early *opéras bouffes* or *opérettes* remained for some time necessarily modest



1. Interior of the Théâtre des Bouffes-Parisiens, Paris, during a performance of Offenbach's 'Le mari à la porte'; cover of a piano arrangement of the overture, lithograph by Bertauts after C. Bertrand (Paris: Heugel, 1859)

one-act pieces, satirical or farcical in tone, used musical scores of up to eight numbers (solos, duets, trios and quartets) and were accompanied by an orchestra of up to 16 players. The relaxation of restrictions on the number of stage performers permitted him, in 1858, to put on his first two-act *opéra bouffe*, the mythological satire *Orphée aux enfers*, which added enormously to his reputation at home and abroad and provided operetta with its first enduring masterpiece.

Although Offenbach continued to produce one-act works, the pattern for the future was set by the sequence of longer works that included, most particularly, *La belle Hélène* (1864), *La vie parisienne* (1866) and *La Grande-Duchesse de Gérolstein* (1867; fig.2). All had lighthearted and witty books by Meilhac and Halévy, satirizing the Paris of Napoleon III. They call for a full cast, chorus, orchestra of up to 30 musicians, and scores comprising some 20 to 30 musical numbers including fully developed opening numbers and finales. By the end of the 1860s the French *opéra bouffe* had grown into a fully fledged genre with characteristics that firmly distinguished it not only from contemporary vaudeville but also, in its satirical wit and popular appeal, from *opéra comique*.

After the civil war of 1869–70 and the demise of the Second Empire, Offenbach's popularity began to wane. The French public came to prefer a more romantic form of entertainment and they found it in works by Charles Lecocq, Robert Planquette, Louis Varney and Edmond Audran. Grace and refinement allied to classical musical standards were brought to French operetta by Messager. His *Véronique* (1898), together with Louis Ganne's rousing *Les saltimbanques* (1899), ensured that at the turn of the century French operetta could still be ranked as a worthy successor to the old *opéra comique*.

During the 20th century French operetta progressively lost ground in international terms to Anglo-American



2. Hortense Schneider in the title role of Offenbach's 'La Grande-Duchesse de Gérolstein', Act 1, Théâtre des Variétés, Paris, 12 April 1867: lithograph from 'L'univers illustré' (27 April 1867)

musical plays on the one hand and Viennese operetta on the other. Messager continued to uphold French musical standards, as did Reynaldo Hahn, another cultured musician who combined a more modern style with traditional *opéra comique* standards. Increasingly, however, French operetta could be typified by works that owed more to the French music-hall chanson than to operatic traditions. Since World War II the name of operetta has been kept alive by the *opérette à grand spectacle* exemplified by a series of works by Francis Lopez that began with *La belle de Cadix* (1945); these retain the operetta's taste for escapist stories, exotic locations, spectacle and effects, but have little substantial contact with the operatic format of the classical operetta.

3. Central Europe. During the late 1850s Viennese theatres began staging Offenbach's *opéras bouffes*, at times in pirated versions, but often under the composer's own direction. These in turn inspired one-act comic and satirical operettas in similar style from locally active composers, of whom the most notable was Franz Suppé.

Offenbach's virtual monopoly of larger-scale productions remained unchallenged in Vienna until Johann Strauss (ii) was recruited from the dance hall. Strauss introduced the distinctively Viennese operetta style, with more exotic settings, romantic rather than satirical stories, and scores built around dance forms, especially the waltz. His *Die Fledermaus* (1874), based on a play by Meilhac and Halévy, became the most widely celebrated of all operettas, though he lacked the greater theatrical flair displayed in works such as Suppé's *Boccaccio* (1879) and Carl Millöcker's *Der Bettelstudent* (1882).

Thereafter Strauss demonstrated ambitions to move towards full-scale opera, most notably in *Der Zigeunerbaron* (1885). The major operetta successes of the 1890s came from composers who favoured a more relaxed, more charming and insinuating style, especially Carl Zeller and Richard Heuberger. In the early 20th century the classical operetta found a new lease of life when Lehár perfected his technically assured, sensuous musical style in *Die lustige Witwe*. It achieved the most wide-ranging contemporary success of any operetta and was followed by a string of internationally successful works, by Lehár himself, Oscar Straus and Leo Fall.

Before World War I temporarily restricted the international currency of Viennese operetta, these three composers had been joined in the forefront of the Viennese school by Emmerich Kálmán, who fused the Viennese waltz style with an intensely rhythmic Hungarian sound. Kálmán's contribution highlighted an extension of operetta's field of play, for he had begun his career in a burgeoning Hungarian school of operetta. The taste for Lehár also struck an especial chord in Italy, later inspiring native Italian works such as Virgilio Ranzato's *I paesi dei campanelli* (1923).

However, shifts in the political and popular musical balance had moved the centre of German operetta to

Berlin, and it was with works such as Paul Lincke's one-act 'spectacular burlesque-fantasy operetta' *Frau Luna* (1899) that a recognizably different Berlin school of operetta emerged. Later, the considerable international success of Eduard Künneke's *Der Vetter aus Dingsda* (1921) helped to consolidate the shift of the centre of German-language operetta production to Berlin, which saw the premières of works of Viennese composers, such as Fall's *Madame Pompadour* (1922) and Lehár's *Das Land des Lächelns* (1929), with the tenor Richard Tauber. By now the German operetta formula provided less for an integrated set of characters than a series of operatic-style solos and duets for the leading soprano and tenor, interspersed with comic duets for a *buffo* and soubrette and supported by choral contribution. Moreover, in Lehár's works the often zany plots of 50 or 60 years earlier were now replaced by stories with unhappy endings.

Signs of the terminal decline of the classical operetta could now be found not only in the raiding of melodies by the classical masters for 'new' works, but also in works such as Paul Abraham's *Viktoria und ihr Husar* and Ralph Benatzky's *Im weissen Rössl* (both 1930) that sought to combine the traditional romance of operetta with modern stories and dance styles.

4. BRITAIN AND THE USA. In London, too, English versions of Offenbach's *opéras bouffes* began to appear during the 1860s, and it was directly under the influence of Offenbach's *Les deux aveugles* (1855) that Arthur Sullivan composed *Cox and Box* (1866). The series of works on which Sullivan collaborated with W.S. Gilbert between 1871 and 1896 (including *HMS Pinafore*, 1878; fig.3) swept the stages of the English-speaking world, though success in translation was limited by the distinctively British nature of both humour and music. Other British examples came from Frederic Clay, Alfred Cellier, Edward Solomon and Edward Jakobowski.

It was especially in London, during the 1890s, that a trend emerged that was to have fundamental significance for the development of operetta and the popular musical theatre. At a time when imported French operettas and the native comic operas of Gilbert and Sullivan were losing their immediate appeal, the London public took readily to the style of show loosely termed 'musical comedy' or 'musical play'. Sidney Jones's *The Geisha* (1896) retained much of the comic opera tradition of Sullivan and proved a phenomenal contemporary success not only throughout the British Empire but around the world, receiving more performances in Germany than any contemporary native work. Other shows, however, were concerned less with the integrity of the libretto than with a more immediate appeal, with an emphasis on contemporary fashion, glamorous male and female chorus lines, catchy interpolated numbers, and specially staged song-and-dance numbers.

Sullivan's acknowledged comic opera successor was Edward German, with *Merrie England* (1902) and *Tom*



3. *Closing scene of Gilbert and Sullivan's 'HMS Pinafore', Act 2, Opera Comique, London, 1878: colour lithograph by Alfred Concanen*

Jones (1907). In commercial terms, however, it was the Edwardian 'musical plays' that captured the public fancy with their light songs and dances, elaborate chorus routines and fashionable dress. Through them the British musical theatre product was, for a few years at the beginning of the century, the most readily exported school of operetta.

The Edwardian musical play reached its zenith in such works as Paul Rubens's *Miss Hook of Holland* (1907), Monckton and Howard Talbot's *The Arcadians* (1909) and Lionel Monckton's *The Quaker Girl* (1910). Thereafter the genre faded rapidly in favour of, first, the Viennese operettas of Lehár, Strauss and Fall, and then ragtime-inspired revue and song-and-dance musical comedy from America. Only in the special conditions of wartime did the glamorous Edwardian-style musical show enjoy a brief revival of fortune, in *The Maid of the Mountains* (1916), with a score by Harold Fraser-Simson and additional numbers by James W. Tate, and the 'spectacular musical tale of the east' *Chu Chin Chow* (1916), with music by Frederic Norton.

During the 19th century, European works had been readily welcomed in the USA, where a significant body of native works had also begun to emerge in the 1890s. Among those that owed allegiance to the example of Gilbert and Sullivan were Reginald De Koven's *Robin Hood* (1891) and John Philip Sousa's *El capitan* (1895), while Victor Herbert's *The Fortune Teller* (1898) and Gustave Kerker's *The Belle of New York* (1897) followed the trend towards melodically more ingratiating works.

British taste embraced American musical comedy during the 1920s, but the lingering taste for works in the older European operetta traditions was still catered for in the USA by works such as Sigmund Romberg's *The Student Prince* (1924) and Rudolf Friml and Herbert Stothart's *Rose-Marie* (1924), and in Britain by Noël Coward's *Bitter Sweet* (1929) and Ivor Novello's *The Dancing Years* (1939).

5. THE MODERN SCENE. Today operetta is scarcely to be found in the commercial theatre and, apart from a few works that have been accepted into the operatic repertory, it has become increasingly of interest to a specialist audience.

The revival of classic operettas raises difficult questions. For popular consumption, librettos are deemed to need modernizing to remove references unintelligible to a present-day audience, but for a more intellectual audience, those dated contemporary references constitute much of the essence of a work. Absorption of operetta into operatic repertories also raises other questions of style, since operetta performance requires a range of talents not to be found in the typical opera performer, including an ability to put across words in both song and dialogue and to scale down the grand-opera style of projection.

Fidelity to the original has been affected by other factors, notably the desire of opera singers for vocal challenge and greater vocal contrasts, which has influenced the public conception of the voices for which roles were conceived. By pushing up a voice trained in a lower register, a more brilliant effect can be achieved than would be the case with music written for a more restricted voice range. This has led to the taste for giving soubrette roles to a mezzo-soprano or tenor *buffo* roles to a baritone.

If striking a balance between authenticity and tradition thus poses particular problems, operetta nevertheless continues to enjoy its small specialist niche. In Germany, Austria and other central European countries, classic operettas continue to be staged professionally as lighter fare in the repertory of subsidized opera companies. The Volksoper in Vienna remains above all as the standard-bearer of the Viennese operetta tradition, with a repertory of operettas supplemented by the lighter operatic fare. Operetta productions at summer festivals in spa towns help to perpetuate the tradition. Likewise, in France, productions of classical French and foreign works enjoy weekend productions in major towns, as well as in the summer festival at the spa town of Lamalou-les-Bains.

That a substantially different situation has developed in English-speaking countries is due to two particular factors. The first is the overwhelming success of the Savoy operas, which have long eclipsed other works from before World War I. Works such as Monckton's *The Arcadians* and *The Quaker Girl* at least enjoy occasional amateur productions, but Jones's *The Geisha*, despite surviving into modern times in the operetta repertory in continental countries, has virtually disappeared from the British scene. The second factor is the growth of a strong native-language successor in the form of the American musical, which has largely superseded earlier traditions. The D'Oyly Carte Opera Company, for so long able to tour continuously with an unrelieved diet of Gilbert and Sullivan, finally expired from a static repertory, declining audiences and increased costs.

Increasingly, then, the international survival of the major operettas has been achieved through their establishing a place in the repertory of opera companies – a tradition that dates back to the production of *Die Fledermaus* under Mahler at Hamburg in 1894. In Britain a rediscovery effort was made during the 1960s by Sadler's Wells Opera, beyond which the most significant revival of classical operettas in London has been by student companies and by the privately financed John Lewis Music Society, whose operetta productions have covered Chabrier, Lecocq, Messager, Planquette, Suppé and Millöcker. In the USA, similarly, productions of Herbert, Lehár and Romberg at the New York City Opera have been more liberally supplemented by revivals of Sousa, Lecocq, Offenbach, Kálmán and Johann Strauss at festivals at Wooster, Ohio, and elsewhere.

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ANDREW LAMB

Ophibariton (Fr.). *See* RUSSIAN BASSOON.

Ophicleide (Fr. *ophicléide, basse d'harmonie, contrebasse d'harmonie*; Ger. *Ophikleide*; It. *oficleide*). A keyed brasswind instrument, the bass member of the family whose soprano is the keyed bugle (it is classified as an AEROPHONE: trumpet). It was patented by the French maker Halary (Jean Hilaire Asté) in 1821. The word 'ophicleide' was compounded from the Greek 'ophis' (a serpent) and 'kleis' (a cover or stopper); however, the ophicleide differs from the SERPENT, even from those late types in which direct fingering was abandoned and all toneholes were covered by keys. 'Ophicléide' was the name given by Halary to the largest of the family of instruments covered by his patent, but it has come to be used for other sizes. The name was later extended to other instruments of like tessitura and use: some early valved basses were known as 'valved ophicleide', 'ophicléide à piston' or 'Ventilophilsleide' (see below). The tone of the instrument is full and resonant, having some of the characteristics of both the saxophone (which developed from it) and the euphonium (which replaced it). The derogatory comments of some musical historians of an earlier generation were seen to be unjustified at the end of the 20th century, when playing of a high standard could again be heard. Composers such as Berlioz, Mendelssohn, Schumann, Verdi and Wagner wrote important parts for it; its characteristic tone in their works is rarely well replaced by the modern orchestral tuba.

Ophicleide is also the name of an ORGAN STOP.

1. Description. 2. History. 3. The valved ophicleide.

1. DESCRIPTION. The bore of the ophicleide, apart from the final bell flare, is close to the frustum of a cone, and large for an instrument of its length. The bass in 8′ C has a sounding length of 2·47 metres. The tube is bent in the form of a U, the limbs being only about 1·25 cm apart. The narrower limb terminates about 30 cm short of the bell rim with a cylindrical socket into which the crook fits. The crook, usually either circular or oval, receives at its narrow end the mouthpiece, which stands approximately at right angles to the main tubing. The oval form of crook, typical of later ophicleides, usually incorporates a tuning-slide. The mouthpiece is similar to that of a bass trombone, though individual players have preferred different designs. Some ophicleides have been built of wood, either leather-covered like serpents (the British 'serpentcleide') or highly polished, but most are of brass.

Ophicleides have been built with nine to 12 keys, 11 being by far the commonest number. The nearest to the bell stands open at rest and is closed to sound the lowest note; all the others stand closed. The tone holes are wider than the serpent's. The touchpieces controlling the keys are in two groups, arranged to be played with the left hand above the right, as with the bassoon. In early ophicleides the key-heads were flat discs, faced with leather, which closed down on short chimneys surrounding the holes; later instruments had cupped key-heads with stuffed pads. With all the keys unoperated, the bass ophicleide in C can sound the lowest eight or so natural notes of a conical tube with the fundamental 8′ C, that is *C*, *c*, *g*, *c′*, *e′*, *g′*, *b♭′*, *c″* (that is, the first eight or so pitches of the harmonic series). Closing the lowest key lowers the series by a semitone; on an 11-key instrument the keys provide the player with 12 effective tube lengths whose fundamental notes are a semitone apart, giving a fully chromatic compass of three octaves or so. For notes above *f♯* duplicate fingerings are possible since their frequencies occur among the harmonics of more than one series. Some notes require, and many notes are improved by, 'venting', i.e. operating one or more keys nearer to the bell than the principal key for that note. Some later instruments have overlapping touchpieces to facilitate this. The choice of fingering and venting is not standardized and instruction books differ. Fingering chart from A. Héral's *Méthode pour neuf, dix et onze clés* (Paris, n.d.), indicates the commonest fingerings (keys 3 and 5 are for the thumbs and are not visible in the plate). The nine-key ophicleide requires the simultaneous operating of adjacent keys for two notes in the bottom octave, but gives each finger only one key to control (L4 is never used).

While the ophicleide undoubtedly surpasses the upright serpent and the bass horn in power and clarity, it does have defects. As with other keyed brasswind instruments,



Bass ophicleide in C by P.L. Gautrot, Paris, c1850 (Royal College of Music, London)

notes requiring the opening of keys remote from the bell are generally poorer and weaker than others. Even when the fundamentals (pedal notes) are naturally well in tune, overblown notes with the same fingerings are not always so. A skilled player can minimize the tonal discrepancies and play in tune by judicious fingering and lipping. The instrument's power, though impressive when it first appeared, is no match for modern orchestral brass.

The ophicleide has been built in a number of sizes. The best-known instruction book, the *Méthode complète d'ophicléïde* (Paris, n.d.) of V. Caussinus and F. Berr, mentions no fewer than six: altos in F or E♭, basses in C or B♭ and contrabasses in F or E♭. Basses have been by far the most common, and the C more common than the B♭. A contralto in A♭ is also known (an example is in the *Musée de la Musique*, Paris).

The alto ophicleides, originally called 'quinticlaves' by Halary, were not used in the orchestra, and in bands they were soon replaced by valved instruments such as the clavicor. Contrabass ophicleides (known as 'monster ophicleides') were pitched in 12′ F or 13′ E♭.

2. History. The ophicleide may owe its origin to some form of upright serpent. A more plausible, though still unsubstantiated, story is that while reviewing allied troops after Waterloo the Grand Duke Konstantin of Russia was so impressed by the playing of John Distin, solo keyed bugle in the Grenadier Guards Band, that he requested a copy of Distin's instrument. Distin complied by taking his bugle to Halary in Paris to be copied. In 1817 Halary submitted to the Institut de France, the Académie Royale des Beaux Arts and the Athénée des Arts three instruments which he called, respectively: 'clavitube' (a normal keyed bugle despite his description of it as 'trompette à clef'); 'quinticlave' (an alto ophicleide built in upright form); and 'ophicléide' (the bass instrument known today). These were patented in 1821, with a supplementary coverage for three additional keys on the ophicleide in 1822. The nine-key ophicleide of 1821, however, seems to have been the basis of future work. A number of design modifications were proposed and patented by various makers in France and Britain (where the instrument was most used) but none found widespread acceptance apart from the cupped key-heads mentioned above and the use of pillar, rod and axle key-mounts rather than saddles. For example, by 1861 Gautrot *aîné* (the most prolific maker of ophicleides) had introduced a model with six keys and one valve, but few seem to have been made. Two unpatented improvements were the 12th key (for G♯, which eliminated some slurring problems) and the large vent hole near the bell associated with the English virtuoso, Samuel Hughes (1825–*c*1895).

There were a number of celebrated ophicleide soloists, although by far the most widespread use of the instrument was as the bass in bands, with occasional solos extending in to the tenor range. V. Caussinus was the only ophicleidist of whom Berlioz spoke highly. William Ponder (*d* 1841) introduced the contrabass ophicleide to Britain at the 1834 Birmingham Festival. Prospère (Jean Prospère Guivier) performed, also on the contrabass, at music festivals and in Jullien's promenade concerts, also accompanying the latter on his tour of the USA. Hughes was able to make a career as an ophicleide soloist, playing in the principal orchestras, for the Royal Italian Opera, Covent Garden, for the professional Cyfarthfa brass band, and as a professor at Kneller Hall and the Guildhall

School of Music (the latter appointment in 1888 probably merely titular).

The ophicleide was very widely used in France, in both bands and orchestras; after about 1870 it ceased to be scored for by composers, but its replacement by valved instruments such as bass and contrabass saxhorns it was more protracted. In Britain it was in use by the late 1820s, but in the leading brass bands it was being rapidly replaced by valved instruments by 1860 – the best ophicleidists were presented with euphoniums as contest prizes. In other European countries it was less used, but is reported to have survived in Spanish churches and remote Italian village bands into the 20th century.

3. THE VALVED OPHICLEIDE. By 1836 Guichard had brought out a valved ophicleide, preserving the shape and general bore profile of the keyed ophicleide but with three valves – virtually a primitive tuba. Three valves do not provide a complete octave of fundamentals, however, and give intonation problems when the valves are used in combination. The French orchestral tuba in 8′ C overcame these defects by the use of five or six valves (*see* TUBA). Subsequent models of valved ophicleide such as those of Uhlmann (Vienna, 1839) preserved the familiar overall shape of the ophicleide but employed a tube length of 12′ F (which gives the complete chromatic compass from *B′* upwards of the C ophicleide) or longer. There is no clear distinction between these instruments and bombardons or narrow-bore tubas.

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REGINALD MORLEY-PEGGE/PHILIP BATE, STEPHEN WESTON/ARNOLD MYERS

Opie, Alan (John) (*b* Redruth, Cornwall, 22 March 1945). English baritone. He studied at the GSM and the London Opera Centre, where he sang Gianni Schicchi. He made his début in 1969 as Papageno with Sadler's Wells Opera in Liverpool, then sang Rochefort (*Anna Bolena*) in Santa Fe (1970), Sid (*Albert Herring*) at Wexford (1971) and Demetrius for the English Opera Group (1972). Since joining the ENO in 1973, he has sung a wide variety of roles, ranging from Rossini's Figaro and Dandini, Guglielmo and Valentin, to Balstrode, Junius (*Rape of Lucretia*), Cecil (*Gloriana*) and Oblonsky in the première of Hamilton's *Anna Karenina* (1981). He made his Covent Garden début in 1971 as an Officer (*Barbiere*), returning for Ping, Hector (*King Priam*), Mangus (*The Knot Garden*), Dr Falke, Paolo (*Simon Boccanegra*) and Faninal. Opie has sung Sid, Mozart's Figaro, Balstrode, the Traveller (*Death in Venice*) and Don Alfonso at Glyndebourne, Baron de Gondremarck (*La vie parisienne*) and Robert Storch (*Intermezzo*) for Scottish Opera, and Diomede (*Troilus and Cressida*) and Miller (*Luisa Miller*) for Opera North. He has also appeared in Paris, Chicago, Cologne, Amsterdam and Munich, and made his Metropolitan début as Balstrode in 1994. A charismatic actor with a strong, vibrant voice and vivid diction, he scored a major success as Beckmesser with the ENO (1984) and at Bayreuth (1987), and has recorded the role with Solti. Notable among his other recordings are Rossini's Figaro, Diomede, Smirnov (*The Bear*) and several of his Britten roles.

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ELIZABETH FORBES

Opieński, Henryk (*b* Kraków, 13 Jan 1870; *d* Morges, nr Lausanne, 21 Jan 1942). Polish composer, conductor and musicologist. He studied in Kraków with Żeleński and in Prague with Lachner for the violin. In Paris he was a pupil of Paderewski (piano) and of d'Indy at the Schola Cantorum. He took lessons with Heinrich Urban in Berlin and completed his education in Leipzig (1904–6) with Nikisch (conducting) and Riemann (musicology). In 1908 he was appointed conductor of the Warsaw Opera and in 1911 he founded the first Polish musicological periodical, *Kwartalnik muzyczny*. He lived in Switzerland between 1914 and 1919, organizing concerts, lecturing on Polish music and founding in Lausanne the vocal ensemble Motet et Madrigal. From 1920 to 1926 he directed the Poznań Academy of Music, and in 1923 he became editor of the *Przegląd muzyczny*. Returning to Switzerland in 1926 to settle in Morges, he was chairman of the Société Vaudoise de Musique (1932–6). Opieński's music was influenced by d'Indy and by French grand opera; his use of Polish folklore was shaped by the Moniuszko tradition. His music has little individuality, but the symphonic poems, the *Thème varié* for piano and some of the songs are brilliant and well crafted. (*PSB*, M. Perkowska; *SMP*, J. Prosnak)

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(*selective list*)

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TERESA CHYLIŃSKA

Opilionis, Othmar (*fl c*1440–50). ?Polish composer. He and his brother matriculated at the University of Kraków in 1441 as members of the household chapel of the Bishop of Kraków and as being from Jawor. His only extant composition is a textless song which was copied into *I-TRcap* 93 (no.1831) by about 1450 with the ascription 'Othmari opilionis'; it is very much in the style of a French rondeau from about 1440, with imitation at the octave. (For further discussion see *StrohmR*.)

DAVID FALLOWS

Opitiis, Benedictus de (*b c*1476; *d* Aug/Sept 1524). ?German organist and composer. Early scholarship confused him with Benedictus Ducis and Benedictus Appenzeller (see Bartha). According to Jan de Gheet's sumptuously illustrated *Lofzangen ter ere van Keizer Maximiliaan en zijn kleinzoon Karel den Vijfden* (Antwerp, 1515/*R*), he was the son of 'Petrus de Opicijs montiferatensis, maiestatis Caesarie familiaris domesticus et negotiorum gestorum', suggesting that Petrus, possibly from the village of Kopitz near Eisenberg (Montiferata) near the German–Czech border, was in the employ of Emperor Maximilian I.

In 1492, while in Strasbourg with the Emperor, Petrus's youngest son, then 16, was cited as a remarkable organist. In 1505 the family was in Antwerp, and by 1513 Benedictus had secured a post as organist for the wealthy Marian confraternity of the church of Our Lady; there he worked with the organist Jacob van Doirne. In 1515 he held the title of Prince of the St Luke guild of artisans, and in that capacity headed the rhetoricians' chamber known as the Gillyflower (*Violieren*) which was linked to the guild. In February of that year the guild won the highest prize for their participation during the grand entry into Antwerp of Archduke Charles, the occasion documented in de Gheet's *Lofzangen*. In February 1516 the Antwerp church archives note Opitiis's long service and his departure for England.

In July 1516 'Benet de Opitiis, player at organ' was appointed to serve Henry VIII, and in 1518 he purchased a regal for the royal court. He joined the London church musicians' guild of St Nicholas in 1520, and from 1519 until 1521 held a licence to export beer and wine from England to the Continent. He may have been the English organist who performed along with Jean Mouton in June 1520, when Henry VIII and François I met at the Field of Cloth of Gold, and it is equally possible that he took part in the July 1520 festivities at Calais for Henry VIII and Charles V. Opitiis's will was proved on 16 September 1524.

Opitiis's two surviving works, the four-voice Marian motets *Sub tuum praesidium* and *Summae laudis, O Maria*, were published in de Gheet's *Lofzangen*, which was the earliest polyphonic print issued in the Low Countries, with elegant woodcut music in choirbook format. The print suggests that the works date from 1508, before the deliberations leading to the League of Cambrai. They may have been written for the imminent Roman coronation, or for the visit to Antwerp in September 1508 of the Emperor Maximilian and his grandson Charles, on which occasion Charles was declared margrave of the Holy Roman Empire. *Summae laudis* makes reference to Maximilian and also to the recent discovery of a new trade route to the Indies via the Cape; the work may be modelled on Isaac's *Virgo prudentissima*, which has a similar text and was also written about 1507–8. *Sub tuum praesidium* appears also in a manuscript of 1516 prepared for Catherine of Aragon and Henry VIII (*GB-Lbl* Royal 11.E.xi). Although criticized by Dunning, the two motets, structured with paired imitation, reflect the work of an adequate composer of the Josquin-Isaac era.

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KRISTINE FORNEY

Opitz, Martin (*b* Bunzlau [now Bolesławiec], 23 Dec 1597; *d* Danzig [now Gdańsk], 20 Aug 1639). German poet. In 1620 he was forced to leave the University of Heidelberg, where he was a student, because of the Thirty Years War and travelled to Leiden, where he met the Dutch poet Daniel Heinsius, who greatly influenced him. He taught for a time at the Gymnasium in Weissenburg, but by 1625 he was in Vienna, where he was crowned poet by Emperor Ferdinand II. Opitz was a Protestant, but when he entered the service of Count Karl Hannibal of Dohna (Silesia), who was strongly Catholic, the two worked closely together, going on a political mission to Poland which resulted in Opitz's ennoblement by the emperor. In 1630 he was in Paris. After the Catholics were defeated in Silesia he entered the establishment of a Protestant duke and served as a liaison officer for the Swedish general staff. Opitz was forced to flee when Silesia became Catholic again in 1635. He went first to Toruń and then to Danzig, where he worked as historian and secretary at the court of King Władisław IV. He visited Königsberg in 1638 and died of the plague the following year.

Opitz outlined German poetics in his treatise *Buch von der deutschen Poeterey* (1624) and provided poetic examples of these rules in his *Teutsche Poemata* (also 1624), the first edition of which he subsequently revised according to the new rules set forth in his poetics. Opitz is widely regarded as the father of modern German poetry. He received the patent of nobility in 1627 and was made

a member of the foremost German literary society, the Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft, in 1629.

The prime musical interest of Opitz's texts lies in the insistence on a correspondence between natural word stress and metrical stress, which produced poetry that was natural, graceful and readily set to music. His poems were set by many 17th-century composers, including Heinrich Schütz, for whom he provided the libretto of *Dafne* (Breslau, 1627), a German paraphrase of Rinuccini's work set by Jacopo Peri. Performed at a Saxon court festival on 13/23 April 1627, *Dafne* is widely regarded as the first opera in the German language; the music is no longer extant. Opitz's libretto may have served as a model for another *Dafne*, by M.G. Peranda and G.A. Bontempi, which was performed at the Dresden court in 1671.

Opitz's *Judith* (Breslau, 1635), a reworking of Andrea Salvadori's Italian text for Marco da Gagliano, has frequently been associated with Schütz's name, since Opitz undertook the translation after the collaboration on *Dafne*; however, Schütz never set this three-act libretto. In 1646 another version of Opitz's *Judith* was published in Rostock, expanded to five acts by Andreas Tscherning with its choruses set to music by Matthias Apelles von Löwenstern, Kapellmeister to the Duke of Oels. In *Dansktalende Judith* (1666), Mogens Skeel translated Opitz's *Judith* into Danish in connection with a court performance in Copenhagen; it is not known if this version was performed with music.

A hunting song, 'Auff Ihr Jäger auff! Es tagt', with text by Opitz, was inserted into Johann Lauremberg's second pair of musical dramas published as *Zwo Comoedien* and performed during the Danish royal wedding celebrations of 1634. It has been shown that this hunting song is based on the chorus of shepherds from Act 3 of *Dafne*. In the ballet performed at the Danish wedding six strophes from Opitz's *Galathee* (1621) reappear in the 'Klageliedt des Orpheus', whose fifth strophe begins 'Täglich geht die Sonne nieder'. The *Schütz Werke Verzeichnis* lists among the lost works three secular songs which can be attributed to Opitz: 'Ach liebste, lass uns eilen', 'Gehet, meine Seufzer, hin' and 'Täglich geht die Sonne unter'. This last must be considered a Schütz composition used at the Danish royal nuptials of 1634 and strengthens the assertions that Schütz did, in fact, compose the secular music for this wedding. Opitz can be considered to have provided the greatest share of secular texts set to music by Schütz; other composers who set his secular songs include Heinrich Albert, C.C. Dedekind, Caspar Kittel, J.E. Kindermann and Johann Nauwach.

Opitz's translations of biblical texts were also influential for composers such as Albert, Andreas Hammerschmidt, Jacob Hintze, Kindermann and Schütz. His translation of the Huguenot Psalter, which was meant to replace that of Ambrosius Lobwasser, found only limited popularity, however. Both Opitz and Lobwasser translated the French psalms of Marot and Bèze into patterns identical to the originals and set to Goudimel's original music. Opitz demonstrated great care for the musical setting of the texts, and his rendering subtly fits the borrowed tunes. Opitz based several collections of psalms and epistles on French originals so that they could be sung to the same Geneva tunes. Hammerschmidt composed a series of dialogues on Opitz's paraphrase of the *Song of Songs*; they make up the first 11 numbers in Hammerschmidt's *Geistlicher Dialogen ander Teil* (Dresden, 1645).

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MARA R. WADE

Oppens, Ursula (*b* New York, 2 Feb 1944). American pianist. She studied at the Juilliard School with Rosina Lhévinne, Leonard Shure and Guido Agosti (1966–9). She won the Busoni International Piano Competition (1969) and the Avery Fisher Prize (1976), and has subsequently performed with most leading American orchestras. She has given solo recitals in the USA, Europe and Central America, and has participated in the Aspen, Berkshire and Marlboro music festivals, among others.

Oppens was a founder-member of Speculum Musicae, the highly praised contemporary music ensemble that won the Naumburg Chamber Music Award in 1972, and has also performed with the Chamber Music Society of Lincoln Center and the Group for Contemporary Music. Although she is known particularly for the intelligence, technical skill and warmth she brings to her performances and recordings of contemporary music, she is equally at home with the standard repertory. Compositions written for her include Rzewski's Four Pieces and *The People United will Never be Defeated* (1975), Christian Wolff's *Hay una mujer desaparecida* (1979), Carter's *Night Fantasies* (1980, also for Paul Jacobs, Gilbert Kalish and Charles Rosen), Wuorinen's *The Blue Bamboula* (1980), and works by Harbison, Picker and Tower. In 1994 she was appointed John Evans Distinguished Professor of Music at Northwestern University.

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ELLEN HIGHSTEIN

Opus [op.] (i) (Lat.: 'work'; Fr. *oeuvre*; Ger. *Opus*; It. *opera*). The Latin plural, *opera*, has become singular in Italian, and its plural is *opere*. To avoid confusion with the usual English or Italian meaning of 'opera', the English plural, 'opuses', may be preferred. First used for a musical composition in the Renaissance (Tinctoris, prologue to *Liber de arte contrapuncti*, 1477; Listenius, *Musica*, 1537), 'opus' was applied by early German publishers to whole collections: *Novum et insigne opus musicum* (1537–8) and *Magnum opus musicum* (1604). One of the earliest instances of a single-composer publication with opus number was Viadana's *Motecta festorum* op.10 (Venice, 1597). Biagio Marini published 22 numbered sets in Venice and other cities from 1617 to 1655. Until 1800 opus numbers were more common in instrumental than in vocal music, and they have rarely been applied to stage compositions at any period.

In the absence of corroborating information, opus numbers can never be relied upon to establish the chronology of a composer's works. Generally, numbers were not applied until publication, and then often by the publisher, not the composer. Where the same work appears with two publishers, it may have different numbers assigned to it (as with Haydn, or with Boccherini, who assigned further numbers in his own catalogue). Sometimes, as in the case of Schütz, the numbers were added later. Before about 1800 it was customary for several works to be gathered under one number, often 12 in the early 18th century, later six and then, as individual works became longer (towards 1800), three or two; the chronology may not correspond with the internal numbering (it does not in Beethoven's op.18 quartets for example). Smaller pieces, occasional compositions, youthful works and works in manuscript are not usually numbered, and miscellaneous clues must be used to fit them into the list of numbered works.

DAVID FULLER

Opus (ii). Firm of music publishers, founded in Bratislava in 1971. *See* SUPRAPHON.

Or, Josquin d'. *See* DOR, JOSQUIN.

Orafi [Oraffi], **Pietro Marcellino** (*fl* 1640–52). Italian composer. He was an Olivetan monk, who by 1652 had become an abbot of his order. His output consists mainly of sacred music – *Concerti da chiesa a 1–5 voci* (Venice, 1640) and *La cantica . . . a 2–5 voci* (Venice, 1652) – though the former includes a four-part instrumental canzona. The latter consists of settings of his own vernacular paraphrases of texts from the Song of Songs.

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JOHN WHENHAM

Oram, Daphne Blake (*b* Devizes, Wilts., 31 Dec 1925). English composer, technician and inventor. Educated at Sherborne School for Girls, she turned down a place at the RCM in order to work at the BBC as a music balancer for classical music broadcasts. A pioneer in integrating music and technology, she began to experiment with sound manipulation in 1944 and in 1950 submitted her work for orchestra, five microphones and manipulated recordings to the BBC. In 1957 she established a radiophonic unit at the BBC and was one of the directors of the BBC Radiophonic Workshop when it opened in 1958. Later that year she left the BBC and set up her own studio in Kent. Her experiments in converting graphic information into sound – aided by Gulbenkian grants in 1962 and 1965 – led to the development of her Oramics system, a photoelectric digital/analogue composition machine that gives the composer control of subtle nuances in all parameters (including amplitude, envelope shaping, rhythm, timbre control, microtonal pitch and vibrato), which are drawn onto ten parallel tracks of 35mm film and then transported by a motor through the photoelectric sound-generating system. In the 1960s Oram lectured widely on electronic music and many composers, including Thea Musgrave, used her studio facilities. In the 1990s she began to convert the system to RISC computer technology, suitable for composers to use at home. A number of Oram's works were composed using Oramics, including *Broceleande* for Oramics tape (1970) and *Sardonica* for piano and Oramics tape (1972, written in collaboration with Ivor Walsworth). She has created music for films, including *The Innocents* (1961); for television and radio; for exhibitions, including *Pulse Persephone* (1965); for the theatre, including the ballet *Xallaraparallax* (1972); and for concert performance.

For illustration *see* DRAWN SOUND, fig.2.

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SOPHIE FULLER

Oratorio. An extended musical setting of a sacred text made up of dramatic, narrative and contemplative elements. Except for a greater emphasis on the chorus throughout much of its history, the musical forms and styles of the oratorio tend to approximate to those of opera in any given period, and the normal manner of performance is that of a concert (without scenery, costumes or action). The oratorio was most extensively cultivated in the 17th and 18th centuries but has continued to be a significant genre.

1. ANTECEDENTS. Distant antecedents of the oratorio may be found in the musical settings of sacred narrative and dramatic texts in the Middle Ages: the liturgical drama, the Divine Office for saints' feasts, the Passion and the dialogue *lauda*. Medieval miracle and mystery plays, as well as *rappresentazioni sacre*, are also related to the oratorio, but the real beginnings of the genre are to be found in the late Renaissance and early Baroque periods, where an ever-increasing interest in settings of dramatic and narrative texts gave rise first to opera and



1. S Maria in Vallicella, or Chiesa Nuova (right), and Oratorio dei Filippini (centre), Rome: engraving by Giuseppe Vasi from 'Delle magnificenze di Roma antica e moderna', vii (1756)

then to oratorio. Such texts were widely used for polyphonic madrigals in the 16th century (e.g. Andrea Gabrieli, *Tirsi morir volea*) and for monodic madrigals, dialogues and dramatic cantatas in the 17th century (e.g. Monteverdi, *Combattimento di Tancredi e Clorinda*). Sacred music, too, was affected by this new tendency, as may be seen in the increasingly dramatic treatment of the Passion, and in the *laude*, spiritual madrigals and motets that use dramatic and narrative texts, all of which may be considered antecedents of the oratorio. Lassus, for example, composed motets on the stories of the finding of Jesus in the Temple, the raising of Lazarus, the marriage feast at Cana, the Annunciation and Jesus on the road to Emmaus (*Fili quid fecisti nobis sic*, *Fremuit spiritus Jesus*, *Nuptiae factae sunt*, *Missus est angelus* and *Qui sunt hi sermones*, respectively); these motets are related by text, but not by music, to the history of the oratorio. In the first three decades of the 17th century, however, dialogues were composed to Latin texts based on similar biblical stories, but with greater dramatic emphasis in the new monodic style. Both in text and music such works are often close to the genre later known as oratorio, but they are brief, are normally found in motet books (e.g. Severo Bonini's 'Dialogo della madonna e del angelo' in his *Primo libro de motetti a tre voci*, Venice, 1609), and were intended to be used in church as motets.

Although oratorio has traditionally been considered to have originated within the context of Filippo Neri's Roman oratory (see below), recent research has pointed to its origin in the pan-Italian tendency towards greater emphasis on the dramatic element in sacred music. In Florence in the late 16th century and the early 17th, for example, the Compagnia dell'Arcangelo Raffaello performed dialogues comparable to those heard in Rome, and dialogue texts were composed by several Florentine poets, including Ottavio Rinuccini, Alessandro Ginori, Benedetto Rigogli and Benedetto Buonmattei (Hill, 1979). Yet Rome was particularly active in the cultivation of sacred dialogues and oratorios, and appears to have been the locale in which the genre acquired its name.

In Rome, the immediate social context from which the oratorio emerged was provided by the spiritual exercises of the Congregazione dell'Oratorio, founded by Filippo Neri (1515–95). Responding to the reforming spirit of the Council of Trent, Neri began in the 1550s the informal meetings, or spiritual exercises, for which he was to become famous. In the earliest period these meetings, for prayer and the discussion of spiritual matters, comprised only a few men, Neri's close friends and followers, and took place in his quarters at the church of S Girolamo della Carità. Those present for the exercises sang spiritual *laude* for entertainment, which Neri no doubt remembered from his Florentine boyhood, and which he considered an important element in the exercises. As the spiritual exercises grew in popularity, larger quarters were necessary, and thus an oratory (from Latin *oratio*, 'prayer'), or prayer hall, was constructed in a space above the nave of the church. In 1575 Neri and his followers, more numerous by then, were officially recognized by Pope Gregory XIII as a religious order, the Congregazione dell'Oratorio, and were given the historic church of S Maria in Vallicella, which was soon replaced by a new one still known as the Chiesa Nuova (fig.1). For the rest of Neri's life and until the mid-18th century, the Congregazione dell'Oratorio continued to increase in strength and prominence, first in Italy, then throughout Europe and in other parts of the world. Music continued to be important in the oratories, particularly those in

Italy. Sung in the 16th century by both the congregation and professionals (later only by professionals), the music functioned as edifying entertainment and was intended to attract people to the spiritual exercises.

Throughout the second half of the 16th century, as in the earliest meetings, *laude* continued to be performed in the spiritual exercises of Neri's oratory more frequently than any other genre. These are usually quite simple three- and four-part pieces in popular poetic and musical styles, but sometimes they are more complex polyphonic works (*see* LAUDA). Between 1563 and 1600 nine different *lauda* books and four reprints were published specifically for the oratorians' use. Giovanni Animuccia composed two of the books, Francisco Soto de Langa compiled probably five, and Giovenale Ancina two. The *laude* predominated in the exercises, but the more sophisticated motet and *madrigale spirituale* were not excluded, particularly for the musically elaborate *oratorio vespertino*, which took place in the oratory after Vespers on feast days during the winter months. Some of the finest musicians of Rome volunteered their services for the *oratorio vespertino*; there is some evidence that Palestrina may have been active in these exercises. Towards the end of the 16th century the *laude* used in the spiritual exercises reflected the pervading interest of the period in narrative and dramatic texts. Alaleona (*Storia dell'oratorio*, 1908), Pasquetti (*L'oratorio musicale*, 1906) and Schering (*Geschichte des Oratoriums*, 1911) saw a direct line of evolution, within the oratory, from the *laude* with narrative and dramatic texts to the oratorio in the Italian language. The number of *laude* with such texts, however, is by no means as significant as it once appeared to be, and the hypothesis that the oratorio evolved directly from the *lauda* within the confines of the oratory is now unconvincing; rather, the origin of the oratorio seems more satisfactorily explained as resulting from the general tendency to incorporate dramatic elements into music for oratories.

Of special importance for the history of the oratorio was the performance, in 1600 at the oratory at the Chiesa Nuova, of Cavalieri's *Rappresentatione di Anima et di Corpo*. This is the earliest known performance in an oratory of a large-scale dramatic work in which the solo portions are set to music in the new monodic style. Despite the location of its first performance and its significance for the development of oratorio, however, the *Rappresentatione* is not itself an oratorio, as Burney and many historians after him imagined it to be. The work – with its scenery, costumes, acting and dancing – is much longer and more elaborate than works that later came to be called oratorios (in 1600 the term 'oratorio' was not yet used to designate a musical composition). The widespread misconception of Cavalieri's famous work has led to the erroneous assumption in some writings that the earliest oratorios were staged in the manner of operas. Rather than being an oratorio, Cavalieri's *Rappresentatione* has been shown to form part of the oratorian tradition, which extended from the late 16th century to the late 17th, of using young boys as actors in spiritual plays, usually during Carnival (Morelli, 1991, pp.82–7). Some such plays included musical insertions, others *intermedi*, and still others, like Cavalieri's, were sung throughout. Another study (Gianturco, 1995, pp.175–7) argues that Cavalieri's *Rappresentatione* was the earliest 'moral opera'.

Apart from *laude*, little is known of the repertory performed in the spiritual exercises of the oratorians during the first decade of the 17th century, but the second and third decades are well represented by *madrigali spirituali* and dramatic dialogues composed for the oratorians by G.F. Anerio and others.

2. EARLY ORATORIO IN ITALY: ANERIO'S 'TEATRO'. In the 16th century and the first half of the 17th, the word 'oratorio' most commonly referred to the building (the oratory) and the spiritual exercise that took place within it. The meaning of the word was eventually broadened, however, to include the new musical genre used in the services, and the earliest documented use of it to mean a musical composition was in 1640. In that year the Roman Pietro della Valle wrote in a letter to the Florentine theorist G.B. Doni that he had composed an 'Oratorio della Purificatione' for the oratory of the Chiesa Nuova. The work is only about 12 minutes long, however, and is called a dialogue rather than an oratorio in its manuscript source. Della Valle's use of both terms, 'dialogue' and 'oratorio', illustrates the kind of terminological ambiguity that was prevalent in the mid-17th century.

About 20 years before della Valle's *Purificatione* a number of works appeared in Anerio's *Teatro armonico spirituale di madrigali* (Rome, 1619) that closely resemble many of those called oratorios in the 1640s and 1650s. The 94 compositions in this 'Spiritual Harmonic Theatre of Madrigals' all have poetic texts that are dramatic at least in a general sense, and all are based on biblical or hagiographical sources. The texts show some relationships to those of the 16th-century *laude*, but they tend to be longer and more dramatic. 14 of the madrigals are marked 'dialogo', and at least seven of these are sufficiently extended and close enough in conception to the oratorio of the mid-century to be termed oratorios: *Deh non vedete voi*, *Deh pensate ò mortali*, *Diteci pastorelli*, *Due figli un padre havea*, *Eccone al gran Damasco*, *Il vecchio Isach* and *Mentre su l'alto monte*. The longest and most dramatically developed of these, requiring about 20 minutes in performance, is *Eccone al gran Damasco*, based on the story of the conversion of St Paul. This work employs soloists for individuals (Narrator, tenor; Saul, tenor; Voice from Heaven, bass; and Ananias, tenor), a double eight-part chorus for groups within the drama (soldiers and angels) as well as for non-dramatic comments and reflections, and a five-part instrumental ensemble to play a 'Combattimento con voci & instromenti' and to double the final chorus. The music of this work, and of the *Teatro* compositions in general, is in a concertato madrigal style, with relatively conservative, contrapuntally influenced sections for solo voice and organ bass accompaniment. It is chiefly this conservative element, and the lack of distinction between recitative and aria styles, that distinguishes these early oratorios from those of the 1640s and 1650s. These works from the *Teatro* are oratorios not only in general conception but in function as well, for Anerio composed this book at the request of Oratio Griffi, the *maestro di cappella* of S Girolamo della Carità, for use in the *vespertino* services of the oratory of that church; there is also clear evidence that the book was used in the oratory at the Chiesa Nuova. Griffi was the author of the book's dedication to the deceased Neri, in which he spoke of Neri's use of music 'to draw, with a sweet deception, the sinners to the holy exercises of the Oratory', and this was the purpose of the *Teatro*.

Other works that appear to have been performed in the oratory at the Chiesa Nuova are more than 100 pieces found in three Roman manuscripts (*I-Rn* Mus.25 and 26 and *I-Rv* Z.122–30; Morelli, 1991, pp.67–72). All have Italian texts set for four to eight voices and continuo. Some are *laude*, but others are *madrigali spirituali* in the form of dramatic dialogues comparable with those in Anerio's *Teatro*. Among the composers represented in these manuscripts are Felice and G.F. Anerio, Giovanni de Macque, Ruggiero Giovannelli and Francesco Martini. Further evidences of the repertory of the Roman oratory are found in two inventories (dated 1620 and 1622) of music owned by the Congregazione dell'Oratorio in Bologna, which generally sought to follow the practices of the original congregation in Rome. These works suggest that a considerable amount of monodic music, some with dramatic texts, was used in the oratories of both Rome and Bologna during the second decade of the 17th century. Among the printed volumes listed in the inventory are Paolo Quagliati's *Affetti amorosi spirituali* (Rome, 1617), and G.F. Anerio's *Selva armonica* (Rome, 1617), *Ghirlanda di sacre rose* (Rome, 1619) and *Teatro*.

3. 'ORATORIO VOLGARE'. By the mid-17th century two closely related types of oratorio had developed, the *oratorio latino* and the *oratorio volgare*, using texts in Latin and Italian respectively. In Rome at this period the *oratorio latino* appears to have been fostered exclusively in the services of the aristocratic Oratorio del SS Crocifisso (see below), not related to but probably influenced by the oratories at the Chiesa Nuova and S Girolamo della Carità. The last-named oratories, on the other hand, seem to have concentrated on the *oratorio volgare*, which aimed at a broader spectrum of the Roman public.

It is clear from the records of the oratory at the Chiesa Nuova that music became increasingly important and elaborate there in the 1620s and 1630s under the leadership of the well-known soprano virtuoso and oratorian Girolamo Rosini (1581–1644), prefect of music for the oratory from 1623 until his death. Nevertheless, from the time of Anerio's *Teatro* to 1630 no extant music is known that documents the further development of the *oratorio volgare*. Several librettos and musical compositions dating from about 1630 to 1640, however, reveal some of the developments of that decade. The poet Ottavio Tronsarelli's *Drammi musicali* (Rome, 1632) includes four sacred texts that might have been intended to be set to music for performance in oratories; three of these are in one section or 'act' (*La figlia de Iefte*, *La contessa delle virtù* and *L'essequie di Christo*), and a fourth, *Faraone sommerso*, is a large work in three sections. In Domenico Mazzocchi's *Madrigali* (Rome, 1638) and his *Musiche sacre e morali* (Rome, 1640) there appear musical settings of portions of a long epic-lyrical poem by Giovanni Ciampoli (1589–1643), *Coro di profeti, per la festa della SS Annuntiata, cantata nell'Oratorio della Chiesa nuova*. The entire libretto was first published posthumously in Ciampoli's *Poesie sacre* (Bologna, 1648). There is reason to believe that Mazzocchi may have set the entire text to music for the oratory and selected only these excerpts for publication. This large libretto in three sections, although not called an oratorio in its source, clearly deserves that name for its remarkable length (over 500 lines of poetry) and its essentially narrative and contemplative character. Della Valle's contribution to the *oratorio volgare*, his *Dialogo della Purificatione* (*I-Rn* Mus.123), is exceptionally brief, as mentioned above, consisting of only 59 poetic lines. Apart from being the earliest extant work to be referred to as an oratorio, it is also a curious piece of experimental music: it is one of della Valle's works in which he attempted to revive ancient Greek tunings, and its performance requires specially constructed instruments if the composer's intentions are to be fully realized. Two librettos by the poet Francesco Balducci (1579–1642), *La fede: oratorio* and *Il trionfo: oratorio*, have the distinction of being the earliest printed works to bear the term 'oratorio' in their titles as genre designations. Both were published posthumously in the second volume of Balducci's *Rime* (Rome, 1645–6). *La fede* is a narrative dramatic poem of over 450 lines in two sections, labelled 'Parte prima' and 'Parte seconda'. The poem is based on the Old Testament story of Abraham's sacrifice of Isaac, and includes long narrative parts marked 'Historia', as well as roles for Abraham, Isaac, a chorus of virgins and a chorus of sages. *Il trionfo* is less than half as long as *La fede* and consists of only one section; it is essentially a contemplative, lyrical and allegorical work glorifying the Virgin, with a chorus, two brief passages labelled 'Historia' and only one other solo role, that of the Virgin.

Among the most advanced examples of the *oratorio volgare* in the mid-17th century are the following: Carissimi's *Daniele*; an anonymous *Daniele* (possibly by Francesco Foggia); Marco Marazzoli's *S Tomaso: oratorio à 5*; two anonymous works, *Giuseppe* and *Oratorio per la Settimana Santa* (the earliest known oratorio based on the Passion); and *S Caterina* (attributed to Marazzoli in Mischiati, 1962–3). The texts of these works are poetic and are based on the Old Testament, New Testament and hagiography; all are dramatic and include several characters in addition to a chorus (probably sung by an ensemble of the soloists), which represents the roles of groups within the drama and at times comments on the dramatic action. Most of these works include narrative lines labelled 'Testo', set for a soloist. All are divided into two sections, identified either as 'Prima' and 'Seconda parte' or 'Prima' and 'Seconda cantata', and each section concludes with a chorus, sometimes called a 'madrigale' in the manuscript source. Such works were performed without scenery or action, and, when they were given in an oratory, a sermon was preached between the two sections. The time required for the performance of these oratorios ranges from about 30 minutes to slightly more than an hour. The music is like that of operas and secular cantatas of the period; recitative, arioso and aria styles are all used, and the blending of two or even all three of these within a relatively brief passage is common. Among the arias the formal procedures used are the through-composed, strophic variation, ground bass and *ABA* forms, various rondo-like schemes, and binary forms with repeated sections. Ensembles and choruses use both imitative and chordal styles in the manner of the late polyphonic madrigal. Some of the works call for no instruments other than those used for the basso continuo; when other instruments are specified, they are two violins, normally used for introductions to oratorios, supporting passages during choruses and ritornellos for choruses, ensembles and arias; rarely do they accompany a solo voice.

Among the works of the mid-century that do not conform to the norm of the 17th-century *oratorio volgare*,

generally because of their more contemplative texts, are Carissimi's *Oratorio della SS Vergine* and Marazzoli's *Per il giorno della resurrezione: oratorio à 6*. A number of brief compositions (in one section of about eight to 12 minutes) of the mid-century resemble the normal *oratorio volgare* in virtually every respect except length; although some of these were certainly performed in oratories, they are rarely called oratorios in their sources (e.g. della Valle's *Purificatione*, mentioned above; Mario Savioni's brief *Oratorio per ogni tempo* is an exception). Rather, they were usually given a variety of other names, such as 'cantata', 'concerto' or 'dialogo'. Examples are Savioni's *Concerti morali e spirituali a tre voci* (Rome, 1660); in the preface of this publication the composer promised to follow these works with a book of *madrigali spirituali* for five voices, to be sung at the end of each concerto, 'thus, cantatas for oratories will be completed'. He made good his promise in his *Madrigali morali e spirituali* (Rome, 1668). Other works differing from oratorios only in their brevity were published in Agostino Diruta's *Poesie heroiche morali e sacre* (Rome, 1646) and Teodoro Massucci's *Dialoghi spirituali* (Rome, 1648).

4. 'ORATORIO LATINO': CARISSIMI AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES. From the musical standpoint the *oratorio latino* and *volgare* are not separate genres but one genre in different languages. Both developed in the first half of the 17th century in Rome, and some of the same composers set oratorio texts in both languages, using the same style for both types. From the literary standpoint, however, the *oratorio volgare* and *latino* differ considerably in the earliest period of their development: the former uses a poetic text throughout, as is normally true of *laude*, madrigals, cantatas and operas, but the latter employs a text largely in prose, as do most motets. Thus motets with narrative and dramatic texts, as described above, might be considered the chief antecedents of the *oratorio latino*.

The Roman oratory in which the *oratorio latino* first developed, the Oratorio del SS Crocifisso (near and related to the church of S Marcello), was the meeting place of a religious society of Roman noblemen called the Arciconfraternita del SS Crocifisso, founded in the 16th century. The Arciconfraternita's chief ceremonies in which music was prominent were those on the five Fridays of Lent. There is no known record of the compositions performed at the Crocifisso during the late 16th century and early 17th; evidently no corpus of music was composed specifically for this oratory, as the *laude* and Anerio's *Teatro* were for the oratories of the Chiesa Nuova and S Girolamo della Carità. Since Latin was the favoured language for the musical texts, however, motets were probably used. Among the musicians in charge of the music at the Crocifisso in the late 16th century and early 17th were some of Rome's most famous composers in both the *stile antico* and *moderno*; they included Palestrina, Marenzio, G.F. Anerio, Quagliati, G.M. and G.B. Nanino, Ottavio Catalani, Paolo Tarditi, Stefano Landi, Giovannelli, Virgilio Mazzocchi, Foggia, Loreto Vittori, Carissimi and others. Since the oratorio was beginning to develop at S Girolamo della Carità and the Chiesa Nuova in the first third of the century, as Anerio's *Teatro* indicates, it is reasonable to assume that it was also developing at this oratory and that some of the motets performed there in the same period were Latin dialogue motets with dramatic texts, like those mentioned above. In fact, the librettist Arcangelo Spagna, in his early 18th-century sketch of the origin and history of the *oratorio latino*, traced its origin directly to motets that were used as substitutes for parts of the liturgy: 'The Latin oratorios, in the beginning, were like those motets which are continually sung in the choirs of the religious and formerly were heard on every feast day instead of the antiphons, graduals and offertories'.

By 1639 oratorios appear to have been performed in the Crocifisso, for in that year the French viol player André Maugars visited the oratory and heard two musical settings of biblical stories, one from the Old Testament before the sermon and another from the New Testament after the sermon. In 1640 della Valle entered in his diary an account of a performance at the Crocifisso of a work which he called his 'Dialogo di Esther'; but he also referred to it as an oratorio in a letter to Doni the same year, and again in a letter of a few years later. The music, which has not survived, is the earliest composition with a Latin text known to have been called an oratorio by its composer. From della Valle's comments about his *Esther*, it appears to have been similar in conception and duration to his *Purificatione*, mentioned above.

Carissimi was the most significant composer of Latin oratorios in the mid-17th century. His reputation and influence as an oratorio composer extended beyond Rome and Italy to northern Europe in his own time, and more of his Latin oratorios are extant than of any of his contemporaries. Scholars have differed considerably in regard to the number of Carissimi's works with Latin texts that might justifiably be classified as oratorios, chiefly because all of the composer's autograph manuscripts of his oratorios are lost and the surviving copies, mostly French sources, bear inconsistent and questionable genre designations. (For a survey of conflicting opinions regarding the number of Latin oratorios by Carissimi, see Smither: 'Carissimi's Latin Oratorios', 1976.) Nevertheless, if one classifies as oratorios all of Carissimi's Latin works that are similar in text, musical setting and duration to other composers' works called oratorios in Italian sources of mid-17th-century Rome, one arrives at a total of 13 works which, with varying degrees of proximity to the norm of the genre, may be called oratorios. Of these 13, eight may be classed as oratorios without qualification: *Baltazar*, *Ezechias*, *Diluvium universale*, *Dives malus*, *Jephte*, *Jonas*, *Judicium extremum* and *Judicium Salomonis*. These are the longest of Carissimi's oratorios, and they require the largest performing groups, most of them making considerable use of the chorus. According to the approach to classification suggested above, five other works may be considered oratorios with the qualification that they are exceptional because of their brevity: *Abraham et Isaac*, *Duo ex discipulis*, *Job*, *Martyres* and *Vir frugi et pater familias*. The works of this group make less use of chorus; because of their brevity the term 'motet' would suit them as well as 'oratorio'.

All of Carissimi's Latin oratorios are in one section only, which is normal for the Latin oratorio of the mid-century. Eight of the texts are based on stories from the Old Testament, two on those from the New Testament and three on fragments from both; two of the texts are non-biblical. Those based on biblical stories employ primarily narrative and dialogue texts (i.e. with few contemplative sections); the narrative passages, sometimes designated 'Historicus', are set to music for one or more

soloists, an ensemble or a chorus, and the characters in the drama are represented by soloists. Exact biblical quotations of more than one or two verses are rare, but extended biblical paraphrases are common. Important in the general structure of Carissimi's oratorios are repetitions of instrumental ritornellos, of choruses, and of solo passages in aria style. The styles of the solo parts range from relatively simple recitative through a more expressive *recitativo arioso* to that of a clearly structured aria. Carissimi set some passages of considerable length in only one of these styles, but he more often mixed them within a single solo to express changing attitudes in the text, a procedure also employed in the *oratorio volgare* and in opera of this period. Relatively long, independent sections in aria style that may be called arias (but are never so called in the sources) are normally through-composed, or in *AB*, *ABB* or strophic-variation forms. The chorus plays a more prominent role in Carissimi's Latin oratorios than in most of those of his contemporaries. Usually the chorus represents a group of individuals in the drama; at times, however, it functions as a narrator or as a commentator on the action. The choruses range in size from three parts to triple choruses in 12 parts. They are predominantly chordal, and their rhythm is usually based on the accents of the text; fugal texture plays only an incidental role. In the double and triple choruses an antiphonal style is used, often with quick alternations of the choruses in which the entering chorus begins on the final pitches of the concluding one. Of special interest in Carissimi's oratorios is his careful attention to the declamation and expression of the text; he was particularly skilful in the use of rhetorical figures in music.

Most important among Carissimi's contemporaries for their Latin oratorios were Domenico Mazzocchi (seven oratorios, most of which are called dialogues, in his *Sacrae concertationes*, Rome, 1664), Virgilio Mazzocchi (one oratorio, *Ego ille quondam*, in D. Mazzocchi's *Sacrae concertationes* and in *I-Bc* Q45; his *Beatum Franciscum* in the same manuscript is better classed as a motet than an oratorio), Marazzoli (five oratorios in *I-Rvat* Chigi Q.VIII.188), Foggia (two oratorios in *I-Bc* Q43) and Bonifatio Gratiani (two oratorios in *I-Bc* Q43). Gratiani's are the only known Latin oratorios in two sections by a composer active in the mid-17th century.

5. Italy and Spain, *c*1650–*c*1720. By the 1660s the oratorio was a firmly established genre not only in Rome but also in other Italian cities, and its cultivation beyond the Alps had begun. Oratorios continued to function in a more or less devotional context in oratories; during the course of the later 17th century and early 18th, however, they were performed with increasing frequency in the palaces of noblemen, where they functioned as quasi-secular entertainments, often as substitutes for opera during Lent when the theatres were closed.

In Rome the chief centres of oratorio performances in a devotional context continued to be the oratories, particularly those of S Girolamo della Carità, the Chiesa Nuova and the Crocifisso. These oratories had become famous musical centres by the middle of the century, and during the second half of the century oratorios began to dominate their services, making the prayer hall increasingly a place of entertainment; yet the practice of preaching a sermon between the two sections of an oratorio was retained. Oratorios were also performed at educational institutions in Rome, such as the Jesuits' Seminario



2. *Beginning of Carissimi's 'Jephte' (D-Hs MC 270)*

Romano and the Collegio Clementino. Performances in an essentially secular context frequently took place in the private palaces of such patrons as Queen Christina of Sweden, Cardinals Benedetto Pamphili and Pietro Ottoboni (*see* Rome, fig.9) and Prince Ruspoli. In a private palace an oratorio performance was a purely secular affair, usually with refreshments served to the guests during the interval between the work's two sections. Oratorios continued to be performed without operatic staging in this period, but the platform provided for the orchestra and singers would at times be elaborately decorated, with a painted background relevant to the subject of the oratorio; such was the stage for Handel's oratorio *La resurrezione* when given at the Ruspoli residence in Rome on Easter Sunday and Monday, 1708. Fig.3 shows the stage for G.B. Costanzi's *Componimento sacro per la festività del SS Natale* (libretto by Metastasio), performed in Rome at the Palazzo della Cancelleria in 1727 for the annual Christmas meeting of the Arcadian Academy. This is clearly a 'concert' performance: the singers are seated (while singing, with books in their hands) in the centre of an elaborately decorated stage; string instruments are placed behind them, and the other instruments are in the orchestra pit. In the Vatican Apostolic Palace, works approximating to oratorios (called oratorios in Marx, 1992, and cantatas in Gianturco, 1993) were performed on Christmas Eve in the second half of the 17th century and throughout much of



3. *Concert performance of Giovanni Battista Costanzi's oratorio 'Componimento sacro' (the first with a libretto by Metastasio) at the Palazzo della Cancelleria, Rome: engraving from 'Componimento sacro per la festività del SS Natale in occasione della solita annua adunanza de' signori Accademici Arcadi nel Palazzo della Cancelleria Apostolica' (1727)*

the 18th. Until 1714 these tended to be in one part only; thereafter, however, most were in two parts. Among the most prominent oratorio composers active in Rome during this period were Pasquini, Stradella, Alessandro Scarlatti, Caldara and, briefly, Handel. A host of less prominent oratorio composers active there included Alessandro Melani, Antonio Masini, Ercole Bernabei, Antonio Foggia, Giovanni Bicilli, Giuseppe Pacieri, G.F. Garbi, Giuseppe Scalamani, Quirino Colombani, Gregorio Cola, G.B. Costanzi, F.C. Lanciani, Domenico Laurelli, G.L. Lulier, T.B. Gaffi and C.F. Cesarini; most of these men are named as composers in printed librettos, but few of their oratorio scores have survived. Among the oratorio librettists active in Rome were Cardinals Pamphili and Ottoboni, Sebastiano Lazarini and Arcangelo Spagna; Lazarini published a collection of ten of his librettos under the title *Sacra melodia di oratorii musicali* (Rome, 1678), and Spagna published at least 30 oratorio librettos, which appeared in his *Oratorii overo melodrammi sacri* (Rome, 1706) and *I fasti sacri* (Rome, 1720). Spagna is also important for his treatise on the improvement of the oratorio libretto, *Discorso intorno a gl'oratori*, printed at the beginning of his *Oratorii overo melodrammi sacri*. Silvio Stampiglia, G.B. Grappelli, Francesco Posterla, G.F. Rubini, Bernardo Sandrinelli and Francisco Laurentino also wrote librettos for Roman oratorios.

Other Italian cities that were important for the development of the oratorio in this period are Bologna, Modena, Florence and Venice. In Bologna, judging primarily from information given in the librettos printed there, oratorios were sponsored not only by the oratorians, at their church of the Madonna di Galliera, but by a number of other religious societies as well, including the Arciconfraternita di S Maria della Morte, the Arciconfraternita de' SS Sebastiano e Rocco, the Venerabile Compagnia detta de' Fiorentini, the Venerandi Confratelli del SS Sacramento, the Veneranda Compagnia della Carità, the Arciconfraternita della SS Trinità, the Veneranda Confratelli di S Maria della Cintura and the Confraternita de' Poveri della Regina de' Cieli. Among other places of performances were the oratory of S Domenico and the church of S Petronio. Performances of oratorios throughout the year marked a variety of occasions, including church feasts, the taking of religious vows, the visits of dignitaries and the celebration of such events as marriages or baptisms. More oratorios were performed during Lent than in any other season. Oratorios were given in both secular and sacred contexts in such Bolognese academies as the Accademia dei Unanimi, the Accademia degli Anziani and the Accademia delle Belle Lettere. Likewise in private palaces the contexts of oratorio performances were either sacred or secular. Cazzati's *Il transito di S Giuseppe*, for instance, was performed in 1665, with a sermon between the two sections, in the private oratory of the palace of the Marquis Giuseppe Maria Paleotti. Yet performances in private residences in Bologna had at times much the same secular atmosphere as did those in Rome – that of social gatherings for the entertainment of the aristocracy. Nearby Modena was closely related to Bologna in its musical life, and many of the same composers were active in both cities. The most important patron of the oratorio in Modena was Duke Francesco II d'Este, and the favoured place of the oratorio performances that he sponsored was the oratory of the Congregazione di S Carlo. Modena's period of greatest oratorio activity was 1677–1702, during which 113 performances were given (Crowther, 1992, appx 1). The repertory of oratorios given in the Bologna–Modena area included some works by composers of Rome, Venice and other cities, yet numerous local composers were also active. Among the most important were Cazzati, G.P. Colonna, Antonio Giannettini, G.A. Perti, G.B. Bononcini and Vitali. These composers and many others are represented in the Bologna and Modena libraries and archives by manuscript scores and printed librettos of oratorios. The two poets who are represented by more librettos than any other in this repertory are G.A. Bergamori and G.B. Giardini.

In Florence the Congregazione dell'Oratorio was established at the church of S Firenze in 1632 and began to perform oratorios probably in the 1650s. For the rest of the 17th century and throughout the 18th the oratorians of Florence were the most active sponsors of oratorio performances in the city. Following the lead of the Congregazione dell'Oratorio in Rome, the Florentine oratorians presented an oratorio every Sunday and on selected feast days from All Saints' Day (1 November) to Palm Sunday (Hill, 1979). Most of these oratorios, which were by native Florentine composers, are lost, but many printed librettos survive. Oratorios were also presented in Florence by the lay confraternities, in particular the Compagnia dell'Arcangelo Raffaello, the Compagnia di S Bernardino e S Caterina, the Compagnia di S Niccolò, the Compagnia di S Jacopo, and the Compagnia della

Purificazione detta di S Marco and its subsidiary, the Ospizio del Melani (Hill, 1986). Among the oratorio composers active in Florence were G.M. Casini, A.F. Piombi, G.M. Orlandini, F.M. Veracini, Carlo Arrigoni, G.N.R. Redi and Bartolomeo Felici. Of special importance among the other oratorio composers of Tuscany is G.C.M. Clari, of Pistoia (Fanelli, 1998).

In Venice the oratorians initiated their activities in 1661 in the church of S Maria della Consolazione, detta della Fava. The earliest oratorios were performed in the oratory of that church, probably as early as 1667 but at least by 1671, according to the oratorians' extant records. The account books of the oratorians show that Giovanni Legrenzi's oratorios were composed for them. The oratorians continued, with some interruptions, to present oratorios until the late 18th century (Arnold, 1986). Oratorios began to be performed in the conservatories of Venice in 1677, when the Ospedale degli Incurabili presented its first oratorio, Carlo Pallavicino's *S Francesco Xaverio*. The majority of the oratorios given at the Venetian conservatories in the late Baroque period were in Latin; these institutions and the Crocifisso in Rome were highly exceptional in Italy for their cultivation of the *oratorio latino*. Among the composers of oratorios who were active in Venice in this period, in addition to Legrenzi and Pallavicino, were Pollarolo, Caldara (until 1700), Gasparini (after 1700), Lotti and Vivaldi. Among the librettists of Venetian oratorios are Bernardo Sandrinelli, Nicolò Minato (more important for Vienna than Venice), F.M. Piccioli, G.M. Giannini, Pietro Pariati, Z. Vallaresso and J. Cassetti.

The libretto of an oratorio from about 1660 to about 1720 is an extended poem of about 350–450 lines, characteristically in two sections; when set to music its performance time is about one and a half to two hours, with those in the earlier part of the period tending to be shorter than the later ones. Oratorios in three or more sections are rare; slightly less exceptional are those in only one. Brief spiritual cantatas for two or more voices, using dialogue between characters and sometimes including narrative passages, continued to be used in Italian oratories throughout the Baroque period. These are usually designated by a term other than 'oratorio', as may be seen in Cazzati's *Diporti spirituali per camera e per oratorii* (Bologna, 1668) and G.C. Predieri's *Cantate morali e spirituali* (Bologna, 1696); a few, however, are actually given the term of the larger form, as are Ghezzi's *Oratorii sacri a tre voci* (Bologna, 1700) and Albergati's *Cantate et oratorii spirituali* (Bologna, 1714).

The chief sources of oratorio librettos are the Bible, hagiography and moral allegory. For biblical librettos, stories from the Old Testament were much more frequently employed than from the New: of the relatively few texts based on the New Testament, those on the Passion, without narrative sections and in poetic form, appear to have been the most numerous and are found mostly in the repertory of the Bologna–Modena area. Hagiographical texts were used with increasing frequency from the mid-17th century to the early 18th until they rivalled, and with some poets and composers surpassed, the number of Old Testament texts. The prominence of hagiographical subjects for oratorios has been attributed to the influence of the Counter-Reformation in general, and to that of Jesuit dramas in particular; the latter had turned increasingly to hagiographical stories of conversion since about 1590 in an effort to further the process of conversion called for by the Council of Trent. Since the oratorio was so important in Rome within the cultural milieu of the Counter-Reformation, it is not surprising that many oratorio librettos reflect aspects of Counter-Reformation sensibility: heroism, mysticism, asceticism, gruesomeness and eroticism are all present. Most prominent are the first three of these, but gruesomeness and eroticism are occasionally found. The erotic element is important in the oratorios that stress the sensual aspects of female characters such as Susanna, Judith, Esther and Mary Magdalene and emphasize love scenes of a worldly, operatic nature. The oratorio with sensual emphasis has been termed the 'oratorio erotico'. Until about the last decade of the 17th century narrative sections, usually labelled 'testo', but sometimes 'textus', 'poeta', 'storico' or 'historicus', were common in oratorio librettos; in the 18th century, however, Italian librettists virtually abandoned such narrative sections and relied exclusively on dramatic dialogue. Oratorios usually required three to five soloists throughout this period, although exceptional works in the 17th century include as many as nine to 16 solo roles. Following the lead of opera, oratorio in Italy nearly abandoned the chorus in the second half of the 17th century and the early 18th; the few choruses used in oratorios are generally quite brief, and the composer usually set the text so that they could be sung by an ensemble of the soloists who sang the dramatic roles. The requirement of a separate choral group for the performance of an oratorio is rare in Italy after Carissimi.

The development of the musical style of oratorio from about 1660 to about 1720 followed closely that of opera. This development may be divided into two phases, one from the 1660s to the 1680s, and another from the 1680s to about 1720. Even before the 1720s, early Classical style traits are clearly in evidence in the music of some oratorio composers; from the 1720s these traits grew increasingly prominent, although for some time to come they were still mixed with traits of the late Baroque style. As pointed out above, there are Roman, Bolognese-Modenese, Florentine and Venetian 'schools' of oratorio composers in the sense that certain composers wrote oratorios primarily for those centres. From the standpoint of musical style, however, the extant oratorios of these composers show far more similarities than differences; there seems to be a single, basic, 'pan-Italian' style within each phase, with only slight local variants. Thus what has often been called the 'Venetian' style in discussions of opera is found equally in oratorios of Rome, Florence, Bologna and Modena, as well as Venice; likewise, the so-called 'Neapolitan' style seems to appear as early in Venice and Rome as in Naples.

From about 1660 to about 1720 most oratorios required three to five voices to sing the solo roles, and these united in ensembles of characters and in those few numbers marked 'coro' or 'madrigale'. Among the more important characteristics of the earlier phase, from the 1660s to the 1680s, are the small number of instruments normally required (either basso continuo alone, or two or three string parts plus continuo); the free intermingling of passages in recitative, arioso and aria styles; the predominance of arias accompanied only by basso continuo; the relatively brief arias in strophic, modified strophic, binary or ternary forms (the ABB^1 form is the most common, while ABA and ABA^1 forms are infrequent, and the

designation 'da capo' is virtually non-existent); and the basso-ostinato unification of arias. The extant oratorios of Legrenzi (*Il Sedecia*, *La vendita del core humano* and *La morte del cor penitente*) clearly represent this phase in the genre's development, as do most of those by Stradella (*Ester*, *Susanna*, *S Giovanni Chrisostomo*, *S Editta* and *S Pelagia*); Stradella's *S Giovanni Battista*, one of the greatest works from this phase of the oratorio's development, is exceptional for its large orchestra, using concerto grosso instrumentation.

In the 1680s and 1690s many oratorios continued to exhibit the characteristics described above, but new styles and structures grew increasingly important and dominated by the first decade of the 18th century. Among the new characteristics are the tendency to use a larger and more colourful orchestra with concerto grosso instrumentation, the predominance of orchestrally accompanied arias, the occasional use of orchestrally accompanied recitative, the regular alternation of recitatives and arias, the predominance of the da capo form for arias and small ensembles and more elaborate coloratura passages. The arias also show a clearer stylization in their expressions of such affections as rage, vengeance, militarism, joy, lamentation, love and pastoral bliss, and in their programmatic imitations of phenomena such as birdcalls, storms, wind, ocean waves and waterfalls. Early Classical tendencies (in particular the light, simple style favouring dance rhythms, balanced phrases and homophonic textures with slow harmonic rhythm) clearly appear in the second decade of the 18th century, especially in Caldara's Roman oratorios. Of primary significance for the history of this genre are the oratorios of Alessandro Scarlatti, which reflect the development of the oratorio from the 1690s to the end of the second decade of the 18th century, except that early Classical elements are virtually absent from them. Handel's *La resurrezione* (1708) is a masterly example of the contemporary *oratorio volgare*; Vivaldi's *Juditha* (1716) mixes early Classical elements with its essentially late Baroque style and shows that the *oratorio latino* is identical in every musical respect to the more fashionable *oratorio volgare*; Caldara's Roman oratorio *S Flavia Domitilla* (1713) clearly reveals early Classical features. In Spain a tradition of oratorio composition began with the works of A.T. Ortells (*c*1650–1706). His *El hombre moribondo*, *El juicio particular* and *Oratorio sacro a la passión de Cristo señor nuestro* were performed in 1702, 1703 and 1706 respectively at the Oratorio de San Felipe Neri in Valencia (Ferrer-Ballester, 1993).

6. THE ITALIAN ORATORIO AND 'SEPOLCRO' IN VIENNA. Outside Italy the Italian oratorio was performed primarily in the Roman Catholic courts of central Europe, where it usually functioned as a Lenten substitute for the extremely popular Italian opera and thus was accessible only to the aristocracy. While the Dresden court and numerous smaller ones adopted the genre only in the 18th century, the Habsburg court in Vienna did so as early as the mid-17th century. Particularly prominent for its cultivation of Italian opera, the Viennese court also became the most important centre of sacred dramatic music in the Italian language outside Italy. Emperor Leopold I (1658–1705), both an avid patron of Italian music and a composer of at least nine sacred dramatic compositions, wrote the earliest oratorio known to have been performed in Vienna, *Il sacrifizio d'Abramo* (1660). (Leopold's two sacred dramatic works with German texts are quite exceptional for Vienna in this period because of their language.) Other patrons of the oratorio were Leopold's stepmother, Eleonora, who was the empress dowager, and the Emperors Joseph I (1705–11) and Charles VI (1711–40), both of whom were musicians. The most active period of oratorio cultivation closed with the death of Charles VI. Among the 17th-century composers of sacred dramatic music in Vienna, Antonio Draghi was the most prolific; others, in addition to Leopold I, were Antonio Bertali, Cesti, G.B. Pederzuoli, G.F. Sances and P.A. Ziani. Later composers (17th and 18th centuries) were C.A. Badia, F.T. Richter, P.F. Tosi and M.A. Ziani. The latest period of Baroque oratorios in Vienna, being in the second decade of the 18th century, is best represented by the works of Caldara and Fux; composers of oratorios for Vienna in this late period whose works show a mixture of late Baroque and early Classical styles are Giovanni Bononcini, A.M. Bononcini, F.B. Conti, Matteo Pallota, Giuseppe Porsile, L.A. Predieri and the elder Georg Reutter. Most important among the librettists of Viennese sacred dramatic works in the 17th century are Draghi and Minato; among the early 18th-century oratorio librettists of note are Pariati, G.C. Pasquini and Stampiglia. Of special significance are the two most famous 18th-century librettists Zeno and Metastasio (see below).

Sacred dramatic music at Vienna was identified by a number of terms, among them 'oratorio', 'oratorio per il santissimo sepolcro', 'componimento sacro', 'rappresentazione sacra' and 'azione sacra'. The 17th-century repertory may be generally divided, however, into two related genres, the oratorio and the *sepolcro*. The oratorio is normally in two sections, unstaged, and similar in virtually every other respect to the *oratorio volgare* of the second half of the 17th century in Italy; its general function was also similar, as both were Lenten substitutes for opera, but its immediate context differed, for it was performed in a court chapel as a part of a semi-liturgical service. The 17th-century *sepolcro*, which was often termed 'rappresentazione sacra', is like the Italian oratorio in text and music, with the following exceptions: it is normally in one section only, its text is restricted to the description or interpretation of the Passion, its performances were restricted to Maundy Thursday and Good Friday and it was performed with scenery, costumes and action. The principal element of the scenery was the holy sepulchre of Christ, which was usually erected in the choir of the court chapel of Eleonora and in the main court chapel, the Hofburgkapelle. (The tradition of erecting sepulchres in the churches of Vienna to commemorate the Passion and death of Christ from Maundy Thursday to Holy Saturday can be documented as early as the beginning of the 15th century.) According to stage directions in extant sources, a curtain opened at the beginning of the performance to reveal the sepulchre, and in the course of the *sepolcro* the members of the cast were required to perform actions appropriate to the circumstances of the drama (e.g. to weep, carry a cross, lift a veil, kneel or bring flowers). For performances of Draghi's *sepolcri* (which appear to be generally characteristic of the 17th-century *sepolcro*) in the chapel of Eleonora, the only scenery was the sepulchre; in the Hofburgkapelle, however, the sepulchre was supplemented by a large backdrop of painted scenery (fig.4). In the early 18th century the tradition of erecting a sepulchre was continued at the Hofburgkapelle, but the works performed at the



4. Drawing by Ludovico Burnacini for his scenic backdrop for Antonio Draghi's sepolcro 'La Passione di Christo', 1694 (A-Wn)

sepulchre were usually oratorios in two sections; at least seven of Caldara's Viennese oratorios are specified to be performed at the sepulchre.

Of special importance for the Italian oratorio in the 18th century are the libretto changes that took place at Vienna in the works of Zeno and Metastasio. As the court poet from 1718 to 1729, Zeno wrote librettos for both operas and oratorios. Among his aims as an oratorio librettist were the restriction of oratorios to subjects found in the Bible, the adherence to the Aristotelian unities of action, time and place, and the creation of spiritual tragedies which would be suitable even as spoken dramas, though intended to be set to music as oratorios. Zeno also opposed the introduction of divine personages in the oratorio. Most of Zeno's 17 oratorio librettos were first set to music by Caldara. Zeno's successor as court poet in 1730, Metastasio, one of the greatest poets of his time, retained many of the changes introduced by his predecessor. Of Metastasio's eight oratorio librettos, seven were written for Vienna; two of these were first set to music by Caldara, three by the elder Reutter, one by Porsile and one by Predieri. Like Zeno, Metastasio preferred biblical subjects, and only one of his Viennese librettos, *Sant'Elena al Calvario* (1731), is non-biblical; Metastasio also sought to adhere to the Aristotelian unities, and he avoided introducing divine personages. But unlike his predecessor, Metastasio clearly made a distinction between the libretto for an oratorio and one for a staged drama; thus his oratorio librettos tend to concentrate on the inner, psychological development of the drama, the external events themselves being outside the poetry, which only refers to them. The appropriateness of Metastasio's oratorio librettos for an unstaged musical genre and their highly polished literary style no doubt account for their being the favoured librettos of composers of Italian oratorios throughout the 18th century.

Until the first decade of the 18th century the musical style of Viennese oratorios remained similar to that of oratorios in Italy, but in the period of Fux and Caldara the style became more elaborate. After 1716, the year of his arrival in Vienna from Rome, where his music had become increasingly *galant*, Caldara considerably modified his style by making it conform more closely to that of Fux, whose music had been favoured at the Viennese court for several years. In the Viennese oratorios of both composers the orchestral accompaniments and independent numbers are more elaborate than was characteristic in Italy; solo vocal lines reveal little of the early Classical element but are typical of the late Baroque period in their long, spun-out phrases; the choruses, while not more numerous, tend to be longer and more contrapuntal.

Vienna was by far the most prominent centre of oratorio cultivation in Roman Catholic, German-speaking areas, but oratorios and oratorio-like works were at times performed elsewhere in Catholic Austria and Germany. Of special importance are the early 17th-century Latin dialogues of Daniel Bollius, active at Mainz. His Latin sacred dramatic work titled *Repraesentatio harmonica conceptionis et nativitatis S Joannis Baptistae ... composita modo pathetico sive recitativo* (?1620) has been called the 'first oratorio in Italian style composed on German soil' (Gottron, 1959).

7. Protestant Germany: Baroque. German composers adopted some of the new techniques of Italian dramatic music in the early 17th century, but they were slow to develop the new genres of opera and oratorio in their own language. Only in the mid-17th century did the German oratorio tentatively begin, and not until the early 18th century did a more or less clearly defined genre identified by the term 'Oratorium', with a German text, begin to be recognized and accepted in German concert life and Lutheran church services. Indeed, in the early 17th century in Germany the terms 'stylus oratorius' and 'actus oratorius' referred to the art of speech; *stylus oratorius* designated an 'oratorical' or recitative style, and an *actus oratorius* was usually a spoken, sacred, school drama, sometimes with music, given by students learning the art of the orator. Even in the 18th century the term 'Oratorium' seems to have been used more freely in Germany than in Italy to designate musical settings of a greater variety of texts. Among the antecedents of the German oratorio are the *historia* (including the Passion with a purely scriptural text), the *actus musicus*, the oratorio Passion, the sacred dramatic dialogue, sacred dramas with music and the sacred opera cultivated at Hamburg in the late 17th century. The Italian oratorio, too, influenced the development of the German oratorio, particularly in the early 18th century.

One of the strongest roots of the German oratorio is the Lutheran *historia*, a musical setting of a scriptural story, intended for performance in church. The Passion was the earliest and by far the most important subject; the Easter and Christmas stories were of secondary importance, and others were rarely used. In the 16th century and early 17th the text of the *historia* was restricted to biblical narrative, except for brief introductory and concluding passages. Among the several types of

musical settings for 16th-century *historiae*, the one most clearly an oratorio antecedent required a responsorial performance and was realistically dramatic in conception: solo chant (a liturgical recitation tone) was used for the Evangelist's narration and the speech of the individuals, while that of two or more was set polyphonically (*see* PASSION). In the early 17th century this type of *historia* sometimes adopted the basso continuo accompaniment and adapted the monodic style in such a manner that the solo vocal lines constituted a compromise between the traditional recitation tone and the new monody, as in the Evangelist's part in Schütz's *Historia der frölichen und siegreichen Aufferstehung unsers einigen Erlösers und Seligmachers Jesu Christi* (Dresden, 1623). Although this work is sometimes called Schütz's 'Easter Oratorio', it is better understood as an antecedent of the oratorio: in the tradition of the Lutheran *historia* but unlike the contemporary oratorio libretto, its text is composed entirely of biblical quotation (except for the introductory and concluding passages). Furthermore, the work is modelled on a 16th-century *historia* by Antonio Scandello, and like the latter shows an unrealistic, non-dramatic approach to the text in that the speech of individuals (Jesus and Mary Magdalene) is set for two voices. (In his prefatory remarks to the work, however, Schütz allowed for a more dramatic performance by suggesting that one of the vocal parts for these roles might be instrumentally performed or even omitted.) Schütz's Passion *historia* on the Seven Words of Christ (*Die Sieben Wortte unsers lieben Erlösers und Seeligmachers Jesu Christi*, ?1645) is much closer to the oratorio in its melodic style, which is free from the influence of chant, and in its realistic approach to the dramatic roles. Indeed, a work in which Schütz arrived at the threshold of the oratorio is his *historia* for Christmas (*Historia der freuden- und gnadenreichen Geburth Gottes und Marien Sohnes, Jesu Christi, unsers einigen Mittlers, Erlösers und Seeligmachers*, Dresden, 1664). Often referred to as the composer's 'Christmas Oratorio', this work has also been called 'the first German oratorio' (Schering, 1911, p.148). The composition merits this claim on the basis of its length, dramatic treatment of roles and musical style in general; yet it is a *historia* in that its text consists entirely of biblical quotation (except for the opening and closing passages) and the Evangelist's recitatives retain suggestions of a liturgical recitation tone.

In the mid-17th century some composers, particularly in Saxony and Thuringia, began to use the term 'actus musicus' for works with some of the same characteristics as those called *historia*. The new term was analogous to *actus oratorius*, mentioned above, already in use. In the second half of the 17th century the *actus musicus* and *historia* were similar in function and general structure. Both were intended to be performed during a Lutheran church service, both characteristically quoted narrative and dialogue passages drawn from a biblical story, and both could include non-biblical interpolations – either stanzas of chorales or freely composed poetry or prose. The *actus musicus* differed from the *historia*, however, in its greater use of non-biblical interpolations and greater emphasis on dramatic elements, such as musical characterization and quasi-theatrical performing practice. The *historia* tended to remain close to the liturgy, as a musical and dramatic elaboration of a scriptural reading, but the *actus musicus* was less liturgical and at times quite close to the oratorio. Andreas Fromm's *Actus musicus de Divite et Lazaro, das ist Musicalische Abbildung der Parabel vom Reichen Manne und Lazaro* (Stettin, 1649) has been called 'the first German oratorio' by Schwartz (1898), with some justification, for its German text is dramatic and non-biblical, as are oratorio librettos, despite the fact that its theme was drawn from *Luke* xvi.19–25. Among the other sacred dramatic compositions of the 17th century that bear the designation 'actus' are Johann Schelle's *Actus musicus auf Weihnachten* (1683), P.H. Erlebach's *Actus pentecostalis* (1690), and four works dating from about 1690–1702: Abraham Petzold's *Actus paschalis* and *Actus* (*in Festo Michaelis*), F.W. Zachow's *Actus pentecostalis* and Kuhnau's *Actus Stephanicus*.

From the mid-17th century composers began to insert music with non-biblical texts into their *historiae*, primarily the Passion *historiae*, a practice which resulted in what may be termed the 'oratorio Passion'. Like the responsorial type of Passion *historia*, the oratorio Passion uses as its basic text the Passion story, either quoted from a single Gospel or 'harmonized' from the four Gospels; soloists sing the roles of the Evangelist and the individual characters, and the chorus sings the parts of the turba. The distinguishing features of the oratorio Passion are the interruption of the Gospel account by contemplative interpolations and the use of modern recitative and concertato styles, as opposed to the plainsong and *a cappella* styles common in the responsorial *historiae*. The interpolations in the earliest oratorio Passions have texts from books of the Bible other than the Gospels or from chorales. In the late 17th century and early 18th, however, the interpolations are increasingly made up of freely composed spiritual poetry, comparable with that found in Italian oratorios. The musical settings of the interpolations vary from the simplest choral and song styles to elaborate imitative and antiphonal choruses and italianate arias.

In its retention of the biblical text and its function as a part of the traditional, established liturgy, the oratorio Passion would seem to lie outside the mainstream of the oratorio's development. Nevertheless, the combination of narrative, dramatic and contemplative elements in its text and the use of an operatic musical style make it a close relative of the oratorio. In fact, in the early 18th century Scheibe actually considered the oratorio Passion as a type of oratorio (*Der critische Musikus*, i, 1738, pp.159–60), but the term 'oratorio' (or the German 'Oratorium') is virtually never found on the title-page of an oratorio Passion in the Baroque era.

The earliest-known oratorio Passion is Thomas Selle's *Passio secundum Joannem cum intermediis* (1643). Oratorio Passions from the second half of the 17th century include Johann Sebastiani's *Das Leyden und Sterben unsers Herrn und Heylandes Jesu Christi nach dem heiligen Matthaeo* (1663; printed Königsberg, 1672), Johann Theile's *Passio nach dem Heiligen Evangelisten Matthäo* (Lübeck, 1673), and an anonymous *Matthäuspassion* dating from between 1667 and 1683, attributed by Birke (1958) to Friedrich Funcke. From about the turn of the century are the St Matthew oratorio Passions by J.G. Kühnhausen and J.V. Meder. Numerous other oratorio Passions of the late 17th century and early 18th are extant, with the passions of J.S. Bach forming the culmination of the development. (For the German Passion oratorio, see below.)

Closely related to the Lutheran *historia*, and important as an oratorio antecedent, is the large corpus of sacred dramatic dialogues which sometimes functioned as motets in the Lutheran liturgy of the 17th century. Some works called dialogues in this period are, in fact, quite brief *historiae*, with strictly biblical texts, solo settings for individuals and either solo or polyphonic settings of narrative passages. Many more, however, differ from the *historia* in their texts by combining fragments from various books of the Bible, omitting the connecting narratives of biblical stories, freely paraphrasing biblical passages, combining biblical with non-biblical material (especially with chorales), or using purely non-biblical material, often with allegorical characters. Most of the 17th-century sacred dramatic dialogues in German are so brief and include so little dramatic development that they can scarcely be considered oratorios by comparison with the works in Italian and Latin that were normally so called in the same period. Among the composers of these brief works, which have been called 'oratorio dialogues' by Schering and others, are Schütz, Schein, Scheidt, Andreas Hammerschmidt, the younger Kaspar Förster, J.E. Kindermann, Johann Rosenmüller, J.R. Ahle, W.C. Briegel, Augustin Pfleger, Matthias Weckmann, Christoph Bernhard and Buxtehude. Among the best examples of such dialogues, and one that has been loosely called an oratorio in musicological literature, is Weckmann's *Dialogo von Tobia undt Raguel: Wo willen wir einkehren* (1665), formerly attributed to Rosenmüller.

Latin dramatic dialogues, although less prominent than those in German, were also composed for the Lutheran liturgy. Of special interest in the mid-17th century are the two extended Latin dramatic dialogues of the younger Förster, *Dialogus de Juditha et Holoferne* and *Dialogi Davidis cum Philisteo*, both of which could equally well be called oratorios; a student of Carissimi in Rome, Förster adopted many elements of his master's oratorio style.

While the function of sacred dramatic dialogues in Germany was normally liturgical, such dialogues were also performed in Hamburg in the concerts of Weckmann's collegium musicum, founded about 1660. Another non-liturgical function of oratorio-like works is found in the performances at the Marienkirche in Lübeck known as ABENDMUSIK. These concerts of sacred music were of special importance for the development of the oratorio from the period of Buxtehude's activity in Lübeck (1668–1707) and throughout the 18th century. Presented during the evenings of the last Sundays of Trinity and the second, third and fourth Sundays of Advent, the Abendmusiken under Buxtehude's direction appear to have consisted either of concerts of miscellaneous vocal and instrumental compositions or performances of large, oratorio-like works. What is known of the music performed at Buxtehude's concerts is limited primarily to the conclusions that may be drawn from four extant librettos printed for use at the Abendmusiken and one subject of a work known to have been performed at one of these concerts. The four extant librettos are *Die Hochzeit des Lammes* (1678), *Abdruck der Texte, welche … bey den gewönlichen Abend-Musicen … praesentiret werden* (1700), *Castrum doloris* (1705) and *Templum honoris* (1705). The work known only by its subject is one which Buxtehude called, in a letter, his 'Abend Music' of the prodigal son, performed in 1688. The first of the librettos is clearly an oratorio, although that term was not yet used for German works, and the last two are closely related to the oratorio. The work on the story of the prodigal son might have been an oratorio. The second-named libretto, *Abdruck der Texte*, however, provides the texts for all five of the Abendmusiken in 1700, and it shows that each of these concerts consisted of a mixture of sacred vocal works, none of which related to the oratorio.

Hamburg was the chief centre for the cultivation of German oratorio in the early 18th century, as it was for German opera. Nevertheless, oratorio was viewed by some as an unwelcome innovation there in the first decade of the century. In 1705 Reinhard Keiser's *Der blutige und sterbende Jesus*, with a text by C.F. Hunold (under the pseudonym of Menantes), met with opposition from the clergy and the city fathers when it was performed in Hamburg Cathedral. The work is a Passion oratorio, i.e. an oratorio with a poetic text, based on the biblical Passion but without biblical quotations. Influenced by the Italian oratorio and the new italianate cantata texts of Erdmann Neumeister, Hunold expressly stated that his new work was like 'the Italian so-called oratorios'. The criticisms of this historically significant work focussed on its theatricality and its omission of the Evangelist's narrative passages. Further controversies about oratorio came in 1705, when the Hamburg organist Georg Bronner met with opposition to his performance of an oratorio at a public concert, and again in 1710 when he was denied the use of a church for an oratorio performance. But oratorios were fully accepted in Hamburg Cathedral from 1715 when Mattheson introduced them there. In fact, his oratorios were intended to take the place of church cantatas in the liturgy of Hamburg Cathedral on important feast days or other special occasions, although they were often subsequently performed in public concerts as well. A direct successor of Hunold's libretto is the Passion oratorio by Brockes, *Der für die Sünden der Welt gemarterte und sterbende Jesus* (1712), which was set to music by numerous composers, including Handel, Keiser, Mattheson and Telemann (the settings by these four composers were performed under Mattheson's direction at Hamburg in Holy Week of 1719).

By the second decade of the 18th century the German oratorio had become a well-established genre in Hamburg and in the Abendmusiken at Lübeck, and it was becoming increasingly popular in other areas of Germany as well. Among the more important composers of German oratorios in the late Baroque style of the first half of the 18th century are Keiser, Mattheson and Telemann, although in the oratorios of Telemann early Classical elements are sometimes prominent. The German oratorios of these composers and others in the first half of the 18th century reflect the styles and forms of the German opera of its time; they differ from contemporary Italian oratorios in that both libretto and music are marked by greater contrast and variety. The librettists were little interested in restricting their works by observing the Aristotelian unities, and their librettos seem less carefully worked out than those of Zeno and Metastasio. The subject matter is usually biblical (the Passion oratorio was more important than in Italy), and allegorical characters are frequently included. Choruses are more prominent than in the Italian oratorio and often have biblical texts; the frequent use of chorales is a distinguishing feature of the German oratorio.

There are many German works from the first half of the 18th century designated as oratorios and distinguishable as examples of the genre, but the term 'Oratorium' seems to have been more frequently applied to borderline cases than in Italy, i.e. to works which combine elements of the related genres of oratorio, sacred cantata, sacred dialogue and/or *historia*. The three works for which Bach used the term 'Oratorium' (*Weihnachts-Oratorium* BWV248, *Oster-Oratorium* BWV249 and *Oratorium auf Himmelfahrt* BWV11) illustrate this terminological freedom in Germany. All three show some relationship to the oratorio, but they are more like church cantatas (or, in the case of the Christmas Oratorio, a series of six cantatas) than oratorios in the normal 18th-century sense. Both the Christmas and Ascension works are also related to the *historia*; the texts of both are largely contemplative, but they include, like the *historia*, narrative quotations from the Bible sung by the 'Evangelist'. The Easter Oratorio is essentially a dialogue among four people; although its duration is more like that of a cantata than an oratorio (it is a parody of a secular cantata, BWV249*a*), in its purely poetic text it is closer to the genre of oratorio than the other two works.

8. HANDEL AND THE ENGLISH ORATORIO. In 17th-century England the dramatic tendencies in music of the early Baroque period were by no means as strong as in Italy; English opera began later in the century, and sacred dramatic music did not develop beyond the brief dialogue. Among the earliest examples of English sacred dialogues are two works by John Hilton (ii), *The Dialogue of King Solomon and the Two Harlots* and *The Dialogue of Job, God, Satan, Job's Wife and the Messengers*, possibly composed as early as 1616. Some dialogues show a relationship to the verse anthem; for instance, an extant text of a verse anthem by Richard Portman, *How many hired servants*, dated 1635, is based on the story of the prodigal son, in which the dialogue takes place in the verses and the narrative passages are given to the chorus. Other composers of the few known sacred dramatic dialogues in English are Henry Blowman, Benjamin Lamb, Nicolas Lanier (ii), Purcell, Robert Ramsey and John Wilson. Purcell's only sacred dramatic dialogue is his setting of *In guilty night*, a text based on the story of Saul and the Witch of Endor, also set by other 17th-century composers. Thus English composers made a tentative beginning with the type of composition that might have led to a fully developed oratorio, perhaps by way of a dramatic verse anthem; they did not carry on this development, however, and when Handel arrived in England he found audiences that were unfamiliar with the form. The English oratorio is Handel's creation, his remarkable synthesis of elements found in the English masque and anthem, the French classical drama, the Italian *opera seria* and *oratorio volgare*, and the German Protestant oratorio. Similar in some respects to oratorio on the Continent, the Handelian variety is often so strikingly different as to appear to be an independent genre.

For Handel in England the word 'oratorio' normally designated a musical entertainment that used a three-act dramatic text based on a sacred subject; the musical setting employed the styles and forms of Italian opera and English sacred choral music, although at times modified in their new context; the chorus was considered essential and was thus usually prominent; and the manner of performance was that of a concert, usually at a theatre or concert hall, often with concertos performed between the acts. The greater use of the chorus and the division into three acts (Handel preferred 'act' rather than 'part' for the sections of an oratorio) are among the features that distinguish the Handelian English oratorio from the Italian oratorio. Among Handel's exceptions to his normal meaning of the word 'oratorio' are its use for *Israel in Egypt*, *Messiah* and the *Occasional Oratorio*, all of which have non-dramatic librettos; another exception is his benefit concert in 1738, announced as 'Mr Handel's Oratorio', a miscellaneous programme with no unifying plan. *The Triumph of Time and Truth* (1757), a revision of an Italian work, might also be considered an exception, since its text is more ethical and moral than religious, even though Act 3 includes an anthem of petition to the Lord and closes with a 'Hallelujah' chorus. Seven works by Handel are sometimes classified as 'secular oratorios': *Acis and Galatea*, *Alexander's Feast*, *Ode for St Cecilia's Day*, *L'Allegro*, *Semele*, *Hercules* and *The Choice of Hercules*. Nevertheless, none of these compositions was originally called an oratorio by its composer; in Handel's England the term 'secular oratorio' was not used and would have seemed self-contradictory. Thus in a genre classification of Handel's works based on the normal terminology used in England in his time, these seven compositions would be excluded from the oratorio category.

The English oratorio came into being quite by accident as an unstaged genre. In 1718 Handel composed *Esther*, a short work that borrows heavily from his Brockes Passion (1716). On the composer's birthday in 1732 the Children of the Chapel Royal, under the direction of their master, Bernard Gates, presented a private, staged performance of *Esther* for the Philharmonic Society at the Crown and Anchor Tavern. Later in the same year Handel intended to present publicly a similar staged version, using the same young performers, at the King's Theatre in the Haymarket, but he was prevented from doing so by the Bishop of London, Edmund Gibson. Bishop Gibson, who was dean of the Chapel Royal, considered the opera house an immoral place, and his objections were apparently to a staged performance there of a work with a sacred subject and to the participation in that performance of the boys of the Chapel Royal. Forced to compromise, Handel accepted for *Esther* the traditional, continental manner of presenting oratorios: the work was performed without staging, in a revised, concert version, by mature professional musicians (fig.5). The success of *Esther* in this form prompted Handel to compose two more oratorios, *Deborah* and *Athalia*, for unstaged performances in 1733, and he retained this manner of performance for his oratorios for the rest of his life. Except for the 1732 performance of *Esther*, there is no precedent from Handel's time for the 20th-century staged performances of his oratorios.

Handel did not compose another oratorio for five years, during which he continued to concentrate primarily on Italian opera. During the period 1738–45, however, he returned to oratorio, composing six works: *Saul*, *Israel in Egypt*, *Messiah*, *Samson*, *Joseph and his Brethren* and *Belshazzar*. Of these, *Messiah* is by far the best known and has been the most influential work since Handel's death in shaping the popular conception of his oratorios; yet it is a setting of a purely biblical, non-dramatic text,

By His MAJESTY's COMMAND.

AT the KING's THEATRE in the HAY-MARKET, on Tuesday the 2d Day of May, will be performed,

The SACRED STORY of ESTHER: AN ORATORIO in ENGLISH.

Formerly composed by Mr. HANDEL, and now revised by him, with several Additions, and to be performed by a great Number of the best Voices and Instruments.

N. B. There will be no Action on the Stage, but the House will be fitted up in a decent Manner, for the Audience. The Musick to be disposed after the Manner of the Coronation Service.

Tickets will be delivered at the Office in the Opera house, at the usual Prices.

5. Announcement of the first performance of Handel's oratorio 'Esther', King's Theatre, Haymarket; cutting from the 'Daily Journal' [London] (19 April 1732)

and as such is not representative of the Handelian oratorio, which is essentially a dramatic genre. In the years 1746–8 Handel composed four oratorios of a militaristic flavour. The *Occasional Oratorio*, first performed in 1746, was an act of encouragement to the ruling Hanoverian regime in its struggle with the invading forces of Prince Charles Edward Stuart, the Young Pretender. After the Hanoverian victory (1746), Handel composed *Judas Maccabaeus*, *Alexander Balus* and *Joshua*; in a sense, these are all 'occasional' oratorios, since they sought favour with a public still in a mood to celebrate conquering heroes. Handel's late period of oratorio composition, 1748–52, includes his *Solomon*, *Susanna*, *Theodora* and *Jephtha*; *Theodora* is reported to have been Handel's favourite.

The Handelian oratorio functioned as an opera substitute, in a sense, since Handel eventually abandoned Italian opera for oratorio but continued to use opera theatres and, at least for a while, opera singers. But it was not an opera substitute for the same reason that the *oratorio volgare* was in such cities as Rome and Venice where opera was not performed during Lent and oratorio took its place. Handel's oratorio seasons often coincided more or less with Lent because of the sacred subject matter of the oratorios, but, during his life, operas continued to be performed during Lent in London, and his oratorios competed with them.

The librettos of Handel's oratorios were received by their audiences as 'unprecedented, unequalled expressions of the religious sublime' (Smith, 1995, p.168). All the librettos but *Messiah* and *Theodora* are based on the Old Testament or the Apocrypha, and even *Messiah* contains more texts from the Old Testament than the New, despite its Christian theme. The Old Testament subject matter, which was considerably modified by the librettists, had a strong appeal to Handel's audiences. Not only were they generally familiar with the stories, but they perceived a parallel between the Israelites and the English of their own time: both were intensely nationalistic and led by heroic figures, and both regarded themselves as being under the special protection of God, who was worshipped with pomp and splendour. The 'just' wars that the Israelites wage against enemies of their faith in Handel's oratorios were well understood by the oratorio audiences, for religion had long been the traditional English justification for war (Smith, 1995, p.242). Handel's librettists were influenced by the contemporary masque, which in this period was a short English opera, but even more so by classical drama. The librettists sought to incorporate into their works much of the spirit and technique of ancient Greek drama, and especially its use of the chorus, which functions at times within the action, and at other times outside it in the role of a commentator.

The most striking feature of Handel's choruses in the oratorios is their stylistic variety. A general classification of the choruses according to styles and procedures results in several types, including choruses with predominantly simple, homophonic texture; massive chordal effects, at times using double-chorus antiphony; predominantly fugal texture, including fugues with one to three subjects; a basso ostinato, usually varied; and a freely imitative texture, in what might be called motet or madrigal style. Nevertheless, it is difficult to find many choruses that are so consistent in their approach that they fit neatly into a single class, for there tends to be considerable variety within a chorus. Striking contrasts of texture, particularly, as well as contrasts of melodic, rhythmic and harmonic procedures within the choruses and large choral complexes are frequent; such contrasts no doubt have much to do with the general popularity of Handel's chorus-dominated *Israel in Egypt* and *Messiah*. Handel seems always to have been acutely aware of the expressive possibilities of the words in his choruses, and his text settings abound in striking effects of word-painting and symbolism. In no other oratorio, however, did he employ as much outright pictorialism as in *Israel in Egypt*.

The arias and ensembles in Handel's oratorios generally resemble those of contemporary Italian opera in the expression of their affections but less so in their structure. The virtually invariable da capo form of Italian *opera seria* and *oratorio volgare* is employed with generally decreasing frequency in Handel's oratorios from *Esther* to *Samson*. There is considerable fluctuation in the proportion of da capo arias after *Samson*, but only in *Susanna* and *Theodora* are there more da capo arias than other types, and these works are both closer in several respects than Handel's other oratorios to the *oratorio volgare*. The other arias tend to be in binary, ABA^1, or, occasionally, in strophic form. Most of the ensembles of the oratorios are duets, although there are a few trios and quartets. Unlike the duets of *opera seria* and *oratorio volgare*, those in Handel's oratorios are rarely in da capo form.

The French overture is the most prominent opening instrumental number of Handel's English oratorios; 11 of his 17 oratorios begin with a French overture, at times somewhat modified. The overtures of *Deborah* and *Judas Maccabaeus* foreshadow material used subsequently in their respective oratorios, the former more clearly than the latter.

Handel borrowed heavily from his own compositions and those of others in his oratorios; such borrowing was common in his time, and his practice differed from that of his contemporaries only in degree. But in only a few instances did Handel include an entire movement, unchanged, from another composer's work; he nearly always used the borrowed material to stimulate his imagination and developed the material in his own way. Handel was recognized in his time as the pre-eminent master of the English oratorio, and very few such works were composed

by others, though there are examples by Maurice Greene, Willem De Fesch, Arne and Stanley.

9. Charpentier and the oratorio in France. Although some of Carissimi's oratorios were known in France by the mid-17th century, French composers of the period appear to have been little interested in sacred dramatic music. The only antecedents of the oratorio comparable with those of 17th-century Italy and Germany are a few dialogue motets by such composers as Guillaume Bouzignac and Henry Du Mont. Marc-Antoine Charpentier, a student of Carissimi in Rome, appears to have been the first French composer of oratorios. By 1672 he had returned from Rome to Paris, and some of his oratorios no doubt date from the 1670s. Charpentier called none of his compositions oratorios, but used such terms as 'historia', 'canticum', 'dialogue' or 'motet'; 34 of his works have Latin dramatic texts though, and clearly relate to the history of the oratorio. Of these, at least 22 may be called oratorios with as much justification as the Latin works of his master, Carissimi, listed above, whose influence they clearly reveal. Like Carissimi's, many of Charpentier's oratorios are relatively brief works in one section only, such as *Le reniement de St Pierre*. The longer ones, such as *Judith sive Bethulia liberata*, *Mors Saülis et Jonathae* and *Judicium Salomonis*, are divided into two, which was more common for oratorios in Charpentier's time. Most of Charpentier's oratorios are based on biblical subjects, although a few are hagiographical. The librettos include narrative passages set for one or more soloists and/or chorus. Of special importance in these oratorios is the chorus, often a double chorus, which is far more prominent than in the Italian oratorio of the same period. The chorus functions not only as a narrator, but also as a turba and a commentator standing outside the action. The precise functions of most of Charpentier's oratorios are not known, but they appear to have been performed as extended motets during festive masses, at concerts in churches (particularly the Jesuit church of St Louis) and during Lent for musical evenings at the residence of Marie de Lorraine, the Duchesse de Guise, whom Charpentier served as *maître de musique*.

Few oratorios appear to have been composed in France during the 50 years following Charpentier's death in 1704. Sébastien de Brossard, in his *Dictionnaire de musique* (Paris, 2/1705), defined 'oratorio', without giving the Italian word a French equivalent, as 'a species of spiritual opera', and he mentioned that one by 'Sieur Lochon has just been presented to the public', no doubt J.-F. Lochon's *Oratorio de nativitate Christi*, published in his *Motets en musique, ... et un oratorio* (Paris, 1701), the only oratorio by a French composer to be published in the 18th century. Other oratorios dating from the first half of the 18th century by French composers are Louis-Nicolas Clérambault's *L'histoire de la femme adultère*, Brossard's *Oratorio sopra l'immaculata conceptione della B. Vergina* (incomplete) and the anonymous *Oratoire St François de Borgia à gd. choeur sur la mort d'Isabelle reine d'Espagne*; the first two are italianate in style, but the last is closer to the style of Lully. The first three have Latin texts; the last is in French.

10. Italian oratorio at home and abroad: early Classical and Classical styles. Early Classical style traits are often present in music of the late Baroque period, as in the Roman oratorios of Caldara, but these traits become particularly prominent in works composed from the 1720s onwards by men such as Vinci, Pergolesi and Leo. This new style, with its emphasis on homophonic texture and symmetrical phrases, among other important elements, has often been referred to as that of the 'Neapolitan school', for some of its best exponents were trained at Naples. Nevertheless, these early Classical traits seem to appear in Venice, Rome and elsewhere as early as in Naples, and the style was favoured by numerous composers associated neither with Naples nor with Italy. This style became increasingly prominent in Italian oratorios from the 1720s on, and in the 1770s the fully developed style of the Classical period emerged. Composers of oratorios other than Vinci, Pergolesi and Leo, who were associated with Naples early in their careers and who composed in the early Classical and Classical styles are Porpora, Jommelli, Piccinni, G.F. Majo, Antonio Sacchini, Cimarosa, P.A. Guglielmi, Paisiello and Zingarelli. Among composers of oratorios whose works were in the early Classical or Classical style but were associated with other Italian centres of oratorio composition are Galuppi and Bertoni in Venice, and G.B. Casali, G.B. Costanzi and Pasquale Anfossi in Rome.

Throughout the period considered here the *oratorio volgare* dominated in Italy; at the Crocifisso, in Rome, where the *oratorio latino* had been fostered since Carissimi's time, oratorio performances ceased after 1710, except for Holy Year 1725, and only at the conservatories in Venice did the *oratorio latino* continue to be used through most of the 18th century. The two-part structure of the Italian oratorio, common in the Baroque period, was retained throughout the 18th century and beyond, and the librettos of Metastasio were among the most popular of this period. The primary emphasis in oratorios continued to be on solo singing, and the chorus was little used. The chief aria form was the da capo, although it became increasingly modified late in the century. Arias emphasizing vocal display, already prominent in late Baroque oratorios, continued to be important throughout the 18th century and well into the 19th.

Of interest in later 18th-century Italy was the occasional presentation of staged performances of oratorios. Such performances eliminated an important distinction between the genres of opera and oratorio, leaving only the sacred subject matter and the two-part structure as the essential distinguishing features of the oratorio. For example, Guglielmi's *Debora e Sisara*, with a libretto by Carlo Sernicola, was first performed in Lent of 1788 with operatic staging (with machines, but without dancing) at the Real Teatro di S Carlo in Naples. In the libretto printed for the performance, the work is sub-titled 'azione sacra per musica', a common label for oratorios of the time; characteristically for an oratorio it is divided into a *prima parte* and *seconda parte* (the word for 'act', common in operas, was not normally used in Italian oratorios), and except for its staging it is like the contemporary oratorio in every respect, including a closing chorus. (There is even biblical documentation, in footnotes, in the printed libretto, as is found in many oratorio librettos of the period.) Staged performances of Italian oratorios appear to have been more common in Naples than elsewhere, but they were occasionally given in other cities of Italy and abroad.

Outside Italy the Italian oratorio continued to play an important role in musical life, particularly in Vienna. The

Viennese court patronage of oratorio was not as significant after the death of Charles VI (1740) as it had previously been, but Giuseppe Bonno and Salieri, among others, continued to compose oratorios for the court. With the founding of the Tonkünstler-Societät (1771), oratorios at Vienna became increasingly a part of public concert life; Haydn's only Italian oratorio, *Il ritorno di Tobia* (1775), was first performed at a concert of this society. The Roman Catholic court at Dresden became one of the most significant centres of Italian oratorio cultivation outside Italy by composers in the early Classical and Classical styles. The most important contributor of oratorios at the Dresden court was the Neapolitan-trained Hasse; others before and after him who composed Italian oratorios for this court are G.A. Ristori, J.D. Zelenka, J.D. Heinichen, Joseph Schuster, Franz Seydelmann and J.G. Naumann. Italian oratorio, like Italian opera, was exported to almost every part of Europe during this period, including England, the Low Countries, Spain, Portugal and Russia.

11. GERMANY: EARLY CLASSICAL AND CLASSICAL STYLES. German oratorios of the first half of the 18th century occasionally exhibit early Classical traits, but these did not predominate until about the middle of the century. In both its libretto and music the German oratorio in the second half of the 18th century, as in earlier times, included a greater variety of types and structures than the Italian oratorio of the same period. The librettos of German oratorios range between two extremes: the predominantly dramatic type (biblical in Protestant Germany; biblical or hagiographical in Roman Catholic areas) and the predominantly contemplative type. (The increasing use of the term 'oratorio' for musical settings of works with predominantly contemplative texts increased the confusion of the meanings of the terms 'Oratorium' and 'Kantate' in German usage of the late 18th century, and these terms were sometimes used synonymously.) German oratorios are divided into as many as five sections, but those with one or two are the most common. The chorus and the chorale are as prominent in German oratorios of this period as in those of the late Baroque period. The German oratorio tends to exhibit a freer intermingling of recitative, arioso and aria styles and a greater emphasis on accompanied recitative than does the Italian oratorio of the same period. Arias in da capo form and those emphasizing vocal display are less prominent than in Italian oratorios, while simple arias, often folklike in quality and reminiscent of Singspiel, are more common. The Lutheran oratorio continued in this period to function in a liturgical context, as a substitute for the cantata, and it also became increasingly popular in public concert life. Telemann performed oratorios in his public concerts at Frankfurt and Hamburg, as did his successor at Hamburg, C.P.E. Bach. At Lübeck the Abendmusiken continued to offer oratorios, and from 1772 the concerts of the Tonkünstler-Societät in Vienna included oratorios in German as well as in Italian.

German oratorios with predominantly dramatic librettos are within the mainstream of oratorio development in general, and they tend to be closer to the Italian oratorio of the period in musical treatment, as well as in text, than are those with contemplative texts. Among the oratorios with dramatic librettos written for Hamburg during this period are Telemann's *Der Tag des Gerichts* (1762; libretto by C.W. Alers) and C.P.E. Bach's *Israeliten in der Wüste* (1769; published in 1775; libretto by D. Schiebeler). An extremely prolific composer of oratorios of this type was J.H. Rolle, music director of the city of Magdeburg and one of the best-known oratorio composers in his time; of his approximately 25 oratorios, two are particularly noteworthy for their flexible musical forms in the service of dramatic continuity: *Lazarus, oder Die Feier der Auferstehung* (Leipzig, 1779) and *Thirza und ihre Söhne* (Leipzig, 1781). Numerous dramatic oratorios were composed for the Abendmusiken at Lübeck, including A.C. Kunzen's *Judith* (1759) and *Absalon* (1761) and J.W.C. von Königslöw's *Joseph* (1784) and *Esther* (1787). German oratorios composed for the court of the Archbishop of Salzburg around the middle of the century were strongly influenced, in both their texts and music, by the Italian oratorios performed in Vienna and at other Roman Catholic courts. J.E. Eberlin's *Augustinus*, for example, is a setting of a German translation of an Italian libretto, *La conversione di Sant'Augustino*, first set by Hasse; a particularly noteworthy dramatic oratorio by Eberlin is the Passion oratorio in one section *Der blutschwitzende Jesus*.

The strongest influence on oratorio texts that are predominantly contemplative was the poetry of Klopstock, particularly his *Messias*. Librettos showing Klopstock's influence are those in *empfindsamer Stil*, which emphasized the lyrical and sentimental expression of feelings evoked by religious events and experiences, as well as by scenes in nature. Many such librettos are purely contemplative, without dialogue; for these the term 'cantata' would seem more appropriate than 'oratorio', although, as pointed out above, the terms were sometimes used synonymously in 18th-century Germany. Some librettos that include narrative or dramatic elements show their affinity to the *empfindsamer Stil* in their emphasis on the emotional reflections of the narrator or individual characters. The central theme of many contemplative oratorios is the Messiah, particularly the events of Christmas, the Passion and Ascension. Most important among the librettists are K.W. Ramler, J.F.W. Zachariä and Herder, and the most famous libretto is Ramler's *Der Tod Jesu*, a purely contemplative text, without dialogue, in one section only. C.H. Graun's setting of *Der Tod Jesu* (1755), one of the best-known German oratorios in its period, was performed almost annually in Berlin on Good Friday until the late 19th century. Others who set this text were Telemann, G.A. Kreusser and J.C.F. Bach. Ramler's Christmas oratorio, *Die Hirten bei der Krippe zu Bethlehem*, was set by J.F. Agricola, Telemann, C.A.F. Westenholz, D.G. Türk, J.F. Reichardt, J.C.F. Rellstab and J.L. Eybler; among those who set Ramler's Ascension oratorio, *Die Auferstehung und Himmelfahrt Jesu*, are Agricola, Telemann, J.G. Krebs, G.J. Vogler, C.P.E. Bach and C.F. Zelter. Zachariä's *Die Tageszeiten*, modelled on James Thomson's *The Seasons* (later used by Haydn), is a poem of religious reflections on nature, best known in its setting by Telemann. Herder's librettos *Die Kindheit Jesu* and *Die Auferweckung des Lazarus* were both set by J.C.F. Bach. Lyrical, sentimental texts, particularly for Passion oratorios, continued to be popular in early 19th-century Germany; F.X. Huber's text for Beethoven's *Christus am Oelberge* (1803) clearly reveals the influence of such texts, even though the work has a strong dramatic element in the dialogue.

The most significant German oratorios of the late Classical period are Joseph Haydn's *Die Schöpfung* ('The

Creation', completed in 1798) and *Die Jahreszeiten* ('The Seasons', completed in 1801), two of the finest compositions of his latest period. *The Creation* is based on a text that Haydn took with him from his second London visit. Originally compiled by Lidley (or Linley) from Milton's *Paradise Lost*, the text was reworked in German for Haydn by van Swieten. Divided into three sections, the libretto is essentially narrative and contemplative; although it includes parts for three individuals, the Archangels Raphael, Gabriel and Uriel, they function as narrators rather than as actual characters in a drama. Two others, Adam and Eve, enter in the third section with essentially lyrical lines. The music of *The Creation* clearly reflects Haydn's acquaintance with Handel's music, and its pictorialism is sometimes comparable with that of *Israel in Egypt*; yet the naive simplicity in the music of *The Creation* distinguishes it from Handel's more rhetorical approach and is among the work's most attractive features. The formal structures are remarkably varied in this oratorio, the free mixtures of solo, soli and choral passages being of special interest; the harmonic freedom of the opening orchestral Representation of Chaos is remarkable for its anticipation of the harmonic practices of the 19th century. *The Seasons*, likewise a setting of a van Swieten reworking of an English text, by James Thomson, is less like an oratorio than *The Creation. The Seasons* is in four sections and is mainly a description of the four seasons; its text is not primarily religious and thus is not within the mainstream of oratorio history. It includes three rural characters, Simon, Hanne and Lucas, and a chorus. The music is often simple, reflecting at times the popular style of Singspiel. During the 19th century both *The Creation* and *The Seasons* became extremely popular as concert pieces on the Continent, in England and in North America.

12. France and elsewhere: early Classical and Classical styles. The history of oratorio in France in the second half of the 18th century divides into two phases, the first from 1758 to the early 1760s and the second from 1774 to 1790; the second phase terminated when events of the French Revolution brought to an end the *concerts spirituels*, the Lenten concert series in Paris at which most French oratorios in this period were performed. The first of these two phases falls within J.-J.C. de Mondonville's directorship of the Concert Spirituel (1755–62); five oratorios are known to have been performed in these concerts between 1758 and 1761: Mondonville's *Les Israëlites à la Montagne d'Horeb* (1758), *Les fureurs de Saül* (1759) and *Les titans* (1761); J.-N.L. de Persuis' *Le passage de la Mer Rouge* (1759); and P.J. Davesne's *La conquête de Jéricho* (1760). The music of these five works has not survived, but printed librettos and comments about them by contemporary observers indicate that they were relatively brief works (of about 25 to 30 minutes) and that they all had French texts. Of these works only Mondonville's *Les titans* is outside the mainstream of oratorio history, since it has a secular text. The term 'oratorio' was not consistently applied to oratorios by French composers or observers in the period, but a variety of terms were used, including 'motet françois', 'poëme françois', 'motet françois en forme d'oratorio', 'oratorio françois' and 'hiérodrame'.

The second phase of the French oratorio, 1774–90, coincides with the period during which the *concerts spirituels* were under the directorship of Pierre Gaviniès, Simon Leduc and Gossec. During this period several oratorios were performed every year at the Concert Spirituel, among them the following (unless otherwise indicated, the dates are those of the first performances; most of these works were performed more than once in the period, and some many times): N.-J. Méreaux's *Samson* (1774), *Esther* (1775) and *La Résurrection* (1780); G.M. Cambini's *Le sacrifice d'Isaac* (1774), *Joad* (1775) and *Samson* (1779); H.-J. Rigel's *La sortie d'Egypte* (1774), *La déstruction de Jéricho* (1778) and *Jephté* (1783); Gossec's *La nativité* (1774) and *L'arche d'alliance devant Jérusalem* (1781); F.-A.D. Philidor's *Carmen saeculare* (first performed in London, 1779, and in Paris the next year); Sacchini's *Esther* (originally in Italian as *Ester*, Rome, 1777, revised in French for Paris, 1786) and Salieri's *Le jugement dernier* (1787). At least 20 other composers, mostly obscure, composed oratorios for the *concerts spirituels* during this period. Nearly all the oratorios performed at these concerts were settings of French sacred texts; a notable exception, however, is Philidor's *Carmen saeculare*, which uses a non-dramatic, classical Latin text by Horace. Such a text places this work outside the mainstream of oratorio history, but it was clearly considered an oratorio by contemporary French commentators.

Of special interest in this period are Le Sueur's four 'mass-oratorios' for the feasts of Christmas, Easter, Pentecost and the Assumption of the Virgin Mary, performed in 1786–7 at the Cathedral of Notre Dame in Paris. These highly original, experimental works were elaborate dramatic and programmatic expansions of the Ordinary of the Mass. For each one Le Sueur published an extensive booklet that described the music and his programmatic interpretation of it. The performing forces included an orchestra, chorus and soloists, and the musical numbers consisted of recitatives, arias, ensembles, and large and small choruses. The music for the mass-oratorios is lost, but the descriptions in the published booklets provide a clear notion of the compositional prcedures. Le Sueur's *Oratorio de Noël*, which survives in published form, is not the same as the mass-oratorio for Christmas, but apparently borrows some of its music.

In England Handel's oratorios were seldom given in their entirety after his death, but performances of the most popular selections from them were common. Of special importance for the provincial cultivation of Handel's oratorios was the Three Choirs Festival, which had begun to present Handel's oratorios during his lifetime and which became virtually a Handel festival in the late 18th century. At this festival and elsewhere, *Messiah* was the favoured oratorio. Handel did not found a 'school' of oratorio composition, and relatively few English oratorios were composed in the post-Handelian 18th century. Among the composers who contributed to the small oratorio production in this period are J.C. Smith, John Stanley, Arne, John Worgan, Charles Avison, Samuel Arnold and Luffman Atterbury.

In North America, the performance of selections from oratorios dates from the 18th century and coincides with the rise of concert life and the establishment of singing societies in the principal cities, particularly Boston, New York, Philadelphia and Charleston. Numbers from Handel's oratorios were occasionally performed, particularly from *Messiah*. It is not known when the first complete oratorio performance in America took place, but Samuel

Felsted's oratorio *Jonah* (printed in London, 1775) was performed in New York in 1788 and in Boston in 1789. In 18th- and 19th-century America the word 'oratorio' was applied not only to the genre but also to virtually any concert of sacred music. (The latter use of the term is similar to Handel's exceptional use of it for a concert of his music in 1738.) For instance, in the public announcement of the programme in which Felsted's *Jonah* was to appear at Boston in 1789, the concert itself was called 'an Oratorio, or, Concert of Sacred Musick', and the second half of the programme consisted of 'The oratorio of *Jonah*, complete'. 'Oratorios' in the concert sense were presented either in public concert halls in a secular context or in churches in a context that sometimes included prayers and biblical readings.

The influence of the Italian oratorio in countries to which it was exported in the 18th century resulted, at times, in the composition of italianate oratorios by native composers in their own language. Spanish oratorios of this type, for example, were composed in 18th-century Barcelona by the successive directors of music of Barcelona Cathedral, Francisco Valls, José Pujol, José Durán and Francisco Queralt. Danish composers who wrote oratorios in their native language are P.M. Lem, H.O.C. Zinck and J.E. Hartmann.

13. Germany, Scandinavia and eastern Europe: 19th century. A new tendency in German oratorio librettos of the 19th century is that of literary Romanticism: supernatural, mysterious, fantastic and apocalyptic scenes, themes of death and doubt, and those based on religious legends from the distant past are prominent. Oratorios with apocalyptic librettos, including passages from both the Old and New Testament, are Eybler's *Die vier letzten Dinge* (text by Joseph Sonnleithner; 1810), Spohr's *Die letzten Dinge* (text by Friedrich Rochlitz; 1827) and Friedrich Schneider's *Das Weltgericht* (text by August Apel; 1819). Among the numerous works based on legends are Maximilian Stadler's *Die Befreyung von Jerusalem* (1813) and Schneider's *Das befreite Jerusalem* (1835) (both with texts based on Tasso's *Gerusalemme liberata*); Carl Loewe's *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems* (1829), *Die sieben Schläfer* (1833), *Gutenberg* (1836), *Palestrina* (1841) and *Johann Hus* (1842) and Liszt's *Die Legende von der heiligen Elisabeth* (1862).

Oratorio subjects that had long been traditional in Germany, particularly those using biblical stories, continued to be popular in the 19th century. The increasing interest in the oratorios of Handel in the first half of the 19th century contributed to the popularity of biblical oratorios, particularly those based on Old Testament stories. Bernhard Klein's biblical oratorios, *Hiob* (1822), *Jephta* (1828) and *David* (1830), reveal this traditional tendency, as do Schubert's *Lazarus, oder Die Feier der Auferstehung* D689 (1820, incomplete), Schneider's *Pharao* (1828), *Gideon* (1829) and *Absalon* (1831), A.B. Marx's *Mose* (1841) and, late in the century, Bruch's *Moses* (1895). Mendelssohn's *Paulus* ('St Paul', 1836) and *Elijah* ('Elias', 1846), both based on scriptural texts, also represent the traditional tendency in librettos; both were extremely popular works in their time, and *Elijah*, first performed in Birmingham, has retained its popularity to the present day in both English- and German-speaking areas. The Romantic period has also continued to favour oratorios on the theme of the Messiah, as the later 18th century had done; among the numerous Romantic oratorios on this theme are Schneider's *Höllenfahrt des Messias* (1810), Loewe's *Festzeiten* (1825–36) and Liszt's *Christus* (in Latin, with biblical and liturgical texts; 1862–7).

The oratorio continued to be conceived primarily as a sacred genre in the 19th century, but the term itself was exceptionally applied to a purely secular work, such as Bruch's *Arminius: Oratorium* (1877); three other secular oratorios by Bruch, although not identified as oratorios in their titles, are his *Odysseus* (1872), *Achilleus* (1885) and *Gustav Adolf* (1898). Schumann's *Das Paradies und die Peri* (1843–5) and *Der Rose Pilgerfahrt* (1851), neither of which was called an oratorio by the composer, are closely related to the genre and are sometimes classified as secular oratorios. 'Staged oratorios', or sacred operas, continued to be exceptional in the 19th century; Anton Rubinstein's sacred operas, *Sulamith* (1883), *Die Maccabäer* (1872–4), *Moses* (1887–9) and *Christus* (1893), are close to the oratorio in conception, despite their composer's intention that they be staged.

The music of the 19th-century German oratorio, like the libretto, reveals a mixture of traditional and new procedures. Traditional for Germany is the use of the chorale and the emphasis on the chorus, but the performing forces tended to be far greater than in the 18th century. With the growing emphasis on performances of oratorios at music festivals in 19th-century Germany and the period's penchant for massive performances, the composer with a festival performance in mind could expect several hundred voices in his chorus. The aspects of German musical Romanticism that are new in the oratorio of the period are essentially those of German musical Romanticism in general, and particularly of Romantic opera: the large, colourful orchestra, new harmonic and melodic styles and new approaches to motivic and structural unification. Programmatic orchestral preludes and interludes became increasingly prominent, as did 'reminiscence' motifs, phrases or sections, used much in the manner of the operatic reminiscence motif and leitmotif. Prominent among the oratorios of the first half of the century that point the way to the newer musical procedures are those of Schneider, particularly his *Weltgericht*; especially important in the second half of the century for their full development of the new techniques are Liszt's oratorios, mentioned above, and Raff's *Welt-Ende, Gericht, Neue Welt* (1879–81).

Scandinavia and eastern Europe remained heavily dependent upon other areas in the 19th century, particularly Germany, for the oratorios performed in their concerts. The following are among the few composers in Scandinavia of oratorios using the national languages: in Sweden, J.C.F. Haeffner, Pehr Frigel and Gunnar Wennerberg; in Norway, Johannes Haarklou and Catharinius Elling; and in Denmark, Hans Matthison-Hansen. The Czech Dvořák is of particular importance for his oratorio *St Ludmilla* (1886), composed for the Leeds Festival in England. The earliest oratorio known to have been composed in 19th-century Russia is S.A. Degtyaryov's *Minin i Pozharsky, ili Osvobozhdeniye Moskvï* ('Minin and Pozharsky, or The Liberation of Moscow'; 1811). Based on a patriotic libretto by N.D. Gorchakov, with a strong religious element, the monumental setting has a colourful mixture of Western and Russian musical elements. The large orchestra includes a Russian horn

band, a large percussion section and a battalion of cannons.

14. France and the Low Countries: 19th century. The oratorio in 19th-century France was little influenced by that of other areas. Oratorios were performed in public concert halls throughout the century, but they were also given in churches. Le Sueur's *Deborah* (1828), for example, is in Latin and was intended to be performed at Mass; it incorporates the liturgical element of unison psalmodic recitation. But most oratorios of 19th-century France are in French and were intended for the concert hall. They are thus closer to the mainstream of oratorio history than those of Le Sueur; yet a Roman Catholic mystical and quasi-liturgical current runs through most of the oratorio production of France and tends to distinguish French oratorios from those of other nations. Representative of French Romantic oratorios from around the middle to the end of the 19th century are those of Ferdinand David (*Moïse au Sinaï*, 1846; *Le jugement dernier*, c1849), Antoine Elwart (*Noë ou Le déluge universel*, 1845), Berlioz (*L'enfance du Christ*, 1854), Franck (*Ruth*, 1843–6; *La tour de Babel*, 1865; *Rédemption*, 1871–4; *Les béatitudes*, 1869–79; *Rébecca*, 1881), Saint-Saëns (*Moïse sauvé des eaux*, c1851; *Oratorio de Noël*, 1858; *Le déluge*, 1875), Gounod (*Tobie*, 1865; *Mors et vita*, ?1885; *La rédemption*, ?1882), Massenet (*Marie-Magdeleine*, 1873; *Eve*, 1875; *La Vierge*, 1880; *La terre promise*, 1900) and Dubois (*Les sept paroles du Christ*, 1867; *Le paradis perdu*, 1879; *Notre-Dame de la mer*, 1897; *Le baptême de Clovis*, 1899).

Few composers in the Low Countries wrote oratorios before the mid-19th century. The Belgian Peter Benoit is important in the second half of the century for his *Lucifer* (1865), *De schelde* (1868), *De oorlog* (1873) and *De Rhijn* (1889). Other Belgian oratorio composers in this period are Gustave Huberti (*Een laatste zonnestraal*, 1874, and *Verlichting*, 1884) and Edgar Tinel (*Franciscus*, 1886–8). Among the oratorio composers in 19th-century Holland are Anton Berlijn (*Moses auf Nebo*, 1843) and Richard Hol (*David*, 1879).

15. England and America: 19th century. The history of oratorio in 19th-century England is inseparable from that of the provincial music festivals, which were the chief institutions to cultivate oratorio composition and performance. Of particular importance is the Three Choirs Festival, which continued in the early 19th century to emphasize Handel's works. The festivals of Birmingham and Leeds were also of special importance for the history of the oratorio. In the first half of the 19th century selections from and at times complete performances of the oratorios of foreign composers began to appear on English programmes. Among the more popular works of foreign composers were Haydn's *Creation*; Spohr's *Calvary* (i.e. *Des Heilands letzte Stunden*, first performed in London, 1837) and *The Fall of Babylon* (composed for the Norwich Festival of 1842); and Mendelssohn's *St Paul* (performed at Liverpool in 1836, for the first time in England, and conducted by the composer at the Birmingham Festival of 1837) and *Elijah* (first performed at the Birmingham Festival of 1846, where it was conducted by the composer). Foreign oratorios continued to be performed in the second half of the 19th century in England, including those of Saint-Saëns, Gounod, Liszt, Raff, Franck and Dvořák.

In early 19th-century England the stylistic and structural models for new oratorios were mainly the music of Handel, Mozart and Haydn. An outstanding oratorio from this period is Crotch's *Palestine* (1805–11); basically Handelian, it nevertheless includes music that departs significantly from the model and is remarkably modern. Clarke-Whitfeld's oratorio pair *Crucifixion* and *Resurrection* (1822, 1825) are musically among the better Handelian works of the time. From the late 1840s to the 1880s, the primary model was Mendelssohn, who had incorporated elements of Handel's and Bach's choral style into his own work. English oratorios of this period tend to include chorales (absent from English oratorios before *St Paul* and *Elijah*), Mendelssohnian lyricism, reminiscence motifs (or 'representative motifs', as they came to be called in England), greater structural flexibility than before and programmatic overtures. Representative of the period are Ouseley's *St Polycarp* (1855), Costa's *Eli* (1855) and *Naaman* (1864), Bennett's *Woman of Samaria* (1867) and Macfarren's *St John the Baptist* (1872). The late period, beginning in the 1880s, was the most innovatory one for English oratorio: the models of Handel and Mendelssohn tended to be abandoned, and oratorio composers struck out in directions new for England. Wagnerian principles were increasingly adopted – or at least adapted to a composer's personal style. English oratorios became more dramatic, included more long, continuous scenes, and used more reminiscence motifs and occasionally even leitmotifs. The orchestra, increasingly liberated from its purely accompanimental role, became a more significant vehicle of expression. The fugue lost ground as an essential ingredient. Two works from the beginning of the late period are Mackenzie's *Rose of Sharon* (1884) and Cowen's *Ruth* (1887), both important representatives of the 'dramatic oratorio', which was new in 19th-century England. Among the most important works that represent the late style are Stanford's *Three Holy Children* (1885) and *Eden* (1891), and Parry's *Judith, or The Regeneration of Manasseh* (1888), *Job* (1892) and *King Saul* (1894). The Victorian period reached its peak, however, with Elgar's *The Dream of Gerontius* (1900) (discussed below).

The earliest oratorios known to have been composed in America, *Jerusalem in Affliction* (1828) and *The Daughters of Zion* (1829), are by Filippo Trajetta (son of Tommaso Traetta), who established the American Conservatorio in Philadelphia, where his oratorios were performed. In 1841 A.P. Heinrich, among the most significant American composers of the mid-19th century, wrote *The Jubilee: a Grand National Sinfonia Canonicate: Commemoration of the Landing on the Banks of Plymouth by the Pilgrim Fathers*, later called *The Wild Wood Spirits' Chant, a Grand National Song of Triumph; or, The Oratorio of the Pilgrims*. It is a bold, fresh, imaginative and highly creative oratorio, but Heinrich was insufficiently skilled in the craft of musical composition to do justice to his concept. This monumental work was presumably never performed in its entirety. The earliest known oratorio by an American-born composer is *Jephtha* (1845) by J.H. Hewitt, a rather modest work with essentially the same turns of melody, simple harmony and unadorned patterns of accompaniment that Hill had already established in his extremely popular parlour songs and was soon to apply in his operettas. More comparable with European oratorios, however, are

George F. Bristow's *Daniel* (1866), John Knowles Paine's *St Peter* (1870–72), Leopold Damrosch's *Ruth and Naomi* (1874), and Horatio Parker's *Hora novissima* (completed 1892, first performed 1893) and *The Legend of St Christopher* (1898). *Hora novissima* is the only 19th-century American oratorio that is still performed. Unique for its subject matter is Dudley Buck's *The Light of Asia* (1886), based on Sir Edwin Arnold's blank-verse epic of the same name that treats the life of Gautama Buddha, the founder of Buddhism.

16. ITALY AND SPAIN: 19TH CENTURY. The 19th century was a period of decline for the Italian oratorio. The traditional genre lingered on, with little vigour and with conservative *opera seria* characteristics, while the 'staged oratorio', or sacred opera, became increasingly popular. Among the most frequently performed sacred operas was Rossini's *Mosè in Egitto*, a three-act work called an 'azione tragico-sacra' in its earliest version, first performed during Lent of 1818 at the Teatro S Carlo in Naples. Among the unstaged oratorios in 19th-century Italy are Simon Mayr's *Samuele* (1821); Paolo Bonfichi's *Il Genesi* (1826); Mercadante's *Le sette ultime parole di Nostro Signore* (1841); Teodulo Mabellini's *Eudossia e Paolo, o I martiri* (1845); Pietro Raimondi's trilogy *Giuseppe* (1847–8), curiously experimental in that its three constituent oratorios (*Putifar*, *Giuseppe* and *Giacobbe*) are intended to be performed either successively or simultaneously; Giovanni Pacini's *Il trionfo di Giuditta* (1854); Paolo Serrao's *Gli Ortonesi in Scio* (1858); and Jacopo Tomadini's *La risurrezione del Cristo* (1864).

The relatively few oratorios of 19th-century Spain appear to follow the conservative course of those in Italy, although sacred opera seems to have been less popular in Spain. Examples of the Spanish oratorio are Francisco Andreví y Castellar's *La dulzura de la virtud* (before 1819) and *El juicio universal* (1822), Ruperto Chapí's *Los ángeles* (1873) and Tomás Bretón's *El apocalipsis* (1882).

17. THE 20TH CENTURY. New directions were taken in oratorio composition around the turn of the century in both Italy and England. Lorenzo Perosi rejected the *oratorio volgare* of the 18th and 19th centuries, with its heavy dependence on opera, and in his 12 oratorios (among them *La risurrezione di Cristo*, 1898; *La risurrezione di Lazzaro*, 1898; *Il natale del Redentore*, 1899; *La strage degli innocenti*, 1900; and *Il giudizio universale*, 1904) he consciously returned to the format of the Carissimi period, although his scale was larger and his materials were post-Wagnerian. Most of Perosi's oratorios are in two sections and have Latin texts, including a *storico*, or narration, which, in the manner of Carissimi, is distributed among various vocal parts. His aim was to achieve a more serious religious expression than had been characteristic of Italian oratorio in the previous two centuries; to this end he made use of Gregorian chant and adopted a quasi-liturgical attitude, particularly in the numerous choruses. The oratorios of the Franciscan priest Pater Hartmann (Paul Eugen Josef von An der Lan-Hochbrunn) continue in the direction established by Perosi. Of South Tyrolean origin, Hartmann was active mostly in Rome. His five oratorios (*S Petrus*, 1900; *S Franciscus*, 1901; *La cena del Signore*, 1904; *La morte del Signore*, 1906; and *Septem ultima verba Christi*, 1908) set Latin texts in a post-Wagnerian harmonic style. Other 20th-century Italian oratorios include Wolf-Ferrari's *Talitha Kumi* (1900), Malipiero's *S Francesco d'Assisi* (1921), Licino Refice's *Trittico francescano* (1926), Franco Vittadini's *L'agonia del Redentore* (1933), Antonio Veretti's *Il figliuol prodigo* (1942) and Luigi Dallapiccola's *Job* (1950).

In England, Elgar's *Dream of Gerontius* was not only the most important oratorio of the Victorian period but the most creative English oratorio since Handel. Based on Cardinal Newman's poem of the same name, *Gerontius* is the only oratorio by a Victorian composer to have retained a position in the performing repertory up to the present day. The work is organized in two large parts, and the music is continuous throughout each. *Gerontius* owes far more to Wagner's chromatic harmonic language, solo vocal style, motivic technique and orchestral-vocal synthesis than any English oratorio before it. With *Gerontius* the English oratorio achieved the emancipation of the orchestra from its accompanimental role. Elgar's oratorio pair *The Apostles* (1903) and *The Kingdom* (1906) are more conventional for their biblical texts but at the same time unconventional for their continuity and structural flexibility, which continues the harmonic, melodic and orchestral style of *Gerontius*. Like *Gerontius*, they are full of reminiscence motifs, many of which appear in both works. Other important English oratorios are Vaughan Williams's *Sancta civitas* (1925), Walton's *Belshazzar's Feast* (1931), Berkeley's *Jonah* (1935), Fricker's *The Vision of Judgement* (1957–8), Milner's *The Water and the Fire* (1961), and Tippett's *A Child of our Time* (1939–41) and *The Mask of Time* (1980–82). Paul McCartney's *Liverpool Oratorio* (1991) reflects his background in popular music.

American oratorios in the 20th century reveal a wide variety of musical styles, and most rely on traditional subjects for their librettos. Among them are Charles Sanford Skilton's *The Guardian Angel* (1925), Robert Nathaniel Dett's *The Ordering of Moses* (1937), Stefan Wolpe's *Israel and his Land* (1939), Bernard Rogers's *The Passion* (1942), Franz Waxman's *Joshua* (1959), Vincent Persichetti's *The Creation* (1969), Dominick Argento's *Jonah and the Whale* (1973) and Charles Wuorinen's *The Celestial Sphere* (1980).

Among the German-language oratorios, of special interest is Schoenberg's *Die Jakobsleiter* (1917–22), a religious work only in the sense that it is concerned with ultimate human strivings. Despite its imagery of Swedenborgian mysticism, its philosophy is intensely individual, and individualistic: in the first part of the work (the second remained uncomposed, though Schoenberg's text is complete) various easy options to the struggles of living for truth are caustically dismissed. *Die Jakobsleiter*, unperformed until 1958, had no effect on the course of the 20th-century German oratorio, which is better represented by Franz Schmidt's *Das Buch mit sieben Siegeln* (1935–7) on texts from the Apocalypse. Other examples are Hindemith's *Das Unaufhörliche* (1931), Blacher's *Der Grossinquisitor* (1942), David's *Ezzolied* (1957) and the 'folk oratorios' of Joseph Haas (*Die heilige Elizabeth*, 1931; *Christnacht*, 1932; *Lebensbuch Gottes*, 1934; *Lied von der Mutter*, 1939; and *Das Jahr im Lied*, 1952).

The interest in sacred composition on Baroque models that grew in Germany between the wars produced few oratorios, but in Switzerland the fruits were more plentiful

and included Willy Burkhard's *Das Gesicht Jesajas* (1933–5) and Conrad Beck's *Oratorium nach Sprüchen des Angelus Silesius* (1934). Both apply a severe neo-Baroque technique, and Burkhard's piece achieves great force through its stark simplicity. Though not Swiss in origin, Wladimir Vogel took a Swiss subject for his most ambitious work, the oratorio *Thyl Claes, fils de Kolldrager* (1938–45); it is in two parts, each lasting a whole evening, and employs his characteristic polyphonic choral speaking. More impressive among the Swiss oratorios, however, are those of Martin: *Le vin herbé* (1938–41), *In terra pax* (1944), *Golgotha* (1945–8) and *Le mystère de la nativité* (1957–9). The first is an extended work based on the Tristan legend, but its scoring is for only 12 voices and eight instruments. *Golgotha* uses more conventional forces in a quite original form: the Gospel narrative is unfolded in seven 'pictures' separated by settings of contemplative texts by St Augustine. *Le mystère de la nativité* is a 'scenic oratorio' available for stage or concert performance, and in this it looks back to Honegger's *Le roi David*, composed in 1921 as a 'dramatic psalm' for the theatre and revised as an oratorio in 1923. The clearcut facture of this piece, the strong design of individual scenes and the lapidary use of melody and rhythm make it one of the most powerful oratorios of the 20th century. Honegger extended those techniques in *Jeanne d'Arc au bûcher* (1935), which was written as a stage spectacle for Ida Rubinstein, though it may also be given as an oratorio.

Similarly, Debussy's *Le martyre de St Sébastien* (1911), another Rubinstein commission, has often been given in concert performance with the spoken dialogue cut, but the reduction of this five-act 'mystery' to a one-hour oratorio is not entirely satisfactory. The fusion of genres was best achieved by Stravinsky in his 'opera-oratorio' *Oedipus rex* (1926–7). Although the subject is secular, Stravinsky's treatment is liturgical in style, with the text sung in Latin, an important part for the chorus, and the principal actors appearing masked and stationary; the stylization and distance of the presentation are further accentuated by the vernacular commentaries given by a narrator in modern evening dress. If *Oedipus rex* is best regarded as an oratorio for the stage, concert performances can present the neo-classical monumentality of the music, which still leaves room for Verdian effusions.

Stravinsky's oratorio represents a continuation of the genre's secularization, which began in the 19th century. Politically motivated secularization enabled the oratorio to enjoy a vigorous life in Russia, where oratorios had been rare. The oratorio became a medium for the expression of heroic and at times bombastic patriotic sentiments, as in Kabalevsky's *The Great Homeland* (1941–2), Myaskovsky's *Kirov is with us* (1942) and Shaporin's *Story of the Battle for the Russian Land* (1943–4). After World War II the demands of socialist realism produced, throughout eastern Europe, a huge number of oratorios in praise of party leaders or the proletariat. But the period also saw the composition of a few important works: Shostakovich's *Song of the Forest* (1949), Prokofiev's *On Guard for Peace* (1950), Sviridov's *Poem in Memory of Sergei Yesenin* (1955–6) and *Pathetic Oratorio* (1959), and Shnitke's *Nagasaki* (1958).

Elsewhere, new departures in the oratorio continued after World War II. Messiaen's *La transfiguration* (1969) almost dispenses with narrative and with solo voices for an immense, meditative theological exposition drawing on texts from the Bible, the Roman liturgy and Aquinas, and on musical materials characteristic of all periods in the composer's career. Notable among the oratorios of younger composers are Penderecki's *Dies irae* (1967) and Henze's *Das Floss der 'Medusa'* (1968), an 'oratorio volgare e militare' to a politically revolutionary text. Yet perhaps the most far-reaching innovation was made by Krenek in *Spiritus intelligentiae sanctus* (1955), a Pentecost oratorio realized on magnetic tape.

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HOWARD E. SMITHER

Orazio. *See* FAÀ DI BRUNO, GIOVANNI MATTEO.

Orazio della Viola. *See* BASSANI, ORAZIO.

Orb. British studio collective. It redefined ambient music and spawned the ambient house genre. It was founded in 1989 by Alex Paterson (Duncan Robert Alex Paterson) and Jimmy Cauty (*see also* KLF). Their first records together, including *A Huge Ever-Growing Brain that Rules from the Centre of the Ultraworld* (WAU, 1989), blended ambient washes with intermittent dance beats, vocal and environmental samples, and became classics of the rave clubs' chill-out rooms. Their first and best album, *Adventures Beyond the Ultraworld* (Big Life, 1991) appeared with an array of remixes of artists as diverse as Laibach, Gary Numan and one of Paterson's influences, Pink Floyd. Cauty was replaced by Kris 'Thrash' Weston, Paterson's studio engineer before the massive commercial success of *UFOrb* (Big Life, 1992) and *The Blue Room*, which at 39 minutes was the longest single to have been released in the UK. After the live compilation *Live '93* (Isl., 1993) Paterson was joined by Thomas Fehlmann, a pioneer of Berlin's early 1990s 'teutonic beats' scene. *Orbvs Terrarvm* (Isl., 1995) disappointed early fans but enhanced the band's commercial appeal. The Orb have picked up many fans from the progressive rock scene, including Gong's Steve Hillage (whose 1990s releases as System 7 included much collaboration with the Orb) and King Crimson's Robert Fripp, who joined the band to create an off-shoot album released as *FFWD* (1994).

IAN PEEL

Orbán, György (*b* Tirgu Mureş, 12 July 1947). Hungarian composer of Romanian birth. He studied composition with Toduţă and Eisikovits and music theory with Jagamas at the Cluj-Napoca Academy of Music (1968–73), remaining there to teach music theory and counterpoint (1973–9). After moving to Hungary, he worked as a music editor for Editio Musica Budapest (1979–90), and became professor of music theory and composition at the Liszt Academy of Music in 1982. Orbán was awarded the Bartók-Pásztory Prize in 1991. His early style, tending towards Western avant-garde techniques, culminated in the Triple Sextet (1979), a recommended work at the Tribune Internationale des Compositeurs in Paris in 1989. In the mid-1980s he turned to a neo-romantic style, and has continued to use formally classical models in his instrumental works. Belonging to the Hungarian choral tradition, his church music, intended partly for liturgical use, displays influences such as jazz, while grotesque and humorous characters enliven his many choruses and songs. In the series of Duos (1979–89) he sets traditional texts with an air of nostalgia for rural life.

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(*selective list*)

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Other choral: Motet, vv, ob, 1979; Kóruskönyv [Chorus Book] (A. József, D. Szilágyi, J. Pilinszky), I–II, 1983–7; Második kóruskönyv [Second Chorus Book] (József, Szilágyi), 1985; Medáliák könyve [Book of Lockets] (Jószef and others), 1987; Regina martyrum (orat), solo vv, chorus, orch, 1993; Rorate caeli (orat), solo vv, chorus, orch, 1993; Passion (orat), solo vv, chorus, org, perc, str, 1997; Christmas Orat, solo vv, chorus, org, perc, str, 1998; mixed and single-voice choruses on Lat. and Hung. texts
Solo vocal: 5 Canons (József), S, ens, 1977; Duos (trad. text): no.1, S, cl, 1979, no.2, S, db, 1986, no.3, S, vc, 1988, no.4, S, vn, 1989; songs, 1v, pf
Orch: Serenade no.1, 1984; Serenade no.2, 1985; Veronai vázlatok [Sketches from Verona], 1998
Chbr: Triple Sextet, 1979; Wind Qnt, 1985; Sonata concertante, cl, pf, 1986; Sonata, bn, pf, 1987; Sonata no.1, vn, pf, 1988; Sonata no.2, vn, pf, 1989; Trio, vn, va/vc, pf, 1992–3; Str Qt no.1, 1994; Str Qt no.2, 1994; Sonata no.3, vn, pf, 1995; Sonata, va, pf, 1997; Bálzene Razumovszkij grófnak [Ball Music for Count Razumovsky], str qt, 1998; Str Qt no.3, 1998
Solo inst: Hymn, cimb, 1980; Pf Sonata no.1, 1985; Pf Sonata no.2, 1987; Pf Suite no.1, 1987; Pf Sonata no.3, 1988; Pf Sonata no.4, 1989; Pf Suite no.2, 1997; Pf Suite no.3, 1998

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PÉTER HALÁSZ

Orbino, Il. *See* CARISIO, GIOVANNI.

Orbison, Roy (Kelton) (*b* Vernon, TX, 23 April 1936; *d* Hendersonville, TN, 6 Dec 1988). American singer-songwriter. The son of an oil driller, Orbison formed his first group, the Wink Westerners, at 13. While studying geology at North Texas College, he watched classmate Pat Boone attain chart success and, with a new rockabilly group, the Teen Kings, Orbison auditioned first for Buddy Holly's producer Norman Petty and, at the suggestion of Johnny Cash, for Sam Phillips at Memphis' Sun Records, with whom he signed in 1956. A recording of *Oooby Dooby*, co-written with two college friends, became a minor hit in 1956. After a couple of years spent recording and touring, Orbison moved to Nashville to concentrate on writing and bought out his Sun contract in 1958. He subsequently signed with Monument: his first record for the label was *Paperboy*; this was soon followed by *Up Town* (1959), which was a modest success. His next record however, *Only the Lonely* (1960), established him in both the USA and Britain. Like many of his hit records to follow, it combined introspection with drama and was a skilful and sophisticated marriage of black and white musics that was in stark contrast to prevailing trends.

Loneliness, despair, guilt and fear were to become recurring themes in Orbison's songs, and the tension of his romantic vignettes was often built to a heart-stopping falsetto climax: only in the last seconds of *Running Scared* (1962), for example, does the singer triumph over his rival.

A major influence on The Beatles, by 1963 Orbison was nevertheless eclipsed by the rise of beat groups. The late 1960s and 70s were marked by personal tragedy and ill-health, and it was not until 1986 that his career was given new impetus when his song *In Dreams* featured prominently in the film *Blue Velvet*. A duet version of his 1961 hit *Cryin*, rerecorded with k d lang, and used in the film *Hiding Out* (1988), was also a chart success. With George Harrison and Bob Dylan, among others, he recorded as the Traveling Wilburys, while his album *Mystery Girl* (Virgin, 1988) was a posthumous hit.

His melding of country music's *Sturm und Drang* with pop's beat, delivered in a quasi-operatic voice, was compelling, and his ballads, often melodramatic, brought maturity to a genre preoccupied with the adolescent angst.

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LIZ THOMSON

Orbón (de Soto), Julián (*b* Avilés, 7 Aug 1925; *d* Miami Beach, 20 May 1991). Cuban composer of Spanish birth. He studied at the Conservatory of Oviedo (1935) and then moved to Havana, where he began composing at an early age and had lessons from José Ardévol. From 1942 to 1949 he was a member of the Grupo de Renovación Musical, and he was active as a music critic, essayist and pianist at concerts of contemporary Cuban music. In 1946 he studied with Copland at Tanglewood. During the 1940s and 1950s he was closely associated with the literary group Orígenes, and wrote several essays for their review. He was director of the Orbón Conservatory, Havana (1946–60), founded by his father Benjamín, and taught composition at the National Conservatory in Mexico City (1960–63). In 1964 he settled in New York; he taught at Lenox College, Washington University, St Louis, Barnard College and the Hispanic Institute of Columbia University. He received two Guggenheim fellowships (1959, 1969) and an award from the American Academy of Arts and Letters (1967). His Spanish-Cuban music has been influenced by a wide range of musical and literary interests, including Catholic liturgy, Gregorian chant, the music of Falla and the Halffters, and contemporary poetry; moreover, his close friendships with Chávez and Villa-Lobos have had their effect. Whether in the formal neo-classicism of his early works or the more expansive, vigorous and romantic traits of his later style, his music has always been marked by strict structural design. Occasionally he used 'white' Cuban and Afro-Cuban rhythms, as in *Pregón* and the *Danzas sinfónicas*.

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(*selective list*)

Orch: Sym., C, 1945; Homenaje a la tonadilla, 1947; 3 versiones sinfónicas, 1953; Danzas sinfónicas, 1955–6; Conc. grosso, 1958; Partite no.3, 1965–6; Partite no.4, pf, orch, 1982–5
Choral: Crucifixus, 1953; Introito, vv, orch, 1967–8; 2 canciones folklóricas, vv, orch, 1970–72; Liturgia de tres días, vv, orch, 1975
Solo vocal: Pregón, 1v, fl, ob, hn, bn, pf, 1943; Himnus ad galli cantum, S, fl, ob, cl, hp, str qt, 1956; 3 cantigas del rey, S, hpd, perc, str qt, 1960; Monte Gelboé, T, orch, 1962–4; Libro de cantares, 1v, pf, 1987
Chbr and solo inst: Sonata 'Homaje a Padre Soler', pf, 1942; Toccata, pf, 1943; Cl Qnt, 1944; Prelude y danza, gui, 1950–51; Str Qt, 1951; Partita no.1, hpd, 1963; Partita no.2, hpd, vib, cel, hmn, str qt, 1964; Preludio y fantasía tiento, org, 1974

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AURELIO DE LA VEGA

Orchard, (William) Arundel (*b* London, 13 April 1867; *d* at sea, 7 April 1961). Australian music educationist, conductor and composer of English birth. After abandoning plans for a career in architecture, he studied the piano, the organ, the viola and singing, taking the BMus at Durham in 1893. After teaching at St Paul's School, London, he travelled in 1896 to Australia, where he was director of music first at St George's Cathedral, Perth, then at St David's Cathedral, Hobart. In 1903, after further school-teaching in England and New Zealand, he moved to Sydney, where he became conductor of the Sydney Liedertafel, the Sydney Madrigal Society and the choir of the Great Synagogue. In 1908 he conducted the inaugural concerts of the Sydney SO, and in 1912 co-founded (with George de Cairos Rego) the Musical Association of NSW. Having in 1914 successfully lobbied for the establishment of the New South Wales State Conservatorium of Music, he was appointed to its Advisory Council, and succeeded Henri Verbrugger as director in 1923. During his tenure Orchard managed, through his strong links with the Sydney establishment, to solicit private money for students' scholarships and to raise the calibre of the Conservatorium orchestra, which he conducted in Australia's first broadcast classical concert in 1929. Nevertheless, he remained a controversial figure in the city's musical life. After his compulsory retirement from the Conservatorium in 1934, he established a BMus course at the University of Tasmania, but it did not survive his departure in 1938. He lived in Sydney, active as a music examiner for Trinity College, London, until his death at sea, en route to England.

All his life Orchard composed in a dated English style; his comparable conservatism as an educator and public figure, delayed the development of modernist trends in Sydney. His writings include an autobiography, *The*

Distant View (Sydney, 1943), and *Music in Australia* (Melbourne, 1952). He was awarded the OBE in 1936.

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(*selective list*)

Ops: The Coquette, or A Suicidal Policy (comic op, W.J. Curtis), 1905, Palace, Sydney, 28 Aug 1905; The Clever Gilbertian (comic op, Curtis); The Emperor (comic op, Curtis), 1906; Dorian Gray (music drama, Curtis, after O. Wilde), 1915–17, concert perf. of Act 2, Sydney, New South Wales State Conservatorium, 11 Sept 1919

Orch: Reverie, str, 1894; Ov., 1894; Scherzo, wind, str, 1898, inc.; A Woodland Phantasy, 1922; Orch Variations [on Morley's Now is the Month of Maying], ?1923, rev. ?1956; Prelude and Fugue, sketched 1928, orchd 1943; Fanfare, brass, 1938; The Silent Land, band parts only extant; Vn Conc., vn solo part only extant; The North Wind

Choral: Easter Morn, orat., chorus, *c*1892; The Wreck of the Hesperus (H.W. Longfellow), chorus, orch, 1897; Kyrie Eleison, chorus, 1898; The Silent Land (Longfellow), TTBarB, pf, 1902; An Idyll (E. L. Sabin), mixed vv (Sydney, 1910); God of our Fathers (R. Kipling), TTBB, 1911; Here awa', there awa' (after R. Burns), SATB, 1912; Uller, the Bowman (dramatic poem, Curtis) S, Bar, male chorus, orch (London, 1912); Voices of Women (F. Prewett), SATB (Sydney, 1923); Hark, hark, the lark, chorus, by 1934 (Sydney, 1956); Sweet and Low, (Prewett), chorus (Sydney, 1934), version for SA, pf (Sydney, 1943); When passion's trance is overpast (P.B. Shelley), SSATB (London, 1940); Stay, stay, sweet time, chorus, 1947; Doth not wisdom cry? (Bible), S, women's vv/boy's vv, org (London, 1949); Madrigal (E. Spencer), SSATB, 1950; I'll bid my heart be still (trad.), SATB; All the Blue Bonnets, chorus; To Blossoms (R. Herrick), SSATBB (London, 1956); Madrigal, SATB; Duncan Gray (folksong arr.), SATB; Stay, stay, sweet time (M. Drayton), SATB

Songs, incl. An Idle Quest, 1894; Sleep, 1894; Invocation to Sleep (J. Keats), S, 1913–14; 3 Troubadour Songs (12th-century texts, trans. J. Bithell) T/S, pf (London, 1929); 2 Elizabethan Songs (Sydney, 1939); Love's Philosophy (Shelley), no date

Chbr: Trio, d, vn, vc, pf, 1894; Trio, pf, vn, hn, 1901; Intermezzo, 6 vc, 1932, perf. 1933; Caprice, vn, pf, 1936; Trio, e, vn, va, pf, 1939; Threnody/Elegy, str qt; Str Qt, f

Pf: Scherzo, pf (London, 1891); Serenade, pf, 1894; Summerland, pf, 1895; Rhapsody, a, pf (London, 1939); Ariel, pf, (Melbourne, 1943); Toccata, pf (Sydney, 1943); Concert Study, pf, *c*1943; Humoresque, pf, *c*1943; Toccata in the Early Manner, a, pf

MSS in *AUS-CAnl*, *Scm*, *Ssl*

JOHN CARMODY

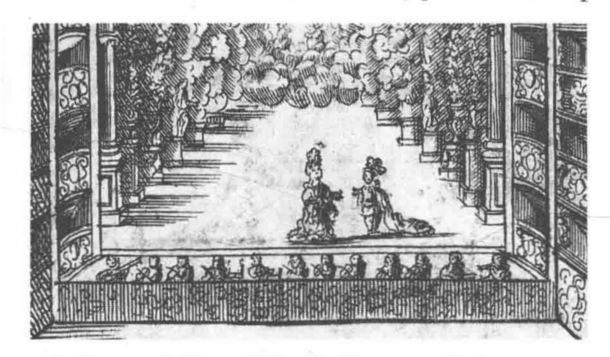
Orchestra (It.; Fr. *orchestre*; Ger. *Orchester*). 'Orchestra' has been used in a generic sense to mean any large grouping of instrumentalists. Thus one reads of an Indonesian gamelan orchestra, a Japanese gagaku orchestra, a Chinese drum and gong orchestra, the 'orchestra' of a Renaissance *intermedio*, or even the 'orchestras' of the Old Testament. In this article, 'orchestra' is treated in a specific and historical sense, as a characteristically European institution that arose in the 17th and 18th centuries and subsequently spread to other parts of the world as part of Western cultural influence. Related information will be found in other articles, for example CONCERT (ii), CONDUCTING and INSTRUMENTATION AND ORCHESTRATION; *see also* BAND (i).

1. Definitions. 2. Etymology. 3. Pre- and proto-orchestral ensembles (1500–1700). 4. Lully and Corelli (1650–1715). 5. The birth of the orchestra (1680–1740). 6. The Classical orchestra (1740–1815). 7. The Romantic orchestra (1815–1900). 8. The modern orchestra.

1. DEFINITIONS. Analysis of orchestras from the 18th century to the present reveals a series of interrelated defining traits (Zaslaw, 1988, 1993). (*a*) Orchestras are based on string instruments of the violin family plus double basses. (*b*) This core group of bowed strings is organized into sections within which the players usually perform the same notes in unison. This practice of doubling string instruments is carried out unequally: there will almost always be more violins than lower strings. (*c*) Woodwind, brass and percussion instruments are usually present, in numbers and types differing according to time, place and repertory. (*d*) Orchestras of a given time, place and repertory usually display considerable standardization of instrumentation. Such standardization facilitates the circulation of repertory among orchestras. (*e*) Most orchestras are standing organizations with stable personnel, routines of rehearsal and performance, an administrative structure and a budget. (*f*) Because orchestral music requires many instrumentalists to play the same thing at the same time, orchestras demand a high degree of musical discipline. Such discipline involves unified bowing, the ability to play at sight and strict adherence to the notes on the page. (*g*) Orchestras are coordinated by means of centralized direction, provided in the 17th and 18th centuries by the first violinist or a keyboard player and since the early 19th century by a conductor.

Instrumental ensembles that manifest all the traits listed above can be designated unequivocally as 'orchestras', wherever they are found and whatever they are called. Ensembles with many but not all of these traits are often called orchestras and can at the least be said to function orchestrally. Orchestras may be further categorized into a number of sub-types, including theatre orchestras, symphony or concert orchestras, string orchestras, chamber orchestras, café or salon orchestras, radio orchestras, studio orchestras and others. This article will give the most attention to theatre orchestras and symphony orchestras.

2. ETYMOLOGY. The word 'orchestra', which in ancient Greece and Rome referred to the ground level of an amphitheatre, was revived in the Renaissance to designate the area immediately in front of the stage. In the early 17th century this became a favourite spot to place the instrumentalists who accompanied singing and dancing, and 'orchestra' began to mean 'the place where the musicians sit' (E. Phillips, *The New World of English Words*, London, 1658). By the 18th century the meaning of the word had been extended to the instrumentalists themselves and to their identity as an ensemble (J.-J. Rousseau, *Dictionnaire de musique*, Paris, 1768). Before the word 'orchestra' had established itself in various European languages, a variety of other expressions were used to indicate large ensembles of instrumentalists. In Italian such groups could be called *capella*, *coro*, *concerto*, *concerto grosso*, *sinfonia* or *gli stromenti*. The use of 'orchestra' to designate such ensembles can be dated in Rome from 1679 at the latest. In French one finds *les violons*, *les concertants*, *les instruments* and *la symphonie*. The use of 'orchestre' or 'orquestre' to refer to an instrumental ensemble rather than a place in the theatre appears in French around 1670 at the latest. In German the term *Kapelle* ('chapel') was widely employed in the 17th and 18th centuries as a name for court, church and private musical establishments, meaning instrumentalists and vocalists taken together. In addition Germans designated instrumental ensembles as *Chor*, *die Musik*, *Konzert*, *Symphonie* and *die Instrumenten*. The use of 'Orchester' in this sense turns up in German by 1713 as a borrowing from the French. In English, too, the word was imported from French around 1700, displacing such words as consort, band, company of musick, the musick, musick-meeting and the violins (Strahle, 1995).

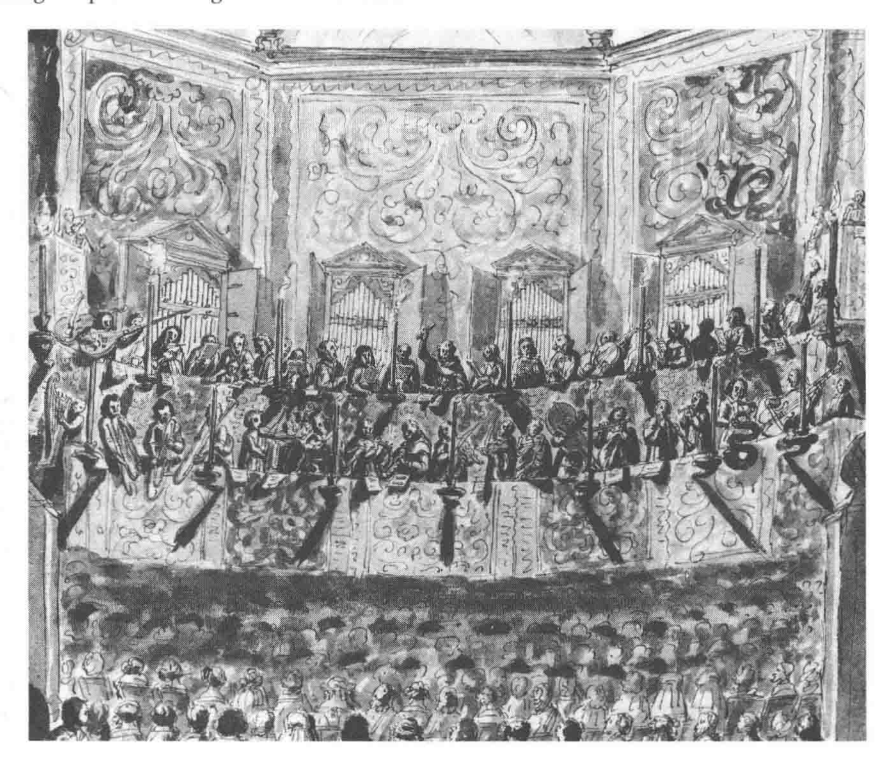


1. Orchestra at the Teatro S Giovanni Grisostomo, Venice: engraving, c1709; for the full engraving see VENICE, *fig.6*

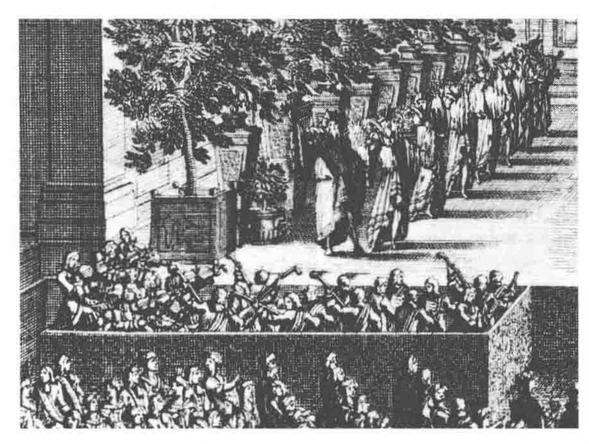
3. PRE- AND PROTO-ORCHESTRAL ENSEMBLES (1500–1700). In the 16th and 17th centuries instrumental ensembles, some of them quite large, played for ballets and dances, for operas and other dramatic entertainments, for church services and for banquets. The instrumental ensembles of early opera developed out of ensembles for *intermedi* and similar entertainments at 16th-century courts in Italy and France. These might include lutes, viols, violins, flutes, trombones, trumpets, cornetts, keyboard instruments and others, assembled and deployed variously according to the occasion. The principal roles of the instruments seem to have been to double the singers in vocal polyphony and to provide the remaining parts of a polyphonic texture during vocal solos. In dances, sinfonias or other interludes the instruments played alone. Descriptions of the Florentine *intermedi* of 1539, 1565, 1589, and 1608 provide examples of this sort of instrumentation (Brown, 1973; Coelho, 1998). A similar French practice is seen in the *Balet comique de la Royne* of 1581. The instrumentalists who played for these entertainments were hidden offstage or placed onstage in costume. The scoring for such ensembles has been characterized as 'programmatic': for instance, gods were accompanied by an 'Olympian' ensemble of lutes, viols and harps; flutes, shawms and pipes accompanied pastoral scenes; an 'infernal' grouping of trombones and bass viols evoked the underworld (Weaver, 1961). There seems to have been no notion that a single, standard ensemble should accompany an entire work; instead, groups of musicians with a variety of instruments communicated and reinforced meanings through their costumes and the symbolic associations of their instruments.

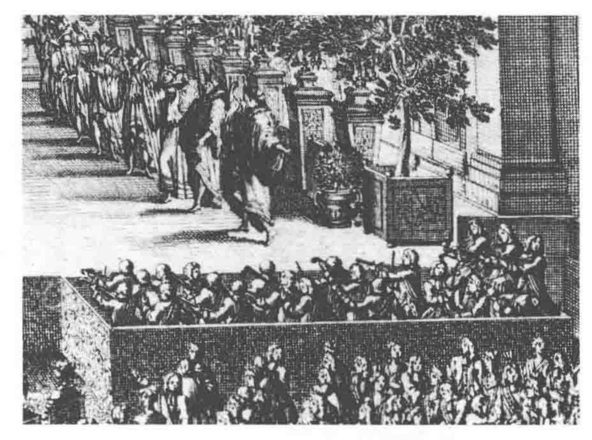
During the 17th century, court-sponsored festival operas celebrating occasions of state were accompanied by lavish ensembles of the *intermedio* type, for example in Monteverdi's *Orfeo* (1607, Mantua), *The Triumph of Peace*, a masque for Charles I (1634, London) and Cesti's *Il pomo d'oro* (1668, Vienna). More modestly financed public operas, beginning in Venice in 1637 and soon adopted elsewhere, were accompanied mainly by a small group of strings, harpsichords and lutes, with wind instruments added for special effects (fig.1).

Late 16th- and 17th-century large-scale sacred music was characteristically polychoral and often called for large numbers of instrumentalists. The instruments, however, did not form their own ensemble but were distributed into choirs mixed with the singers, whose parts they usually doubled. Judging from the number of performers, the instruments most often played one-to-a-part. A watercolour by Pierre Paul Sevin of a performance in Rome (fig.2) shows many voices and instruments divided into four similar sized ensembles grouped around four organs. *The Missa salisburgensis*, attributed to Biber, has individual parts for 37 instruments, divided into six ensembles, some mixed with singers, some exclusively instrumental, distributed in various places around the cathedral.



2. Pre-orchestral ensemble at a Roman concert: drawing by Pierre Paul Sevin, pen and brown ink with watercolour, c1670 (Nationalmuseum, Stockholm)





3. Orchestra for a performance of Lully's 'Alceste' in the Cour de Marbre, Versailles, 1674: details from an engraving by Jean Le Pautre from 'Les divertissements de Versailles, 1674' (Paris, 1676), reproduced in PARIS, *fig.13*

String bands or consorts, made up of viols or violins of several sizes, with four to six players performing one-to-a-part, were popular in many parts of Europe during the 16th and 17th centuries. For balls, weddings, dining in state and similar social events the more penetrating violins were favoured, playing an international repertory of dances, often from memory. By the end of the 16th century Parisian violin bands, which played for civic festivities and also at the court of Louis XIII, had begun to perform their repertory with several instruments to each part. By 1607, 12 string players ('violons') held official appointments as the 'violons du Roi', offices that could be passed on to their sons or sons-in-law or sold outright. A court document of 1618 mentions '24 violons ordinaires', who received a New Year's bonus (Bardet, 1992). The ensemble remained the '24 violons du Roi' for over a century, until it was abolished by royal decree in 1761. Marin Mersenne in 1636 described how the 24 violins were disposed in their characteristic five-part texture: six *dessus* (violins), four *haute contres* (small violas), four *tailles* (medium-sized violas), four *quintes* (large violas) and six *basses de violon* (oversized cellos). The development of a similar court string band in London at about the same time was cut short by the Interregnum (Holman, 1993). Violin bands, sometimes with several players on the parts, were also assembled at the Spanish court of Naples, in Sweden at Queen Christina's court and in Germany at several courts, including those at Wolfenbüttel, Kassel and Stuttgart. The French violin bands, with violin-family instruments in five sizes, unequal doubling and a repertory of dance music, can be singled out as the origin of the orchestra.

4. LULLY AND CORELLI (1650–1715). Jean-Baptiste Lully's rise to power at the French court had profound musical implications, not just in France but for all of Europe. In 1653, at the age of 20, Lully was appointed *compositeur de la musique instrumentale*, which made him leader of his own violin band, the Petite Bande (Petits Violons, Violons du Cabinet). In 1664 he was made head of the Grande Bande (the 24 Violons du Roi). In 1672 he took over the Académie Royale de Musique (the Paris Opéra). The Grande Bande had 24, the Petite Bande perhaps 18 string players; for large-scale court performances Lully occasionally combined the two. He could also call upon woodwind players, trumpets and timpani of the Grande Ecurie (musicians attached to the cavalry). When in 1664 Lully pulled together these and additional forces for a multi-day entertainment at Versailles called *Les plaisirs de l'isle enchantée*, he used them in typical pre-orchestral fashion: consorts of like instruments, in costume, joined together on an ad hoc basis (Lemaître, 1991). Ten years later, when Lully produced his opera *Alceste* as well as Molière and Charpentier's *comédie-ballet Le malade imaginaire*, at a similar entertainment, he organized his instrumental forces very differently. The engravings of the 1674 events show large ensembles of bowed and plucked strings placed in two boxes in front of the stage, not in costume but in livery (fig.3). At the stage apron a man with a short baton, perhaps Lully himself, beats time for the singers and instrumentalists. Much as this looks like an orchestra, it is likely that the bowed strings played only for the overture, entr'actes and dances, while the plucked strings accompanied just the vocal music. Lully's 'orchestra' was famous for its unanimous attack (the *premier coup d'archet*), for using short bowstrokes, for bowing up and down in unison, and for the tastefulness of the ornamentation that the players added to the notes on the page (Zaslaw, 1990, 1993; Kolneder, 1970).

These innovations in instrumental ensembles and ensemble playing made a brilliant impression on visitors to the French court. Princes in neighbouring lands, especially Germany, sought to create Lully-style ensembles at their own courts. They engaged French violinists and oboists for their own Kapellen; they sent German musicians to Paris to learn the new style and bring it back home. In consequence, Lully's orchestral style is best documented in the prefaces to publications by German composers: the *Florilegium I* and *II* by Georg Muffat (Augsburg, 1695; Passau, 1698), J.C.F. Fischer's *Journal de printems* (Stuttgart, 1695) and J.A. Schmierer's *Zodiaci musici* (Augsburg, 1698). The German Lullistes for the most part worked at small courts with limited instrumental resources; only Schmierer discussed string doubling. Lully's ensemble with doubled strings, oboes and bassoon provided an important model of orchestral scoring to several generations of French, English and German composers.

The fashion for large violin bands reached Italy as early as the 1660s. In a *Serenata* by M.A. Cesti, performed at the Florentine court in 1664, the sinfonias were played 'with the instruments doubled following the practice of

concerts in France, that is, with six violins, four alto violas, four tenor violas, four bass violas, a contrabass, a high-pitched spinet and a large spinet, one theorbo and one archlute' (Wellesz, 1913–14). In Rome there was no single large-scale employer of musicians comparable to the courts of France or Florence; instead, cardinals, foreign ambassadors, Roman nobles, churches and other institutions each employed a handful of musicians, mainly keyboardists and string players. For important occasions these musicians could be called together to play in a large ensemble under unified leadership. From about 1680 until 1712, the leader of almost all such ensembles was Arcangelo Corelli, who acted as contractor, artistic director, leader (concertmaster) and, not infrequently, composer. In 1687, for instance, Corelli led two public concerts in specially constructed 'theatres' in the Piazza di Spagna, one sponsored by the French ambassador, the other by the Spanish ambassador. Of the first, celebrating the recovery of Louis XIV from an illness, a commentator wrote:

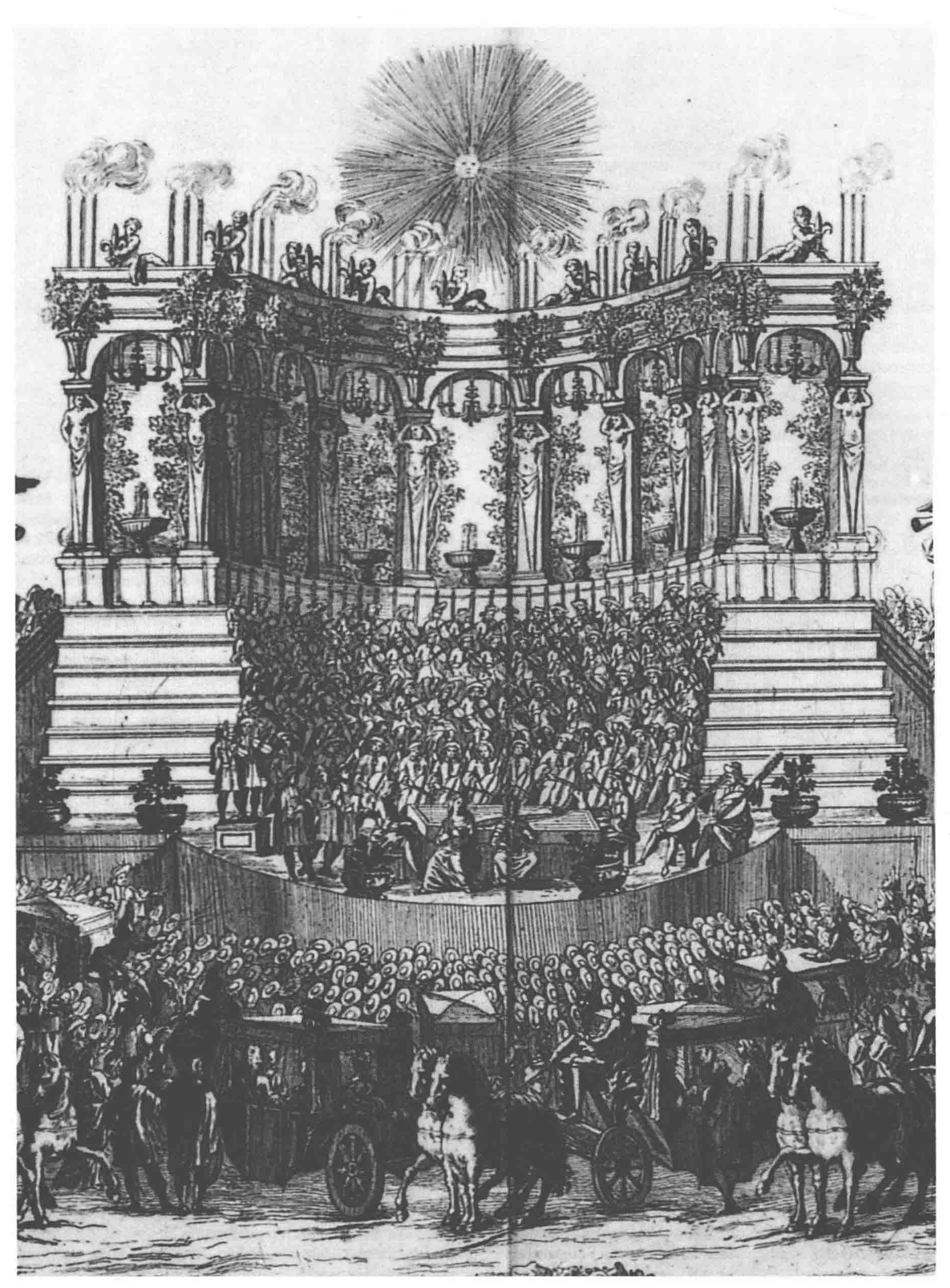
> There was a large platform for the singers and instrumentalists, who started out with a beautiful sinfonia of concerted instruments by the famous Arcangelo [Corelli] Bolognese, who had assembled together all the best string players in Rome. Then two vocalists accompanied by the orchestra sang a poem in praise of the King. The audience listened in profound silence.

For the nameday of the Queen of Spain, the Spanish ambassador put on a specially commissioned *Applauso musicale* by Bernardo Pasquini. An engraving of the performance shows an ensemble of over 60 string players, plus a continuo group of two harpsichords and a pair of archlutes (fig.4). The ensemble is led by two violinists standing on a raised platform at the far left, presumably Corelli and his assistant, Matteo Fornari (Marx, 1988; Spitzer, 1991). Payrolls for similar occasions confirm that this picture does not exaggerate: Corelli's orchestra often exceeded 40 players, and for oratorios it could grow to more than 70 (Marx, 1968, 1983). Corelli, like Lully, cultivated a high level of orchestral discipline in his ensemble. According to the testimony of Geminiani, 'Corelli regarded it as essential to the ensemble of a band, that their bows should all move exactly together, all up, or all down; so that at his rehearsals, which constantly preceded every public performance of his concertos, he would immediately stop the band if he discovered one irregular bow' (*BurneyH*). The repertory of Corelli's orchestra, like Lully's dance music, was printed, disseminated and imitated throughout Europe. His op.6 concerti grossi, in which a large ensemble of massed strings alternated with a small concertino of two violins and cello, became another model of orchestral scoring for the next generation of composers.

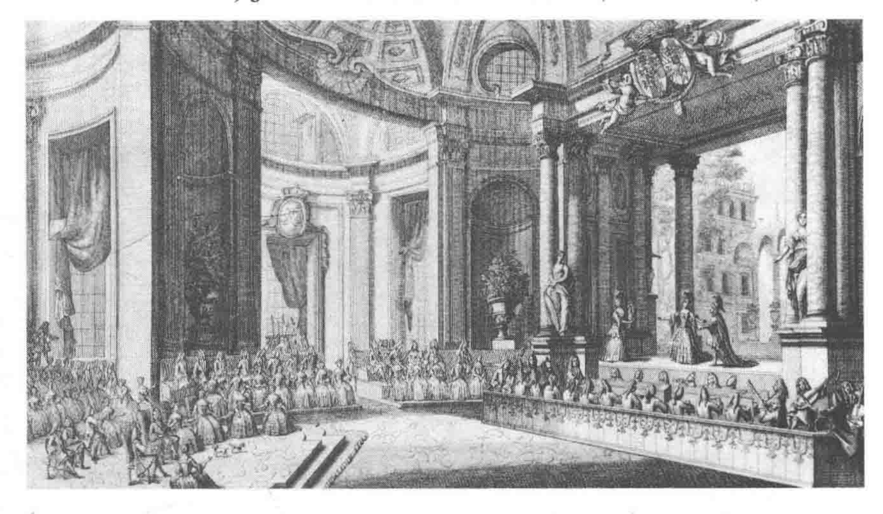
5. The birth of the orchestra (1680–1740). The history of the orchestra from the 17th century to the present involves consideration of how many instruments and of what kinds this ensemble comprised, how these instruments were used, the training and career paths of instrumentalists who performed in orchestras and the roles that orchestras played in society. Such a history shows that local traditions did not always conform with the broader picture. Nonetheless, in many cities and courts between about 1680 and about 1740, parallel changes can be observed in instrumental ensembles: the number of strings (especially violins) increased; the Renaissance wind instruments (cornetts, shawms, curtals etc.) were replaced by French-type 'Baroque' recorders, flutes, oboes and bassoons; pairs of horns were added; and a 16′ bowed bass instrument joined the orchestra, first as an occasional novelty but eventually as a permanent member. These characteristics began to appear in France and Italy by the 1680s and in Germany and England by 1700. In addition, the organization and performing practices of instrumental ensembles became more 'orchestral'. Rather than being split into separate ensembles, instrumentalists were gathered into a single group. Instead of playing several instruments with the same range or function, instrumentalists began to specialize on particular instruments. One member of the ensemble, usually a violinist, was designated as leader for purposes of setting tempos in instrumental numbers and deciding on bowing and ornamentation. Finally, orchestras began to call attention to themselves as a central feature of musical events. In the theatre they occupied a prominent place (fig.5); elsewhere they are displayed on risers (fig.4), in balconies (fig.6) or on a stage. They played pieces, or long sections of pieces, without singers, and commentators began to note and to compare orchestras and orchestral performances. By the 1730s and 40s the 'orchestra' – by that time called by its own name – was recognizable as an institution in most parts of Europe.

6. The Classical orchestra (1740–1815). Because the orchestral works of Haydn, Mozart and especially of Beethoven were maintained in the repertory as 'classics' from the early 19th century onwards, the orchestra for which the Vienna masters composed has come to be known as the 'Classical' orchestra. The term may usefully be extended to include orchestras from about 1740 until 1815 or even later. For the first part of this period, from the 1740s to the 1780s, a typical orchestra included violins, violas, cellos and double basses, a pair of oboes, a pair of horns, one or two bassoons and keyboard continuo (harpsichord or organ). Trumpets and timpani were optional. Violins were divided into two sections of approximately equal size; violas (except in France) were consolidated into a single section, although composers occasionally wrote 'divisi' parts for them. Cellos, double basses, bassoons and keyboard usually played the same *basso* line, although cellos and bassoons had occasional obbligato passages, and the keyboard player added improvised harmonies above the bass. Oboists often played the flute as well, so these instruments could be interchanged but typically did not play simultaneously. This was the orchestra for Italian opera throughout Europe; it was also the typical configuration for spoken theatre, for private and public concerts, for important church services, and for dancing. For special occasions the orchestra could be enlarged by increasing the size of the string sections or even doubling the wind. Unusual instruments could be added for special effects: trombones for underworld scenes, flageolet to imitate birds, clarinet or chalumeau to suggest shepherds. In modest venues, for routine occasions or when money was short, the orchestra could be reduced to pairs of strings or even single players on the four parts, plus oboes and horns (fig.7).

In the theatre the orchestra was placed in front of the stage at floor level, separated from the audience by a rail. In the most common seating plan two long rows of violinists faced one another across double-sided desks which held the music (fig.8). Oboes, flutes and violas were distributed among the violins, whose parts they often



4. Performance of the 'Applauso musicale' by Pasquini on a specially erected 'theatre' in the Piazza di Spagna, Rome, to celebrate the nameday of Marie-Louise, Queen of Spain, in August 1687: engraving by Christoph Schor; for the full engraving see ROME, *§II, 3, fig.16*

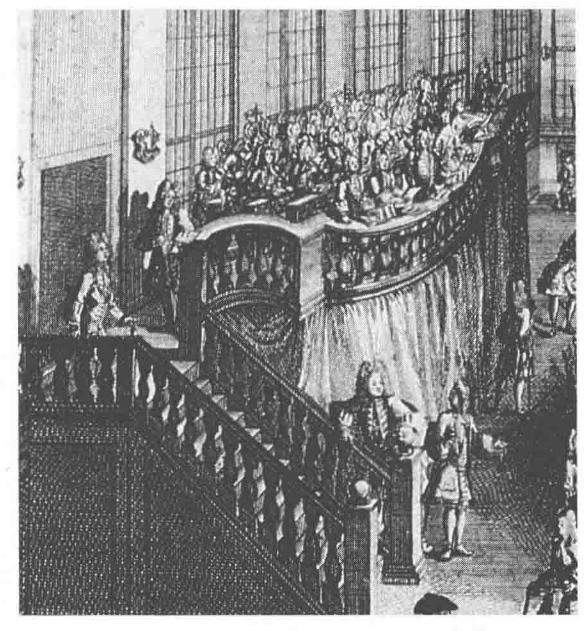


5. Orchestra for the opera 'Ricimero' (perhaps Gasparini's 'Flavio Anicio Olibrio') performed in the theatre of the Palazzo Reale, Turin, as part of the celebrations marking the arrival of the Princess of Piedmont in 1722: engraving by Antoine Aveline after Filippo Juvarra

doubled. Italian opera often used two harpsichords, one on the left side, one on the right, each surrounded by a group of cellos, basses and bassoons playing the *basso* part (fig.8). Orchestral seating for concerts, oratorios, dances and serenades manifested great variability from one place or one occasion to another (figs.9, 10, 11). During most of the 18th century, printed orchestral music was typically offered in *à 8* format: four string parts plus oboes and horns. This sufficed for an orchestra of 14 to 16 players; for larger orchestras, additional parts were copied out by hand. Similarly orchestral music in manuscript tended to circulate as sets of single parts, with extra parts (doublets) for violins and *basso* copied out as needed.

By the last two decades of the 18th century previously optional or interchangeable instruments, including flutes, clarinets, trumpets and drums, had become indispensable. Thus Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven composed for an orchestra of strings, plus pairs of flutes, oboes, clarinets, bassoons, horns, trumpets and timpani. This may be called the 'high-Classical' orchestra (Zaslaw, 1991). The configuration is found as a general practice, however, only from the 1790s: of Haydn's more than 100 symphonies, only four (nos.99, 100, 103, 104) call for those forces, as do only two (the Paris and the Haffner) of Mozart's more than 50. Beethoven and such contemporaries as Spontini, Méhul and Rossini began to transform this ensemble, giving the double bass its own part, adding a third horn part and sometimes a fourth, and making trombones an obligatory part of the orchestra.

In France, and especially in Paris, orchestral development followed a somewhat different course. The orchestra of the Opéra during the first quarter of the 18th century was still organized as it had been in Lully's day. It was divided into two groups with separate personnel and different roles, a *petit choeur* and a *grand choeur* (La Gorce, 1990). The *petit choeur*, which at the beginning of the period consisted of harpsichords, lutes, theorbos, bass viols and cellos, accompanied song, that is, recitatives, airs and vocal ensembles. The *grand choeur*, a five-part string band plus wind (about 30 instruments in all), played overtures, descriptive symphonies and dance music; it also accompanied choruses. The differentiation between *petit*and *grand choeur* was maintained at the Opéra until 1778, but the make-up of both groups changed. The *petit choeur* added a pair of violins and later one or two flutes to play obbligato parts in songs. In the *grand choeur* the number of violins increased, while the violas decreased. By the 1720s the violins had been divided into firsts and seconds, and there were only two viola parts (*haute-contre* and *taille*); in the 1740s the violas were consolidated into a single section, and the Opéra joined other European orchestras in four-part string scoring. Wind instruments, which before had mainly doubled the strings of the *grand choeur*, were now given more independent parts; horns were added in 1759 and also clarinets, first as supernumeraries (1749), later as regular members of the orchestra (1771). Both the Opéra orchestra and the orchestra of the Concert Spirituel, whose personnel overlapped considerably, were led by a baton-wielding *batteur de mesure* (fig.12). Other Paris orchestras at the Comédie Française, the Théâtre-Italien, the Concert des Amateurs and La Pouplinière's salon were organized more like Italian and German orchestras,

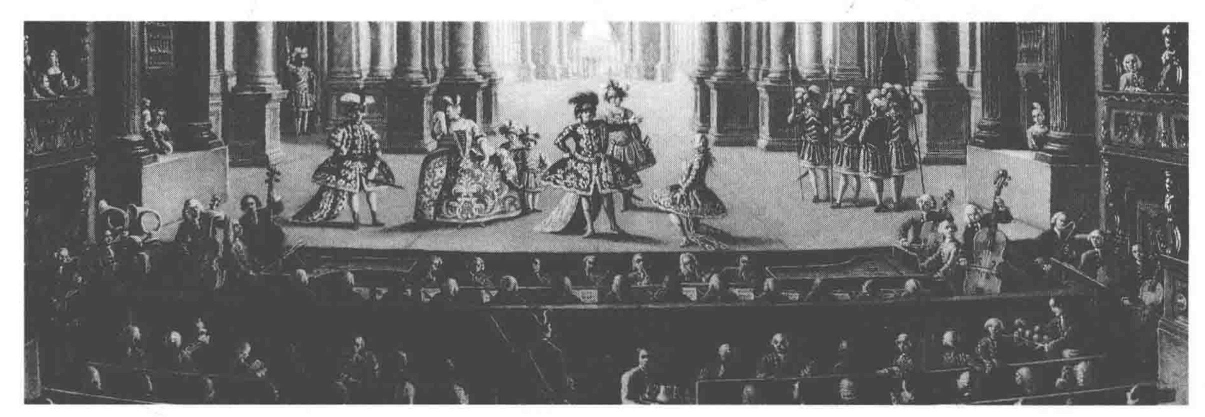


6. Orchestra in a balcony for the celebration banquet of the citizen-captains of Hamburg, in the Drillhaus: detail of engraving by Christian Fritzsch, 1719; for the full engraving see HAMBURG, *fig.4*

7. 'Concerto' for strings, horns, oboes and harpsichord: engraving from 'Zürich Musicalische Neu-Jahrs-Geschenke' (1744)

as unitary ensembles with four-part strings and pairs of winds, directed by the first violinist. By the 1780s the large Paris orchestras had come to resemble high-Classical orchestras across Europe, with whom they now shared a pan-European orchestral repertory.

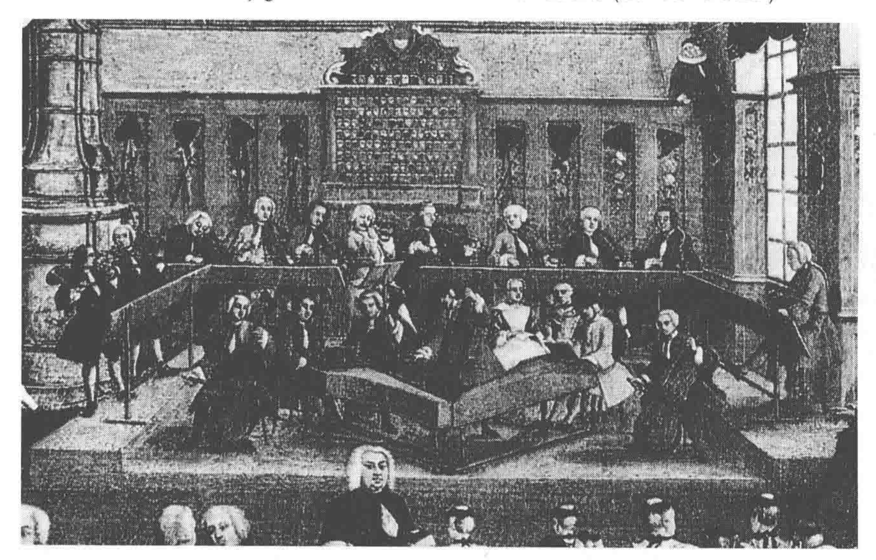
The shift from early- to high-Classical orchestra can be seen in two developments found in many orchestral works of the 1780s and 90s: the wind instruments become full and equal participants in the orchestration; and the generic bass line is differentiated into independent parts for bassoons, cellos and double basses. To their earlier functions of doubling or alternating with the strings and sustaining slow-moving harmonies in the tuttis, the wind add a new role: they participate in the presentation and development of thematic materials. As soloists, in pairs or in other combinations, wind instruments emerge from the orchestral texture and play a bar or two of melody, then relinquish their place to other instruments. This kind of orchestration may have been associated with the rise of specialist wind players, who no longer doubled on several instruments but were virtuosos on a single one. The second development was tied to the decline of the



8. Orchestra for a performance of 'opera seria' at the Teatro Regio, Turin, c1740: detail from a painting by Pietro Domenico Olivero (Museo Civico d'Arte Antica, Turin)

9. Concert in a Venetian palazzo, mid-18th century: painting by an unknown artist (Casa Goldoni, Venice)

10. Orchestra for a ball, in honour of Friedrich Christian of Saxony, Teatro S Giovanni Grisostomo, Venice, 1740: engraving after Antonio Joli

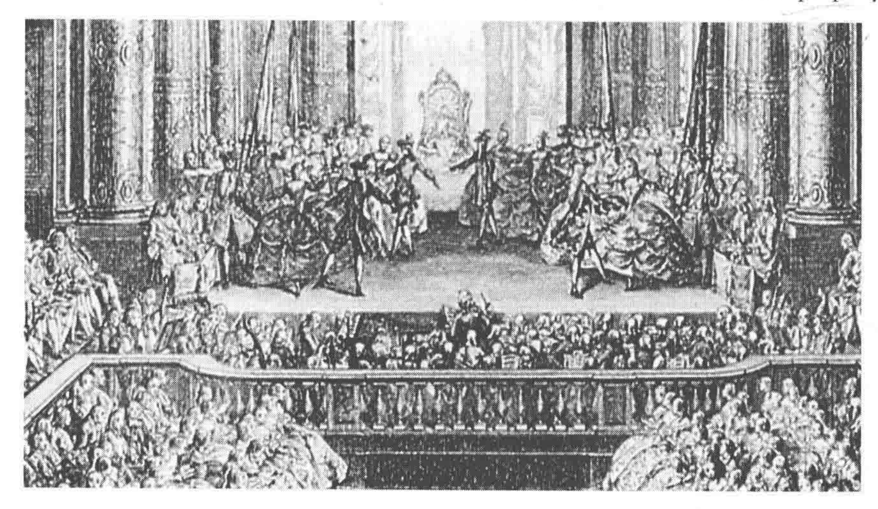


11. Concert in the Shoemakers' Guildhall, Zürich, in honour of the burgomaster Johannes Fries: detail of a ?lost painting by Johann Rudolph Dälliker, c1753; for the full painting see CONCERT *(ii), fig.3*

keyboard continuo. As pianos, with their softer tone, replaced harpsichords towards the end of the 18th century, the keyboard instrument became less useful for supplying the harmonies, guiding the singers and directing the instrumental ensemble. Singing, both in the theatre and on the concert stage, was accompanied increasingly by the full orchestra rather than just by continuo. A keyboard instrument often remained in the orchestra as a place from which a composer could supervise the performance, particularly in opera and oratorio. By the last two decades of the 18th century, however, most orchestras (except in France) were directed by the first violinist. With the end of continuo practice, composers started writing separate parts for cello and double bass, creating in effect a five-part string section, although the double basses often doubled the cellos at the octave.

In the 18th century there were few concert halls devoted primarily to orchestral performance; most orchestral concerts took place in theatres, the great halls of palaces and large houses, inns and other public buildings. In the second half of the century many larger cities had public concert series featuring orchestras, such as the Concert Spirituel in Paris, the Grosse Konzert in Leipzig and the Bach-Abel concerts in London. In principle, anyone could purchase a ticket to such concerts, but most concert series maintained a degree of exclusivity by allowing admission only by costly subscription. Many more such events were under private patronage and open to invited audiences only.

7. THE ROMANTIC ORCHESTRA (1815–1900). The 19th century saw a tremendous expansion of orchestras and their culture. The number of orchestras in Europe increased several-fold; orchestras themselves grew larger and incorporated new kinds of instruments; orchestras became more widely dispersed geographically and appeared in new venues and new social contexts. During most of the 18th century orchestras had been an accompaniment to and an expression of aristocratic court culture; in the 19th century the orchestra became a central institution of public musical life. Orchestras in different places and different venues came to resemble each other in instrumentation, organization and performing practices. Playing in orchestras became a profession, distinct from other kinds of musical work; newly founded conservatories trained instrumentalists as orchestral musicians, and players' associations (later trade unions) were formed to improve wages and working conditions. Concert orchestras became independent organizations with their own property, administrative structure and



12. Orchestra for Rameau's comédie-ballet 'La princesse de Navarre', Théâtre des Grands Ecuries, Versailles, 1745: detail of an engraving by Charles-Nicolas Cochin II, reproduced in full in PARIS, *fig.17*

income; concert series were organized in most European cities, with multiple series in the larger ones. Orchestral repertory became increasingly distinct from other kinds of music and increasingly standardized; over the course of the 19th century programme planning became dominated by a limited number of canonical or 'classical' works (Weber, 1986). Alongside such classicizing programmes – which often comprised an overture, concerto and symphony – orchestras continued to perform mixed or miscellaneous programmes with large numbers of shorter works, including operatic excerpts and instrumental solos, which were the precursors of 20th-century 'pops' concerts.

19th-century orchestras divide into two principal types: theatre orchestras and concert orchestras. Theatre orchestras played for both spoken theatre and opera, which often shared the same theatre and the same orchestra. Some theatres (for example those in Vienna, Berlin and St Petersburg) were still appendages of a court; their orchestras were court Kapellen and the players civil servants. More commonly theatres were commercial enterprises, and the orchestra was engaged for one season at a time. However, personnel tended to remain stable year after year. Because of this stability and because the theatre was open several nights a week, employment in a theatre orchestra could form the basis for an instrumentalist's living, indeed for an entire career. Concert series offered only weekly or fortnightly performances, so employment in a concert orchestra could provide only a portion of a musician's living, and concert orchestras shared personnel in most cities with theatre orchestras. As the market for entertainment expanded during the 19th century, other types of orchestra came into being: salon orchestras, café orchestras, dance orchestras, spa orchestras, orchestras in music halls and burlesque houses, and at the beginning of the 20th century in cinemas.

Experimentation and advances in instrument technology during the 19th century led to significant changes in the composition of the orchestra, particularly among the brass. The serpentone, bombardon, ophicleide and cimbasso were added in turn to fortify the lower register of the brass; they were gradually replaced by various forms of tuba, beginning in the 1830s (Meucci, 1996). Even more important was the addition of valves to trumpets and horns, which allowed them to play melodies in their lower and middle registers and to play in various keys. During the first half of the 19th century, valved and natural instruments played side by side in the same orchestras. Wagner, for example, in *Rienzi* (1842, Dresden) calls for two natural trumpets along with two valved cornets, two natural horns along with two valved horns, and both serpent and ophicleide. Woodwind too were redesigned, mainly by adding new keywork, which enabled them to play in any key rapidly and more reliably in tune. Woodwind instruments in new, sometimes extreme registers were added – piccolo, English horn, bass clarinet, double bassoon – but these were usually used only for special effects and played by doublers from the regular wind section. From the 1820s on many orchestras included one or even two harps, often played by women, exceptions in what was otherwise an all-male institution.

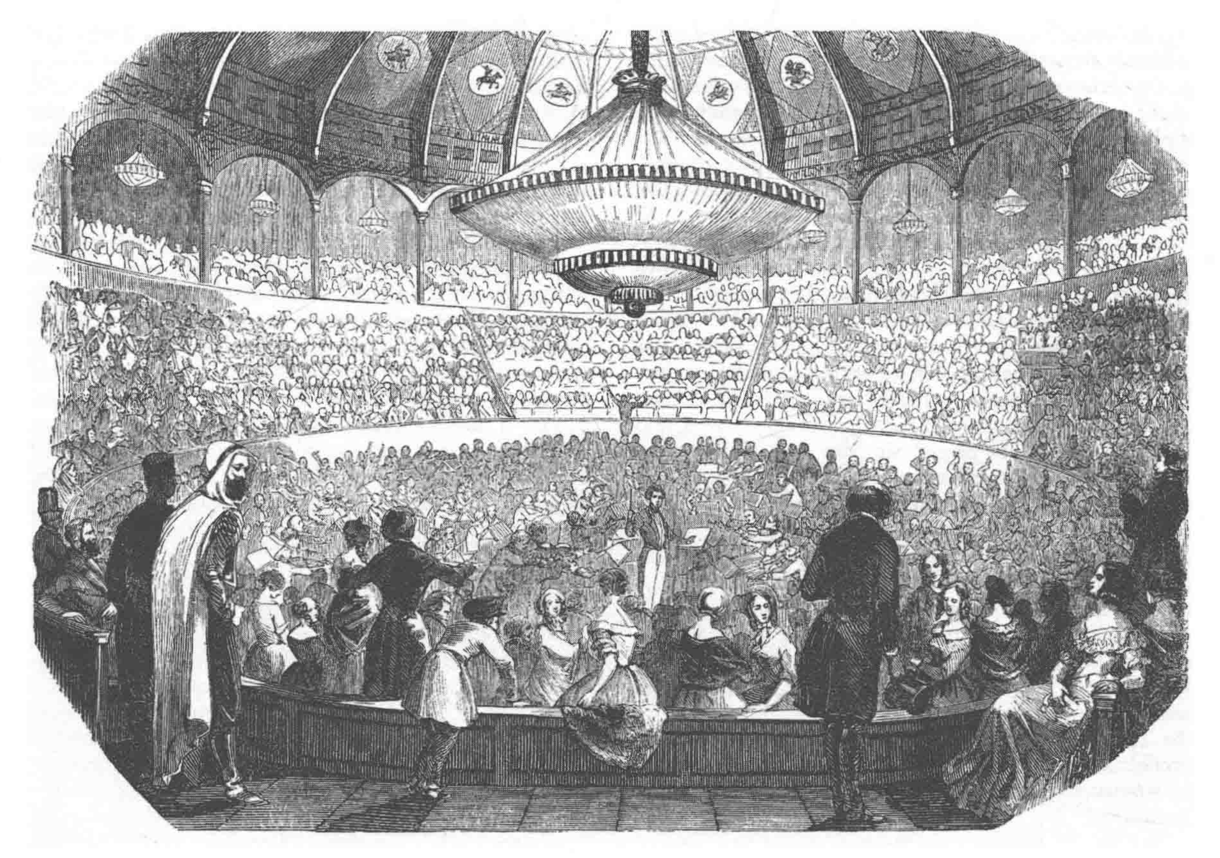
Because 19th-century orchestras, especially concert orchestras, continued to play a repertory of symphonies and oratorios from the 18th and early 19th centuries, their structure remained frozen in the pattern of the 'high-Classical' orchestra: five sections of strings, with pairs of wind brass instruments and a small battery of percussion. Keyboard continuo had been eliminated from most orchestras by the second quarter of the 19th century, and opera recitative was accompanied now by the full orchestra or by a solo cello. In the larger opera houses the string sections were expanded for greater volume and the wind were often doubled, with a principal and an assistant on each part; percussion instruments such as cymbals and castanets were added for local colour and special effects. Instrumentalists sometimes appeared on stage in costume as a band (*banda sul palco*, *musique de scène*), usually made up of military instruments like clarinets, cornets, and keyed bugles, with players sometimes borrowed from the local garrison. By using shifting combinations of instruments, opera composers achieved a myriad of orchestral colours and effects. In Wagner's later operas the large orchestra functions as a central element in the drama, setting the scene, hinting at the thoughts and emotions of the characters and commenting on the action through a system of leitmotifs. By the late 19th century the Wagnerian orchestra and Wagnerian techniques of orchestration had made their way into symphonic and concert repertory, for example in the tone poems of Richard Strauss or the symphonies of Bruckner and Mahler.

The biggest structural innovation in 19th-century orchestras was the baton conductor, first in France, where the Opéra and the Concert Spirituel had been directed by time beaters as early as the 18th century, then in Germany, beginning in the 1780s with Reichardt in Berlin and becoming common in German orchestras by the 1820s. English orchestras resisted baton conducting until the 1830s, and some Italian orchestras were still directed by the first violinist as late as the 1860s. Whereas the violin director had led by example, the baton conductor led by directive, communicating with the players through words and gestures rather than through music, although ex-violinists like Habeneck at the Paris Conservatoire kept an instrument handy to illustrate what was wanted. Conductors of the first half of the century did not generally interpret or express the music with the baton but limited themselves in performance to keeping the beat, giving cues and presiding over the ensemble. Soon, however, conductors began to think of themselves (and the public began to think of them) as performers and interpreters, with the entire orchestra as their instrument. 'The members of an orchestra', said Berlioz, 'are like strings, pipes, soundboxes and soundboards of wood or metal – intelligent machines that the conductor plays like an immense piano' (Berlioz, 1843). Wagner, with his controversial and highly influential interpretations of Beethoven's symphonies, introduced into orchestral practice the flexible beat, fluctuating tempos and gradations of dynamics that characterized the playing of such 19th-century instrumental virtuosos as Paganini and Liszt.

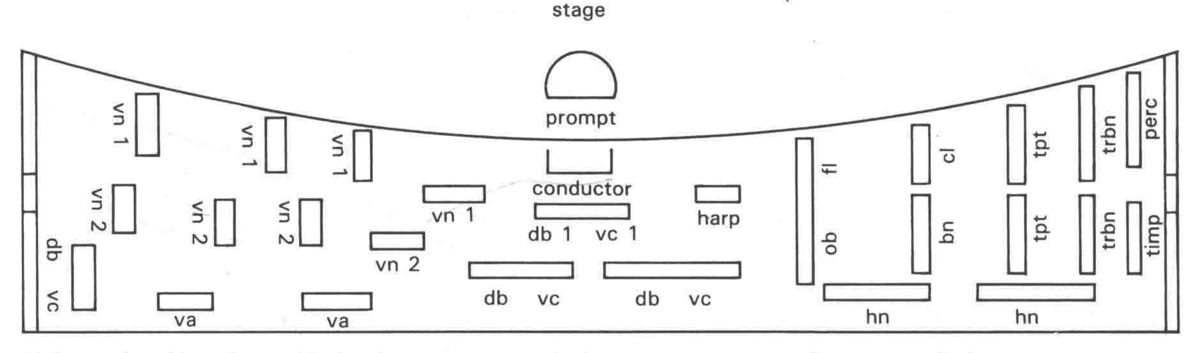
Because orchestras functioned in so many different venues and contexts during the 19th century, it is hard to make useful generalizations about their size. Where the same orchestra can be traced over several decades, the impression is often one of growth. The orchestra at La Scala, the court orchestra in Dresden and the London Philharmonic all grew from about 60 players in the 1820s to over 90 in the 1890s; on the other hand, the Paris

Opéra and the court orchestra at Munich remained about the same size over the same period (Koury, 1986; Mahling, 1971; Ehrlich, 1995). Personnel records do not provide a reliable guide to the size of orchestras, because orchestras normally engaged supernumeraries to meet the requirements of whatever piece they were playing. For festival performances 'monster' orchestras were assembled, a tradition that had already begun in the 18th century with the Handel Commemoration of 1784 at Westminster Abbey, which advertised 'at least Four Hundred Performers, a more numerous Band than was ever known to be collected in any country, or on any occasion whatever' (Burney, 1785). Not to be outdone, the Viennese mounted a Handel performance in 1812 with an orchestra of 300. Berlioz, in Paris, organized and conducted several mega-concerts during the 1840s: 450 singers and instrumentalists at the Opéra in 1840 for a programme of music by himself, Handel and (more surprisingly) Gluck and Palestrina; over 1000 performers at the Palais de l'Industrie in 1844 at a concert in which five chorus masters and an assistant conducted simultaneously with Berlioz; 350 for a series of four concerts at the Cirque Olympique in 1844 (again with a second conductor, fig.13). The Handel festivals at the Crystal Palace, London, in 1857 and 1859 featured orchestras of almost 500 instrumentalists accompanying choirs of over 2000 singers (*see* LONDON (i), fig.36). Instead of projecting the wealth and power of the royal court or an aristocratic patron, these monster orchestras were civic and patriotic displays. In their size and in their coordination of diverse elements, they represented the wealth and the capacities of civil society – the musical and social harmony that people could achieve when they set their minds on a common goal.

The seating arrangements of 19th-century orchestras have been studied in detail (Koury, 1986). During the first quarter of the century opera orchestras abandoned the pattern of long parallel rows (figs.5 and 8) and began to sit in pairs facing the centre and reading from stands rather than desks (fig.14). The 18th-century system of arranging instruments according to musical function was replaced by a system of seating in sections by type of instrument. Typical arrangements from the first half of the century placed strings on one side, wind on the other; later it became common to split the first violins from the seconds and the woodwind from the brass. Double basses were sometimes dispersed around the orchestra, in an attempt to make the bass line audible to all players, or they were placed in a row either at the back or at the front of the orchestra, a practice about which Verdi complained, saying that it destroyed the sonority of the basses as a section (Harwood, 1986–7). Concert orchestras displayed no widely accepted seating arrangements, varying according to venue, acoustics, repertory and local traditions. Orchestral seating was a subject of great interest to musicians in the first half of the 19th century, and treatises often published diagrams of famous orchestras. They almost always show the violins at the front of the orchestra, facing one another on opposite sides. The wind were often placed on risers, sometimes quite steep, in the



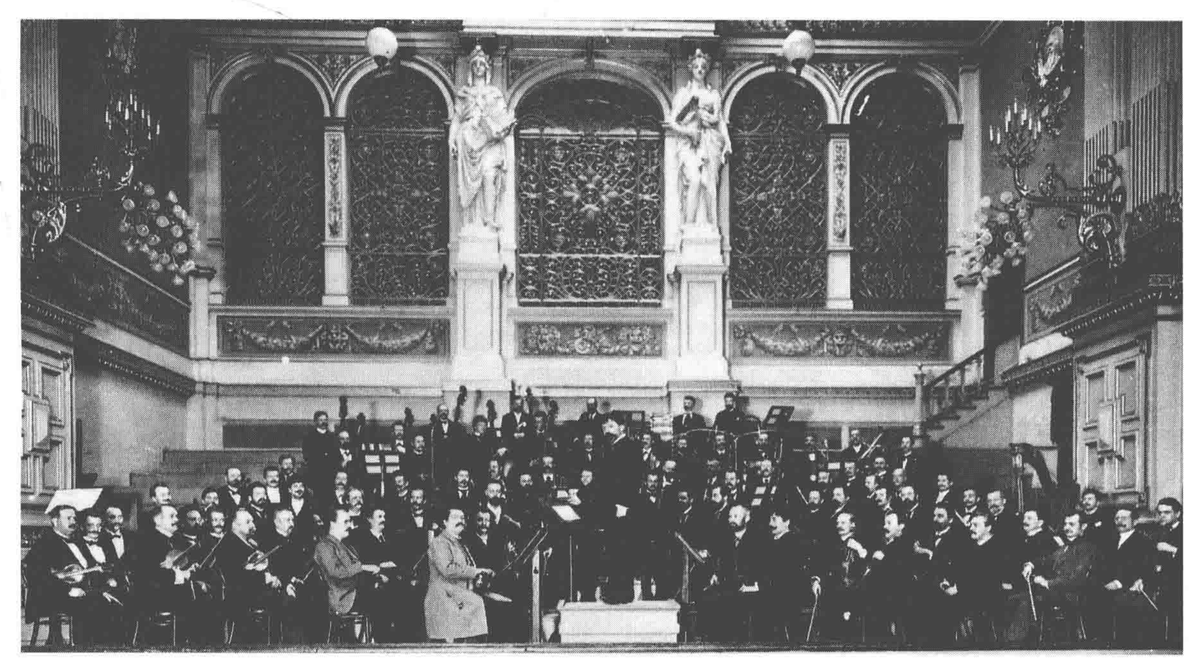
13. Berlioz and an assistant conduct massed forces in the Cirque Olympique on the Champs-Elysées, Paris: engraving from 'L'illustration' (25 January 1845)



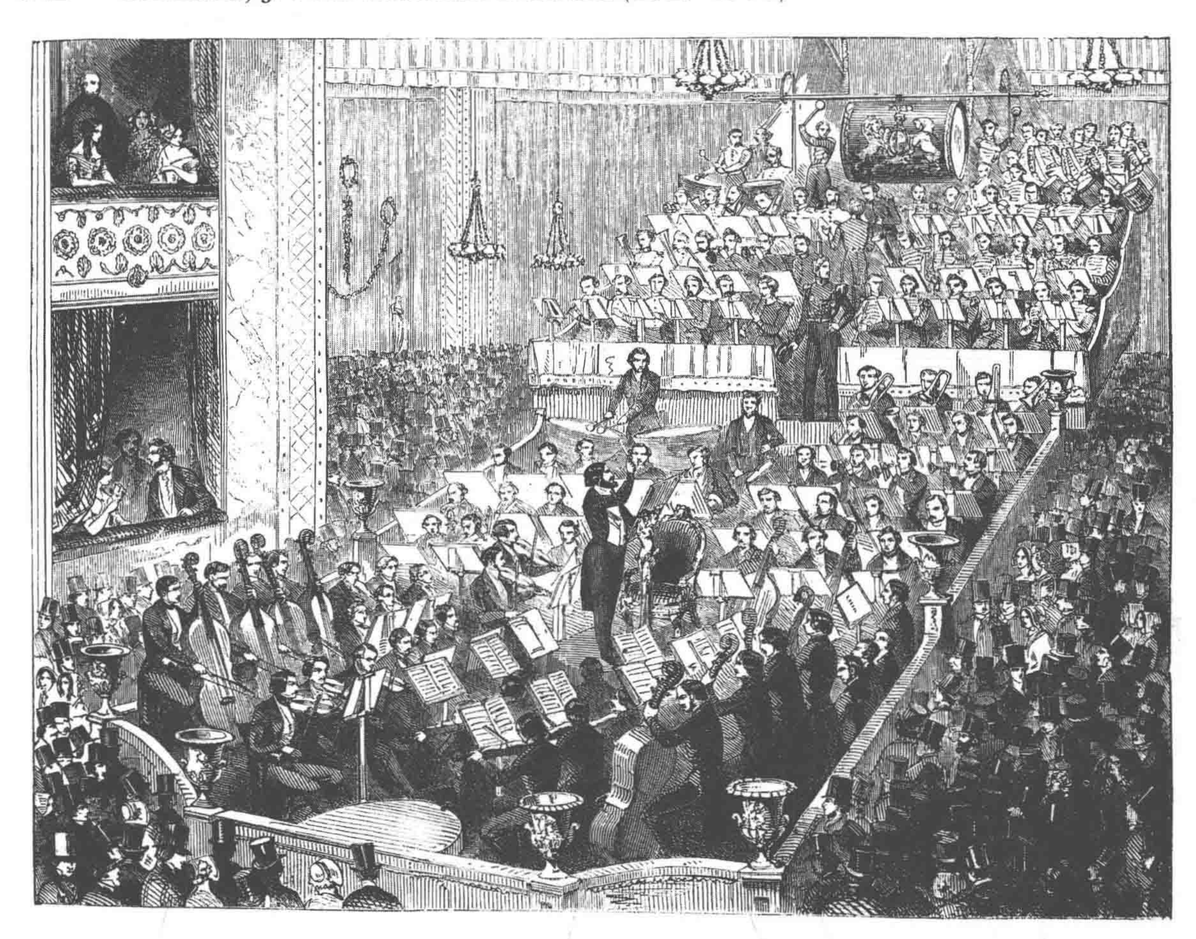
14. Seating plan of the orchestra of the Dresden court opera, c1840: after F. Gassner, 'Dirigent und Ripienist' (Karlsruhe, 1844)

rear, with the brass at the very back. Violas, cellos and basses might be found almost anywhere. When there was a chorus, it was placed in front of the orchestra or at the sides. The conductor of a concert orchestra usually stood in the centre of the orchestra, among the instrumentalists; often he faced the audience.

In the first half of the 19th century, the public concert joined opera as a cornerstone of musical life in most European countries. Concert series were usually organized by a society established exclusively for the purpose – sometimes a group of professional musicians, sometimes an organization of musical amateurs. The society engaged an orchestra and became in effect its management, raising money, leasing or building a hall and contracting soloists. Some concert societies continued the 18th-century tradition of keeping venues small and prices high in order to maintain social exclusivity; the Philharmonic Society in London and the Société des Concerts du Conservatoire in Paris provide examples of such a policy. Others, like Musard's outdoor concerts on the Champs Elysées, and Jullien's Promenade concerts in London, brought orchestras and orchestral music to mass audiences in large venues at low prices. Several orchestras that have remained in existence until the present day originated as concert series in the 19th century. The London Philharmonic was founded in 1813 as a society of professional orchestra musicians, most of them from the London theatre orchestras. The Vienna Philharmonic began in 1842, also as a self-governing association of professionals, many of whom played at the court opera. The Budapest Philharmonic (1853), the Zürich Tonhalle Orchestra (1868), the Berlin Philharmonic (1887; fig.15), the Concertgebouw Orchestra of Amsterdam (1888) and the Munich Philharmonic (1893) were all founded as concert societies. Other orchestras were established by conductors, acting as musical promoters and entrepreneurs. The most successful and the most notorious was Louis Jullien, who assembled the best players in London during the 1840s for promenade concerts of both modern and 'classical' music, which the public could attend for a modest price (fig.16). Charles Hallé founded the orchestra that still bears his name in Manchester in 1857 to give concerts in the newly built Free Trade Hall, again for large audiences at relatively low prices. Jules Pasdeloup, in Paris, conducted a Concert Populaire from 1861 to 1884 at the Cirque d'hiver for audiences of up to 5000.



15. Arthur Nikisch and the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra, c1900



16. Louis Jullien conducting the 'British Army Quadrille' for orchestra and four military bands at Covent Garden Theatre: engraving from the 'Illustrated London News' (7 November 1846)

An observer for the *Revue des deux mondes* commented in 1884 on the broad appeal of the Pasdeloup concerts (quoted in Bernard, 1971):

> All levels of society are represented in this multitude. In the parterre you see an elite of connoisseurs and aesthetes; seats in the main amphitheatre are shared by all classes of people; in the upper galleries students from the Latin quarter rub elbows with working men. This whole great attentive crowd holds its breath, waiting for the orchestra's first downbow as if for a revelation from heaven.

Such audiences heard orchestras in other venues, in theatres, music halls and cafés. But the concerts of Jullien, Hallé and Pasdeloup brought them a repertory of orchestral 'classics' and presented orchestras and orchestral music not just as entertainment and accompaniment but as an aesthetic and moral experience.

The 19th century also saw the expansion of orchestras beyond Europe. In the 18th century, Spanish and Portuguese missionaries and colonists had assembled orchestras, sometimes composed of Amerindian instrumentalists, to play in church. By the end of the century there were orchestras in theatres and occasionally in concert settings. In the North American colonies, theatres in New York, Philadelphia and Charleston had small orchestras by the 1750s. Immigration, urbanization and the accumulation of wealth in the 19th century created many more opportunities for orchestras. Theatres in Havana, Rio de Janeiro, Mexico City, Buenos Aires, Lima and other cities established permanent orchestras for performances of spoken drama, zarzuela and Italian opera. In the USA too, almost every city had one or more theatres, and almost every theatre had an orchestra, which played for spoken theatre as well as for opera (*see* NEW YORK, fig.1). Beginning around the middle of the century concert societies were formed, like the Philharmonic Society and the Euterpean Club in New York, the Handel and Haydn Society in Boston and the Germania Music Society in Baltimore, for the purpose of playing the 'classics' of choral and orchestral music. The New York Philharmonic began in 1842 as a cooperative society of professional musicians. The Boston Symphony was founded in 1881, the Chicago Symphony in 1891, the Cincinnati Symphony in 1894, the Philadelphia Orchestra in 1900. During most of the 19th century American orchestras were composed principally of European emigrants, first English and French, then Germans and Italians.

The foremost promoter-conductor of 19th-century America was Theodore Thomas, a German-born violinist who had played in Jullien's orchestra in London, then emigrated to the USA and formed the Theodore Thomas Orchestra in 1862. For almost 30 years Thomas toured with his orchestra, bringing orchestral music to masses of people throughout the country. By the end of the 19th

century orchestras in the USA occupied much the same place in public musical life as they did in Europe.

8. THE MODERN ORCHESTRA. Beginning in the late 19th century and increasingly during the first half of the 20th, concert life became dominated by the music of earlier times (see Grotjahn, 1995). One consequence of this development was that modern orchestras retained the instrumentation and the performing practices of 19th-century orchestras. The technical and social changes that have revolutionized other areas of musical life – electric instruments, electronic amplification, computer sound processing, and the integrated packaging and marketing of video, audio, computer and live media – have, for the most part, passed the orchestra by. At the same time the venues and the roles available to orchestras have been greatly reduced. In theatres, in cafés and at dances orchestras have been replaced by other sorts of ensemble or by recorded sound (Kraft, 1994). Studio orchestras that up until the 1970s recorded background music for films, radio and television have been replaced by electronics. On the other hand, the number of concert orchestras has increased during the course of the 20th century, and the audience these orchestras reaches has increased even more, thanks to tours, radio and television broadcasts and especially to LP and CD recordings. To a great extent the modern orchestra has become a museum, an isolated, self-contained institution dedicated to the preservation and the dissemination of culturally valued artefacts (see Burkholder, 1986).

Of the many new musical instruments that were invented during the late 19th century and the 20th, almost none has found a regular place in the modern orchestra. Saxophones, cornets, flugelhorns and Wagner tubas made brief appearances, then vanished largely. Electronic instruments like the theremin, the ondes martenot, the Moog synthesizer and the electric guitar have been used, sparingly, usually as novelties or for special effects. Tape recorders and computer-generated and/or altered sounds have not moved beyond the status of experiments. The only true expansion of the instrumentarium of the modern orchestra has come in the percussion section, where a large battery accumulated during the 20th century, with many of the instruments borrowed from non-European cultures, for example temple blocks, gongs, maracas, guiro etc. (fig.18). The piano was reintroduced into the orchestra, more or less as a member of the percussion section rather than as a harmonic or a continuo instrument.

Although instrumentation remained more or less static during the 20th century, changes in instrument construction and performing practices make modern orchestras sound somewhat different from their predecessors. In the 19th century and the first half of the 20th the necks of string instruments were lengthened, bass bars were reinforced, and the strings were tightened to higher tension. By the middle of the 20th century steel E strings had replaced gut as the norm for orchestral violins. Gut-core lower strings on violins, as well as on violas and cellos, were displaced by strings with steel and later synthetic cores, overwound with metal. These changes increased the volume and brilliance of the string section. In the first quarter of the 20th century orchestral violinists began increasingly to use continuous vibrato, and by the 1930s vibrato had become a normal part of tone quality for string sections. Woodwind players took up vibrato, beginning with French, Russian and American players, followed by the middle of the century by English, Italians and Germans. The fluctuating tempos of the Wagnerian conducting tradition were replaced by the more regular



17. 'Orchestra' by Max Oppenheimer, 1921–3 (private collection); note the conductor's features are reminiscent of Mahler



18. London Philharmonic Orchestra performing Messiaen's 'Turangalîla-symphonie' at the Royal Festival Hall, London, 21 March 1998, with Mark Elder (conductor), Peter Donohoe (piano) and Cynthia Millar (ondes martenot); note the large percussion section with 8 players to the back and left of the orchestra

beat of Toscanini and other 'modern' conductors; loose ensemble was replaced by mechanical precision. These changes in orchestral sound and performing practice are documented in recordings from the first half of the 20th century (Philip, 1992). In the second half of the 20th century the orchestral palette was enlarged with 'extended' techniques of instrumental playing: harmonics, microtones, *sul ponticello*, *col legno* etc. in the strings; multiphonics, hypervibrato, flutter tonguing, glissando etc. in the wind.

A minor rebellion against the tradition of the orchestra as it was inherited from the 19th century occurred after World War I with the idea of the 'chamber orchestra', a considerably smaller ensemble, with only a few strings on each part and only selected woodwind and brass. Chamber orchestras represented in part a response to the cost of large orchestras, in part a modernist reaction to what had come to be seen in some circles as the overblown rhetoric of the late Romantic repertory. Chamber orchestras tend to play a bifurcated repertory, comprising old music, much of it from the 18th century, plus specially commissioned works by such composers as Stravinsky, Bartók, Hindemith, Milhaud, Honegger and Britten. A few chamber orchestras maintain themselves as independent ensembles, for example the Basle Chamber Orchestra (founded in 1926), the English Chamber Orchestra (1948), I Musici (1952), the Moscow Chamber Orchestra (1955) and the St Paul Chamber Orchestra (1959). Some chamber orchestras returned to the 18th-century practice of performing without a baton conductor, either out of historicizing motives (I Musici) or for political reasons (Moscow 'Persimfans', 1922–33).

Beginning in the 1970s, a new kind of chamber orchestra made its appearance: the 'early music' or 'period-instrument' orchestra (fig.19). These orchestras attempt to revive the instruments, the playing techniques and the repertories of the 17th and 18th centuries. Since they use different instruments from most modern orchestras ('Baroque' violins and bows, two-key clarinets, one-key wooden flutes, harpsichords etc.) as well as different playing techniques (no or very little vibrato, keyboard or violin direction, improvised ornamentation etc.), period-instrument orchestras tend not to share personnel with symphony orchestras, but instead to operate in a separate world of early music specialists. Many early music orchestras are ad hoc ensembles, assembled for a recording session or a concert series. However a few, like the Concentus Musicus (Vienna), the Philharmonia Baroque Orchestra (San Francisco) or Tafelmusik (Toronto) have achieved a more stable institutional existence.

Modern symphony orchestras perpetuate the organizational and institutional structures established in the second half of the 19th century. Two basic patterns obtain, one descended from the court orchestra, the other from the concert series. In the first, the orchestra is owned and managed by the state, the municipality or another public entity. Often the sponsor is a state-owned radio station, as for example with the BBC Symphony Orchestra (London) or the Norddeutscher Rundfunk Sinfonieorchester (Hamburg). The musicians have civil service jobs; managers are government or civic functionaries; the instrumentalists often exercise a considerable degree of self-governance. This pattern is typical of continental Europe, Latin America and to some extent Great Britain. The second type of organization prevails in the USA and to a lesser extent in Great Britain. Here the orchestra is an independent, non-profit corporation, run by a lay board of directors and by professional managers who are responsible for day-to-day operations. Under this system government agencies often provide modest subsidies. Orchestras may also be subsidized by private, non-profit foundations, like the Ford Foundation, which between 1966 and 1976 distributed over $80 million to 61 American orchestras (Hart, 1973). A few orchestras are organized as cooperatives, for example, the Vienna Philharmonic, the London Philharmonic, the London Symphony and the Israel Philharmonic. Here the orchestra is owned and administered by the musicians themselves, though often with a state subsidy and considerable input from professional managers. Under all three systems labour unions play an important role; in almost every major professional orchestra in Europe and North America the musicians are members of a union. The union represents the players in negotiations over wages, hiring practices, job security and working conditions. Rehearsal and concert schedules, recording sessions, seating order,



19. Orchestra of the Age of Enlightenment performing in the Royal Concert Hall, Glasgow, 1990

travel arrangements, the hiring of supernumeraries or substitutes, audition protocols and the prerogatives of the conductor are all governed by the provisions of the union regulations or contract.

Most modern orchestra musicians are trained at music conservatories, usually specializing on a primary instrument by their teen years. Upon graduation young instrumentalists may work for a while as freelancers or hold a series of positions in smaller orchestras, attempting with each job change to move up either to a better orchestra or a better position in the section (Faulkner, 1973). However, they tend to settle down at a relatively early age compared with other professions and to play in the same orchestra for the remainder of a career that can last until the age of 70 or older. Although a career as an orchestra musician is not dangerous or physically taxing, surveys of orchestra musicians often find them to be dissatisfied with their profession, their jobs and their careers. This dissatisfaction has been attributed to a variety of factors, including stress of performance, limited scope for individual expression, frustration of soloistic ambitions and hostile relations between players, conductors and management (Schulz, 1981; Faulkner, 1973).

One of the most important developments in the second half of the 20th century has been the entry of women into orchestras. Before that time, although many women were trained as instrumentalists, the only opportunity they had to play in symphony orchestras (except for harpists) was in all-woman orchestras (Neuls-Bates, 1986). During World War II women players in the USA took the places of absent men, and after the war some of them remained, particularly in the string sections and in less famous, less well-paid orchestras. The numbers of women in American and British orchestras increased slowly during the 1950s and 60s, more rapidly in the last quarter of the century. Women entered later into continental orchestras and encountered even more obstacles. Most major German orchestras did not accept women until the 1980s, the Vienna Philharmonic not until the late 1990s. In the mid-1990s, the median proportion of women in major USA orchestras was 36%, in Great Britain and France 30% and in Germany 16% (Dupuis, 1993; Allmendinger and Hackman, 1995). Given the number of women instrumentalists in conservatories and the increasing numbers of women in the workforce, these percentages can be expected to increase.

Another important development since the mid-20th century has been the expansion of orchestras and orchestral culture to East Asia. Already in the late 19th century the European community in Hong Kong sponsored concerts by an amateur orchestra, and Shanghai maintained a Municipal Orchestra, staffed exclusively by European instrumentalists. Orchestral music was introduced to Japan as part of the westernizing programme of

the Meiji Restoration. The first orchestra concert is said to have been a performance of Beethoven's First Symphony at the School of Music in Tokyo in 1887 (Obata, 1987). The New Symphony Orchestra (today the NHK Symphony Orchestra) was founded in Tokyo in 1926. Korean musicians, trained in Japan on Western instruments, gave a few orchestral concerts in Seoul during the 1920s, and in the 1930s an orchestra of Chinese musicians gave concerts in Shanghai. The great period of growth, however, came after World War II, encouraged by Asian musicians studying at European and American conservatories, tours of Western orchestras in Asia and especially by broadcasts and recordings of Western orchestras. By the 1970s there were at least eight professional symphony orchestras in Tokyo, some of them owned by the government, others by private entities, like the Japan Broadcasting Company (NHK) or the Yomiuri Nippon publishing group. The Seoul Philharmonic was founded in 1957; the Taibei City Symphony in 1969; the Hong Kong Philharmonic in 1973; the Singapore Symphony in 1979. In mainland China the Shanghai Philharmonic was reorganized with Chinese personnel, and the Central Philharmonic (Beijing) was founded in 1956. Orchestras were also established at several music conservatories. Although their artistic and social goals were the subject of intense debate and conflict, and although Western works were banned from their repertory during the Cultural Revolution (1966–76), Chinese orchestras survived as institutions. By the 1990s there were Western-style orchestras in most of the major cities of China, with multiple orchestras in Beijing, Shanghai and Hong Kong. In 1987 the Central Philharmonic toured the USA with a programme that included works by Berlioz, Dvořák, Ravel and Shostakovich, as well as works by Chinese composers. In Japan, Korea, Taiwan and even mainland China the orchestral repertory is dominated by the same 'classics' that European and American orchestras play, enriched with a smattering of works by modern Asian composers. A few of these introduce traditional instruments, such as *shakuhaci* (flute), *biwa* (lute), *pipa* (lute) and *erhu* (fiddle) into the orchestra, usually in a solo role rather than as orchestral instruments. It does not seem likely that the expansion into Asia will fundamentally alter the instrumentation or the performing practices of the orchestra. Many Asian instrumentalists, however, have joined European and American orchestras, particularly from the 1960s on and particularly in the string sections.

Contemplation of the future and the fate of the orchestra as an institution has generated a good deal of anguish in the last quarter of the 20th century. The disappearance of orchestras from many venues and contexts where they once played, the concentration of the repertory on a limited number of works composed long ago, the aging of concert audiences, the dependence of orchestras on support from the state or from foundations: all these have led critics to proclaim that the orchestra is dying. On the other hand, the health and vitality of chamber orchestras and period-instrument orchestras, the expansion of orchestras into Asian countries, and the power of recordings to expand the audience and the market for orchestral music all suggest that the orchestra may have a few more years left in it as an institution, perhaps a few more centuries.

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THE BIRTH OF THE ORCHESTRA

PierreH
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JOHN SPITZER, NEAL ZASLAW

Orchestral. A prefix denoting an ORGAN STOP of particularly imitative tone, found in many early 20th-century organs.

Orchestral chimes. *See* TUBULAR BELLS.

Orchestra of St John's, Smith Square. London orchestra founded in 1967 and known as the Camden Chamber Orchestra until 1973. *See* LONDON, §VII, 3.

Orchestra of the Age of Enlightenment. British orchestra. Established in 1986, it has made a reputation as one of the world's leading period-instrument ensembles, with a repertory ranging from Purcell, Bach and Handel, through the Viennese classics to Brahms and Wagner. The OAE has performed and recorded frequently under such conductors as Frans Brüggen, Ton Koopman, Sigiswald

Kuijken and Gustav Leonhardt. In 1992 Brüggen and Simon Rattle were appointed principal guest conductors, and the same year the OAE was invited to become associate orchestra at the South Bank Centre in London. It has appeared regularly with Rattle and William Christie at the Glyndebourne Festival since 1989, made its début at the Salzburg Festival in 1991, its Covent Garden début, in Verdi's *Alzira* under Mark Elder, in 1996, and its US début at the Mostly Mozart Festival in 1998. The orchestra opened its 1999–2000 season with a Beethoven cycle in London and Birmingham under five different conductors. Its many recordings include Bach's major orchestral works, Haydn's 'Paris' symphonies, Mozart's *Don Giovanni* and *Così fan tutte*, and a series of Schubert masses.

RICHARD WIGMORE

Orchestra of the Eighteenth Century [Orkest van de Achttiende Eeuw]. Period-instrument orchestra, founded in 1981 by FRANS BRÜGGEN. Its members, numbering up to about 45, are drawn from many different countries. Specializing in late Baroque and Classical repertory, it performs almost invariably with Brüggen, its artistic director and conductor. The orchestra, based in Amsterdam, tours internationally and has appeared at many of the leading European festivals. Its recordings include orchestral suites from Rameau's operas and symphonies by Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven.

NICHOLAS ANDERSON

Orchestration. *See under* INSTRUMENTATION AND ORCHESTRATION.

Orchestre de Chambre de la Société Radio-Canada. Orchestra active in QUEBEC, 1954–88.

Orchestre de la Suisse Romande. Orchestra founded in GENEVA in 1918 by Ernest Ansermet.

Orchestrelle. The trade name of a full-sized reed-playing PLAYER ORGAN made by the Aeolian Company of New York in the early 20th century.

Orchestre Philharmonique des Pays de la Loire. Orchestra founded in France in 1971, based in ANGERS and NANTES.

Orchestre Révolutionnaire et Romantique. British period instrument orchestra. Established in 1990, it has extended the concept of period-instrument performance to the 19th and early 20th centuries. Its founder, JOHN ELIOT GARDINER, stresses its Romantic emphasis on colour and 'the pervasive differences in the overall palate of sounds which composers such as Weber, Berlioz and Schumann were committed to reveal'. The orchestra's many recordings include Berlioz's *Symphonie fantastique* and an acclaimed Beethoven symphony cycle.

GEORGE PRATT

Orchestrion. (1) The name given by Georg Joseph Vogler to a large, and, for its time, somewhat revolutionary organ that was first completed in Rotterdam in 1790 and first heard in public in Amsterdam on 24–6 November 1790. The organ, embodying the principles of his SIMPLIFICATION SYSTEM, had four manuals, pedals and 63 stops, all fitted into a case 9′ square. Some of the stops in this organ were free reeds, and these were under variable wind pressure. This, combined with the fact that the entire instrument was enclosed in a swell-box, gave the organ an unusually wide range of expression, possibly its most notable feature.

(2) A term, originally of German origin, widely used in the 19th and 20th centuries to denote a complex MECHANICAL INSTRUMENT played by pinned barrels or perforated cards or paper rolls. Orchestrions are differentiated from the related street and fairground organs by the fact that they were intended only for indoor use, and for the performance of classical music and dances from the orchestral repertory. They were thus more sophisticated in their voicing, capabilities and design than their outdoor counterparts, and required lower wind pressures: otherwise they used similar technology.

An early example of the orchestrion was Maelzel's PANHARMONICON; another instrument of the orchestrion type was Winkel's COMPONIUM. Martin Blessing (1774–1847), a maker of barrel organs in the Black Forest, is said to have been the father of the orchestrion industry in Germany. Among those trained in his workshop were Michael Welte (1807–80) of Freiburg, perhaps the most notable manufacturer of orchestrions, and the pair that went on to found their own business as Imhof & Mukle in 1850. A mechanical concert organ made by the Black Forest maker Georg Strasser in St Petersburg was bought by I.P. Tchaikovsky, father of the composer, and placed in the family home. Other makers included the Kaufmann family of Dresden, who toured England with their instruments in 1851, and such makers of barrel, street and fairground organs as Gavioli and Limonaire in Paris, Bruder and Ruth in Germany, Mortier in the Netherlands and Chiappa in London.

Orchestrions became increasingly popular in the mid-19th century as domestic entertainment for the wealthy and as a substitute for salon orchestras in hotels, restaurants and dance halls, reaching the peak of their popularity in the period between 1860 and 1880. The application of water or electrical power increased their practicality in the 1880s and 90s, and Emil Welte's invention of pneumatic action in 1887 made possible greater mechanical complexity and a wider variety of effects. In addition to various types of imitative organ pipes and percussion devices, some large models also contained piano actions or chimes. Some instruments reversed this arrangement: known as piano orchestrions, they were self-playing pianos with organ pipes and other devices added. Early orchestrions were operated by pinned barrels (*see* BARREL ORGAN, esp. fig.1), but by the end of the 19th century virtually all makers were using punched cards, which were hinged together and transferred from one folded stack to another as they passed through the playing mechanism; this resulted in easier changing, the playing of longer works and economy of space. For a fuller description of the playing mechanism, *see* FAIRGROUND ORGAN.

At the height of its popularity and development, the orchestrion was capable of producing convincing performances of orchestral music, as proved by surviving examples in such collections as the Nationaal Museum van Speelklok tot Pierement in Utrecht. By the early 20th century the punched-card book was replaced by the perforated-paper roll pneumatic system that was developed for the fairground organ and the player piano. The piano orchestrion found a special niche in the cinema, where it was used to accompany silent films. Special types generally known as Photoplayers (a proprietary name

that became a generic term), which combined piano, organ pipes, tubular bells and other percussion effects in a machine that could be played either with a keyboard or automatically using a music roll, were mainly an American innovation, but were also made by Hupfeld in Leipzig (*see* SOUND EFFECTS, §1).

In the early 20th century smaller instruments gave way to less costly player pianos, which developed out of the same technology; the invention of electro-pneumatic organ action made possible full-scale self-playing residence organs which could reach considerable size. The orchestrion could not compete with these, and after the effects of World War I on the German musical instrument industry (particularly Welte) orchestrions were no longer made.

See also KUNZ, THOMAS ANTON.

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BARBARA OWEN, ARTHUR W.J.G. ORD-HUME

Ord, Boris [Bernhard] (*b* Clifton, Bristol, 9 July 1897; *d* Cambridge, 30 Dec 1961). English organist and conductor. His mother, Johanna Anthes, came of a German family that numbered many musicians. Bernhard (he was later universally known as Boris), the youngest son, went to Cambridge in 1920 as organ scholar of Corpus Christi College. In 1923 King's College recognized his contribution to university life, in particular the foundation of the Cambridge University Madrigal Society, by electing him to a fellowship. A year on the staff of the Cologne Opera broadened his experience and in 1928 he returned to Cambridge to conduct a remarkable performance of Stravinsky's *The Soldier's Tale* with Lydia Lopakhova, Dennis Arundell and Michael Redgrave. Succeeding C.B. Rootham in 1936, he extended the repertory of the Cambridge University Musical Society and conducted many outstanding stage performances, especially Handel's *Saul* (1937) and *Solomon* (1948), and Vaughan Williams's *The Pilgrim's Progress* (1954). Ord's greatest achievement, however, was with the choir of King's College, which became internationally famous through its Christmas Eve broadcasts, European tours and recordings. From 1929 until his resignation in 1957 (except for four years in the Royal Air Force) he maintained a standard of excellence; he demanded of the choir the highest professionalism in matters of intonation, attack and sensitivity to styles ranging from Dunstaple to contemporary composers. The work of former organ and choral scholars such as David Willcocks, John Alldis, Louis Halsey and others shows his influence.

As a keyboard player Ord was much more progressive than many of his contemporaries, and in the early years of the Baroque revival in England he was an imaginative and resourceful harpsichordist. His annual performances from open score of Bach's *Art of Fugue* on the King's College organ were a tour de force. He published one carol, *Adam lay y-bounden* (London, 1957). He was made an honorary MusD of Durham University in 1955 and of Cambridge in 1960; in 1958 he was made a CBE.

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HUGH J. McLEAN

Ordinal (from Lat. *ordinarius*, *ordinale*). A liturgical book of the Western Church that describes the ritual practices of a specific cathedral, collegiate church, or monastery throughout the liturgical year. The medieval ordinal adapted Roman use to local customs. *See* LITURGY AND LITURGICAL BOOKS, §II, 4.

Ordinary chants (from Lat. *Ordinarium* [*missae et officii*]). Chants whose texts remain constant from day to day in the services of the Western Church, as distinct from those whose texts vary (PROPER CHANTS). Strictly the term applies to chants from both Mass and Office, but it is chiefly used to refer to the Kyrie, Gloria, Credo, Sanctus and Agnus Dei, the parts of the Mass Ordinary most frequently set polyphonically by composers from the second half of the 14th century onwards. The *Ite missa est* at the close of Mass, with choral response 'Deo gratias', has also been included in a few such settings (e.g. by Machaut). Although the texts of the chants do not vary, they have been influenced by the principle of variation for reasons of liturgical propriety, in that they are recommended, though not prescribed, to be sung to a small corpus of different melodies, each one for use on different occasions (double feasts, single feasts, feasts of the BVM etc.). In the Middle Ages, Ordinary chants for important feasts had trope texts which rendered them Proper in the liturgical sense.

For the transmission of Ordinary chants from the Middle Ages, *see* KYRIALE, the name given to a collection of the chants. *See also* MASS, §I, 2, and separate articles on the chants mentioned above.

□

Ordines romani (Lat., sing. *Ordo romanus*). Liturgical manuals of the 8th century or earlier that describe liturgical practices (Mass, readings for the night Office, Holy Week, ordination etc.) of the city of Rome. Most often the texts, which transmit Roman and papal practice, have been adapted for/to Frankish use. *See* LITURGY AND LITURGICAL BOOKS, §II, 4.

Ordo (Lat.). *See* MEDIEVAL DRAMA.

Ordo cantus missae. The Latin chants appointed to be sung with the Roman Missal of 1970. The foundations for a general revision of the Roman Missal of 1570 were laid by the Second Vatican Council in its Constitution *De sacra liturgia* (22 November 1963). Paul VI promulgated the new missal in an Apostolic Constitution, *Missale romanum*, of 3 April 1969; three days later the new order of Mass was published by the Sacred Congregation *Pro cultu divino*, together with a first draft of the introduction to the new missal, the *Institutio generalis missalis romani*. The new missal itself was published in 1970 and necessitated some considerable revision of the gradual: the *Ordo cantus missae* (1972) was the result. The *Ordo* was followed in 1974 by a new edition of the *Graduale romanum*. All this work was achieved under the *Consilium*, a body made up of several hundred specialists divided into 30 study groups. The group chiefly responsible for the *Ordo* was no.XXV, 'De libris cantus liturgici revisendis et edendis', but the other groups also influenced the final draft.

The *Ordo* followed the revised rubrics and calendar and made provision for a daily sung liturgy in Latin. It appointed chants for the Proper of the Time and of the Saints, and many additional Mass chants for optional use. The Common chants were reorganized to include Masses for new categories of saints, such as religious, teachers, those who exercised works of mercy, and public leaders. A whole section was devoted to ritual Masses, another to Masses for special necessities, and a third to the customary votive Masses. Most of the chants in the new schemes were borrowed from existing Masses. The Ordinary chants include settings of the new or revised portions of the Mass, such as the introductory rites and the acclamations after the readings and after the consecration. Three tones are provided for the Lord's Prayer, one being the so-called Mozarabic, stripped of its interjected Amens.

In their choice and redistribution of Proper chants, the editors aimed wherever possible to retain the most authentic pieces of the oldest layers of the chant. Some inferior compositions of more recent date were discarded. 20 additional pieces of authentic Gregorian chant were introduced and printed in full in the *Ordo*, such as the introit *Memento nostri Domine* (p.29) and the gradual *Posuisti Domine* (p.78); the texts of 11 of them are contained in the *Antiphonale missarum sextuplex* (Brussels, 1935/*R*), a comparative edition by R.-J. Herbert of six manuscripts dating from the 8th century to the 10th, and thus belong to an early layer of the chant. Most of the alleluias, such as the one with the verse *Benedictus qui venit* (p.34), are early adaptations or slightly later compositions.

The principles underlying the provision of musical settings for new or revised texts may be summarized as follows. If a new text already had a musical setting, this was automatically adopted. If no musical setting existed, the new text was adapted to a simple pre-existing tone, such as a collect tone or the *Te Deum*. Occasionally, following an ancient technique of chant composition, a new text was adapted to the music of another text that it closely resembled and that already had a musical setting. 'Mortem tuam annuntiamus Domine et tuam resurrectionem', for example, was cast into the same mould as 'Crucem tuam adoramus Domine et sanctam resurrectionem tuam' from the Good Friday liturgy; and the ending 'donec venias' was modelled on 'donec veniam' from the antiphon *Hic est discipulus meus* for St John the Evangelist (*AM*, p.256), following another time-honoured principle, that of centonization.

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MARY BERRY

Ordonez [Ordenitz, Ordoneez, Ordonetz, Ordonitz], **(Johann) Karl (Rochus) von** [Carlo d'] (*b* Vienna, bap. 16 Aug 1734; *d* Vienna, 6 Sept 1786). Austrian composer and violinist. Although an entry in Count Karl von Zinzendorf's diary (23 April 1775) describes him as the 'fils naturel de M. de Buquoy', the baptismal and other archival records describe him as the son of Johann Baptist Christoph von Ordonez – an infantry lieutenant and former owner of property in Neuschloss (now Nové Zámky), Moravia – and his wife Anna Maria Theresa. Ordonez spent the whole of his life in Vienna and, like his contemporary Karl Kohaut, served a dual career as civil servant and musician. His career with the Lower Austrian administration began in 1758 with appointment as an unpaid assistant in the regional court and culminated in 1780 with appointment as *Registrant* with a salary of 1000 gulden. As a violinist Ordonez took part in chamber music performances in the salons of the aristocracy (see Burney and Zinzendorf), and he was also connected with the court chamber music (described by Hiller), although salaried appointment to that body, at 250 gulden per year, did not come until 1779 when he succeeded Karl Huber. In 1784 he led the second violins in a revival of Haydn's *Il ritorno di Tobia* by the Tonkünstler-Societät, which he had joined in 1771. Ordonez's last three years were spent in sickness and poverty: illness forced his retirement on half salary from both his administrative and performing positions in 1783, at which time he had sole responsibility for his two children as his wife had died three years earlier from the disease which was to claim his own life, tuberculosis.

With composers such as F.L. Gassmann, Leopold Hofmann and G.C. Wagenseil, Ordonez helped to define the Viennese Classical style during the period from the 1750s to the 70s. His largest group of compositions consists of over 70 symphonies, most of which are in three movements (fast, slow, fast or minuet-style); less than a dozen are in the more 'modern' four-movement scheme with minuet and trio, and only three have slow introductions. A few may have been designed for liturgical use, including the seven-movement *Sinfonia solenna* (Brown D5) and an antiphonal work with two pairs of trumpets and drums (Brown C10). The most impressive features of the symphonies are their sonorities, textures and rhythms. The composer's lifelong interest in concertante writing and energetic rhythms which propel the music forward recalls Haydn; imaginative thematic links between movements are also a feature; and several symphonies (notably Brown D5 and G7) end with contrapuntal movements which form climaxes to the works as a whole. Less impressive are the modulatory procedures, which are rarely imaginative and occasionally deficient. Of Ordonez's 27 string quartets, the six published as op.1 by Guera of Lyons in 1777 were the most widely distributed. All begin with a slow movement, in the *sonata da chiesa* manner, and contain fugal procedures in either the second or the fourth and final movement, thereby linking them with works by Gassmann and Wagenseil which were designed to appeal to the conservative taste of Joseph II. Ordonez's interest in thematic unity between movements is nowhere more apparent than here. The marionette opera *Alceste*, which was modelled on Gluck, was performed, and probably conducted by Ordonez, at Eszterháza in 1775, and achieved great popularity, as evidenced by the repeat performances at Eszterháza and Vienna (the last as late as 1795); Haydn thought sufficiently highly of it to borrow a minuet for the revised version (?1776) of his marionette opera *Philemon und Baucis*. Ordonez's only other opera, the Singspiel *Diesmal hat der Mann der Willen!* (1778),

was composed for Joseph II's newly formed Nationaltheater but achieved a run of only seven performances.

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STAGE

Musica della parodie d'Alceste (marionette op, J.K. von Pauersbach), Eszterháza, 30 Aug 1775, *H-Bn*

Diesmal hat der Mann den Willen! (Original Singspiel, 1, J.F. Schmidt), Vienna, Burg, 22 April 1778; *A-Wn* (abbreviated version)

CANTATA

Der alte wienerische Tandelmarkt, 1779, pubd lib, *Wst*

ORCHESTRAL

74 syms. (2 doubtful), incl.: Sinfonie périodique no.26 (Paris, 1764); some in 3 symphonies del Signor Dune & Ordonne (Paris, 1769); Symphonia, C (Lyons, 1777), also in 3 Symphonies . . . par Mes.rs. Haydn & Ordoniz (Lyons, 1780s); 4 others, spurious; principal sources *A-GÖ, LA, Wgm, Wn; B-Bc; CZ-Bm, SK-BRnm, CZ-K, KRa, Pnm; D-Rtt, RUl; I-Fc, Gl, MOe*; 7 ed. in The Symphony 1720–1840, ser. B, iv (New York, 1979)

Other: Pantomima, 1758, *A-GÖ*; Vn Conc., *Wn*; 12 menuetti, *Wgm*; Serenade, 31 wind insts, mentioned in *Wienerisches Diarium*, xliv (1779); Partita per la caccia, listed in Traeg catalogue (1799)

CHAMBER

28 qts, 2 vn, va, b (1 doubtful), incl.: 6 quartetti, op.1 (Lyons, 1777), ed. A.P. Brown (Madison, WI, 1980); 2 in 6 Quat. no.1 a 6, listed in Westphal catalogue (1782); 10 others, spurious; principal sources *A-GÖ, LA, M, Wgm, Wn, CZ-Bm, K, Pnm; D-Bsb; GB-Lbl, Lcm; H-Bn, KE; I-Gl*

21 trios, 2 vn, b (1 other, spurious, also attrib. J. Haydn, HV:G4), *A-M, B-Bc, CZ-Pnm, D-Bsb, I-Gl*

Other: Octet, 2 ob, 2 eng hn, 2 hn, 2 bn, *CZ-K*; Sextet, 2 vn, va, b, 2 hn, *D-HR*; Qnt, 2 vn, 2 va, b, *A-Wn*; [3] Gassatione, vn, va, b, 2 hn (Paris, 1768); 2 trios, vn, va, b (doubtful, 1 other, spurious), *Wgm*; 3 vn duos, listed in Traeg catalogue (1799); 2 sonatas, vn, b, *Wgm*

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DAVID YOUNG (text, bibliography), A. PETER BROWN (work-list, bibliography)

Ordóñez, Pedro (*b* Plasencia, *c*1510; *d* Palencia, 5 May 1585). Spanish singer and composer. He was a younger brother of Alonso Ordóñez (*maestro de capilla* of Santiago de Compostela Cathedral for six years and of Palencia Cathedral from 3 April 1536), and took orders in the diocese of Palencia. On 29 April 1539 he was admitted to the papal choir as a bass, remaining there until at least 1550. He was soon chosen to represent the Spanish papal singers in their business affairs, and on 11 January 1545 was elected *abbas* of the papal choir for one year. Ordóñez probably joined the Council of Trent soon after 27 January 1546, and in any case on 11 March 1548 was at Bologna (where the council was then in session) with four other papal singers. Suffering from sciatica, he was allowed sick leave from Bologna on 30 May 1549 to visit the baths at Padua, and on 17 November he returned from Bologna to Rome.

On 24 June 1551 he succeeded his brother Alonso as *maestro di capilla* at Palencia Cathedral, and on 4 December 1552 he competed unsuccessfully against three other candidates for the post of *maestro de capilla* at Toledo Cathedral; the Palencia cathedral authorities ordered him to give daily music lessons to all cathedral personnel and citizens who wanted to study music in November 1554. On 7 June 1577 the Palencia chapter urged him to care for the choirboys no less zealously than had his brother, and on 30 August 1577 named him a diocesan examiner in 'ecclesiastical music' of all the Palencia clergy. Two months later the chapter decided to engage an assistant, Tomé Cabeza, 'on account of his age and infirmity'. Because of his 'merits and his many years of service, as well as his age and sickness' he was dismissed from his post as *maestro* and awarded a cathedral prebend on 9 April 1578.

Ordóñez's only known works are two *sonetos* printed in Esteban Daza's collection of vihuela music, *El Parnasso* (Valladolid, 1576): *Ay mudo soy hablar non puedo* and *Ay fortuna cruel – Lebantaron muy alto*. The first of these is a lover's lament, the second reproaches Fortune and Cupid.

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ROBERT STEVENSON

Ordre (Fr.). A term used by François Couperin (1713–30), François Dagincourt (1733), Philippe Veras (1740) and Coelestin Harst (1745) for a group of pieces in the same key. It is possible that for Couperin *ordre* meant something larger than a suite. In the preface to *Les nations* (1726), a collection of ensemble music, he explained that the *sonades* served as introductions to the suites; the whole complex was called an *ordre*. Four of the *ordres* of his first harpsichord book begin with suites of the late 17th-century type and continue with more up-to-date character-pieces. The later *ordres*, however, do not exhibit this dichotomy, and Couperin's imitators used the term as a synonym for 'suite'. Brossard's dictionary definition of *ordine*, or *ordre*, makes no mention of sets of pieces; however, each suite in G.B. Brevi's *Bizzarie armoniche* (1693) is called an *ordine*.

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DAVID FULLER

Ore, Cecilie (*b* Oslo, 19 July 1954). Norwegian composer. A piano student at the Norwegian State Academy of Music and in Paris (1974–81), Ore subsequently turned to composition studies at the Institute of Sonology in Utrecht and with Ton de Leeuw at the Sweelinck Conservatory in Amsterdam (1981–6). In the 1980s Ore won international recognition for several of her electro-acoustic works, receiving an honourable mention at the Concours International de Musique Electro-Acoustique Bourges 1985 for *Im-Mobile*, and both first and second prizes at the International Rostrum for Electro-Acoustic Music 1988 for *Etapper* ('Stages'). In the same year she also received the Norwegian Society of Composers' 'Composition of the Year' award for *Porphyre*, as well as the Norwegian State Guarantee Income for Artists. Towards the end of the decade Ore became increasingly involved with the problem of time in music, an involvement which resulted in the tetralogy *Codex temporis* (*Praesens subitus*, *Erat erit est*, *Futurum exactum*, *Lex temporis*). Another significant landmark is the orchestral work *Nunc et nunc* (1994), commissioned by the BBC SO. Ore frequently uses the computer as a compositional tool, and her music has a distinctly modernistic flavour due to its strict constructivism and austere sonorous universe.

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(*selective list*)

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HALLGJERD AKSNES

Orefice [Arefece, Orefici], **Antonio** (*fl* 1708–34). Italian composer. According to most sources he was trained as a lawyer, but his success as a composer suggests he also received expert instruction in music. His opera *Patrò Calienno de la Costa* was the first comic opera in Neapolitan dialect performed on a public stage, at the Fiorentini, Naples, on 1 October 1709. Its popularity led the Fiorentini management to promote further operas of this type, some of which were set by Orefice, and the success of these in turn made dialect comic opera as a genre the established form of popular entertainment at the Fiorentini and some other small theatres in Naples. Only one of Orefice's comic operas, *Il gemino amore* (1718), is without roles in dialect. On 15 October 1724 his *Lo Simmele* was the first opera to be performed at the newly opened Teatro Nuovo in Naples.

Given Orefice's reputation, which can be gauged from the number of operas he wrote, it is surprising that so little of his music remains. His largest surviving work is the first half of *Engelberta*, performed at the Neapolitan royal palace just 34 days after the première of *Patrò Calienno de la Costa*; the closeness of the dates may explain why Orefice did not compose the whole work but only the first half of it (the manuscript score attributes the remainder of the music to Francesco Mancini). Orefice's music in *Engelberta* seems to be modelled on that of leading contemporary Neapolitans, including Alessandro Scarlatti. It compares well with Mancini's contribution from the point of view of technical competence and expressive quality, though Orefice's style is a little less forceful than Mancini's. The other remaining operatic music by Orefice is a group of seven arias from his *Le fente zingare*, the earliest surviving music from any comic opera in Neapolitan dialect (one aria has recently been transcribed and published by Pastore) and an invaluable guide to the development of the musical style adopted by the Neapolitans Vinci and Leo in their dialect operas of the 1720s.

According to Prota-Giurleo and Paduano, Anastasio Orefice, perhaps a son or brother of Antonio, had his own opera *La Limpia* performed in the Teatro Nuovo, Naples, at Carnival 1727; during the same season he was responsible for a revival of Vinci's *Lo cecato fauzo* in the Teatro dei Fiorentini. *La Limpia* was revived as *La zingara* at the Teatro Fiorentini during Carnival 1728. Anastasio also (according to *LaMusicaD*) wrote a comic opera *La Milla o puro Chi è la primmo vence*, performed in Naples in 1726.

WORKS

OPERAS
all first performed in Naples

NFI - *Teatro dei Fiorentini*

Il Maurizio (dramma per musica, N. Minato and A. Morselli, addns Abbé Papis), S Bartolomeo, 27 Dec 1708

Patrò Calienno de la Costa (ob, A. Mercotellis), NFI, 1 Oct 1709

Engelberta, ossia La forza dell'innocenza [Act 1 and part of Act 2] (dramma per musica, 3, A. Zeno and P. Pariati), Palazzo Reale, 4 Nov 1709, *A-Wn* (listed as Pimpinone), perf. with ints Pimpinone by T. Albinoni [Act 3 and part of Act 2 by F. Mancini]

La Camilla (ob), NFI, July 1710

La pastorella al soglio (dramma per musica, G.C. Corradi), S Bartolomeo, 4 Nov 1710

Circe delusa (drama, G.A. Falier), NFI, 7 Dec 1713

La Caligula delirante (dramma per musica, Gisberti), S Bartolomeo, 1713

Lo finto Armeneo (ob, F.A. Tulio), NFI, spr. 1717

Le fente zingare (ob, Tullio), NFI, 13 Oct 1717; arias *I-MC*, ed. in Pastore

La fenta pazza co la fenta malata (ob, Tullio), NFI, carn. 1718

Il gemino amore (ob, Tullio), NFI, aut. 1718

Chi la dura la vince (ob, M. del Zanca), NFI, Nov 1721

La Locinna (traggecommeddeja, Tullio), NFI, 4 Sept 1723

Lo Simmele (ob, B. Saddumene), Nuovo, 15 Oct 1724, perf. as La somiglianza with alterations by G. Fischetti, Rome, Capranica, 1729

L'annore resarciuto (ob, N. Gianni), NFI, 1727

La vecchia trammera (ob, Tullio), Nuovo, 1732, collab. L. Leo

La Rosilla (F. Oliva), Nuovo, aut. 1733, collab. L. Leo

La Finta pellegrina (ob, F. Lucano Cinnéo [F. Oliva]), Nuovo, carn. 1734, collab. D. Sarro

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MICHAEL F. ROBINSON (with PAOLOGIOVANNI MAIONE)

Orefice, Giacomo (*b* Vicenza, 27 Aug 1865; *d* Milan, 22 Dec 1922). Italian composer and critic. He studied composition with Mancinelli and the piano with Busi at the Liceo Musicale in Bologna, graduating in 1885, presenting the short opera *L'oasi* as his final exercise. He was at first active as a pianist, mostly as a performer of his own works, but from the late 1890s he turned increasingly to opera. In 1896 he was placed third in the Steiner competition in Vienna with the one-act *Il gladiatore*, and in 1898 his *Sinfonia del bosco* was awarded a prize at the Turin Exhibition, where it was conducted by Toscanini. In 1901 his next opera, *Chopin*, loosely based on Chopin's life and through-composed with quotations from his works, met with the audience's approval at the Teatro Lirico in Milan, despite the conflicting opinions of critics; it was revived in Warsaw (1904) and Paris (1905). In 1905 his most highly regarded opera, *Mosè*, was performed successfully in Genoa, and in 1908 his ballet *La soubrette* was awarded a prize of the Société Musicale in Paris.

From 1909 until his death Orefice taught composition at the Milan Conservatory, where Nino Rota, Victor de Sabata and Lodovico Rocca were among his pupils. Meanwhile he was active as a lecturer and as a music critic, mostly for the *Rivista musicale italiana* and from 1920 for *Il secolo* (Milan). In this capacity, and as president of the Società degli Amici della Musica, which he founded in Milan in 1902, he played an active part in the city's musical life. A cultured musician of broad interests, he emphasized in his writings the necessity of introducing greater historical awareness into technical and practical studies in the conservatory, and of bringing music to a wider public. He criticized certain provincial attitudes of Italy's musical life at the time, inviting composers to go beyond mere imitation of foreigners and to rediscover the deeper roots of their own musical tradition. In this respect his transcriptions of Monteverdi's *Orfeo* (Milan, 1909) and Rameau's *Platée*, though philologically inaccurate, are of interest.

As an opera composer Orefice was stylistically eclectic: the strength of his dramatic technique, though rather static and conventional, lies in its effective orchestral images and the expressive qualities of the vocal lines, deliberately simple and sometimes archaic (as in *Mosè*). His choice of subjects was influenced by the veristic and historicizing tendencies of late 19th-century Italian theatre and literature (manifested in his vivid historical settings of the dramas of Pietro Cossa); later, in his most mature and refined works, *Il pane altrui* and *Radda*, he turned to the social realism of Turgenev and Gorky. His most famous opera, *Chopin*, was a case apart whose subject was inspired on the one hand by the cliché of the 'artist's life' popular with the Italian Scapigliatura, and on the other by Orefice's personal ideas about the importance of native and folk roots in musical inspiration.

His symphonic works present a skilful but rather light descriptivism (*Sinfonia del bosco*, *Laudi francescane*). His chamber compositions are more interesting, characterized by an austere sense of form and a noble and refined musical invention (for example, the piano quintet *Riflessi ed ombre*). In the series of short piano pieces (in particular in *Quadri di Boecklin*, *Miraggi* and *Preludi del mare*) his taste for arabesque, his colouristic use of harmony and his search for new sonorities is close to Impressionism.

WORKS

STAGE

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Cecilia (op, 4, after Cossa), Vicenza, Verdi, 16 Aug 1902

Mosè (op, 4, Orvieto), Genoa, Carlo Felice, 18 Feb 1905 (1905)

Il pane altrui (op, 1, Orvieto, after I.S. Turgenev: *Chuzhoy khleb*), Venice, Fenice, 12 Jan 1907 (1907)

Marcello Spada, 1909 (op, 3), unperf.

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Ugo e Parisina, 1915 (op, 3, C. Raimondo, after Byron: *Parisina*), unperf.

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Orch: 2 syms., c, 1882–92, d, 1910; Sinfonia del bosco, 1898; La soubrette (ballet), Milan, 1907; Tempio greco, suite, vc, orch, 1914, arr. vc, pf (Milan, 1914); Anacreontiche, suite, 1915; Laudi francescane, suite, 1918, arr. pf duet (Milan, 1919)

Chbr: Sonata, e, vn, pf, 1908 (Bologna, n.d.); Sonata, D, vn/vc, pf, 1908 (Bologna, n.d.); Pf Trio, *c*1912 (Milan, 1918); Sonata, F, vc, pf, 1913 (Milan, 1918); Riflessi ed ombre da un tema, pf qnt, 1916 (Milan, 1918); other works

Pf (all pubd Milan): [6] Pagine d'album (1885); Sérénade allemande, valse caprice (1886); 2 concert studies: Ondine, 1886, Orde barbare, 1888 (1916); [3] Crepuscoli, 1904 (1916); [6] Quadri di Boecklin, 1905 (1916); Miraggi, 10 studi, 1906 (1916); [9] Preludi del mare, 1913 (1916); Preludio e fuga, on a theme by Meyerbeer (1919); other works

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ANDREA LANZA

Orejón y Aparicio, José de (*b* Huacho, 1706; *d* Lima, between 7 and 21 May 1765). Peruvian composer and organist. The son of Esteban de Orejón and Victoria de Aparicio y Velasco, he showed such precocity that at the

age of nine he was considered suitable to succeed an adult singer at Lima Cathedral who had died. On 2 December 1715 the Archbishop of Lima fixed his yearly salary until he 'lost his voice' at 100 pesos. In 1724 Orejón was still on the cathedral payroll, but as a 'contraalto' instead of a 'tiple'. Probably Orejón studied with Tomás de Torrejón y Velasco, the Spanish-born director of music at Lima Cathedral, who was in office until 1728; he studied the organ with Juan de Peralta, the Lima Cathedral chief organist who died in 1725. But for his youth, Orejón might have been Peralta's successor; he served briefly as 'interim' organist, but the assistant organist Joseph de la Madre de Dios was appointed.

In 1728 Roque Ceruti, a native of Milan who had spent two decades in Peru, became *maestro de capilla* at Lima; an admirer of Corelli and contemporary Italians, Ceruti freshened the cathedral repertory with his brilliant violinistic music and imposed Italian taste on the younger cathedral personnel. In 1730 Orejón applied for an appointment outside Lima Cathedral, as *sacristán mayor* of the church at nearby Pisco, for which he was now eligible as he had just been ordained to the priesthood; but he was unsuccessful. However, the post of chief organist at Lima fell vacant in 1742 and no one ventured to compete with Orejón 'because of his known superior ability'; the chapter tested him alone and on 9 October declared him elected. In response to his applications for salary increases, his starting salary of 500 pesos was raised to 550 in 1745 and to 630 'with the archbishop's consent' in 1754. The cathedral canons particularly praised him for 'his punctuality and for the great amount of work' involved in playing cathedral services twice daily, morning and evening. In that same year his name appears for the first time prefaced with *licenciado*, indicating that he had received the licentiate degree from the University of S Marcos at Lima.

On Ceruti's death, Orejón was nominated *maestro de capilla* on 8 December 1760, while continuing as organist; shortage of funds because of rebuilding after the 1746 earthquake delayed his titular appointment (involving higher salary) until 9 April 1764. He did not live long to enjoy the fruits: he dictated his will on 24 September 1764 from the infirmary of the S Francisco monastery, but was unable to sign it 'because of the severity of his accident'. The organist position was declared vacant 'on account of the death of the licentiate Don Joseph de Aparicio' on 21 May 1765.

His unprecedented talent gained him acclaim in print as early as 1736 (in P.J. Bermúdez de la Torre's *Triunfos del Santo Oficio*) and such favour from an archbishop as no previous cathedral organist had enjoyed; and after his death praise continued to be lavished on him. The *Mercurio peruano* of 16 February 1792 contained Toribio del Campo y Pando's tribute:

> My beloved Aparicio came back to the path from which Ceruti had strayed when he again emphasized melodic line. He exceeded all others, particularly in church music. Several of his hymns are still sung, various masses, psalms, and a canticle to the Sacrament beginning, 'I adore Thee, Mystery Incomprehensible'. Until we heard the works of Terradellas and the immortal Pergolesi, none could compare with Aparicio.

That judgment can be verified by the study of his surviving works in the Lima archiepiscopal archive (subject to depredations in the late 1900s). The most ambitious is a Good Friday Passion composed for triple chorus with orchestra in 1750 (arranged for double chorus in 1810 by Melchor Tapia, cathedral organist). Among the other 18 extant items is a tenderly elegiac solo cantata 'al SS Sacramento' in E minor which, though not beginning with the same words as the *cántico* mentioned in the *Mercurio peruano* eulogy, displays as rare a melodic gift as any item in the Latin American colonial repertory. In the normal Baroque manner, it begins with a recitative accompanied by continuo, but then follows a grand da capo aria during which two violins weave in as moving a discourse against the solo voice as the violins in the 'Et misericordia' of Bach's *Magnificat*. Such works as this, or as his Copacabana duo *A del dia*, or his sacrament duos *Enigma divino* and *Gilguerillo sonoro*, bespeak the unique gifts that kept his music in the repertory for a half-century after his death.

Though in his lifetime his music seems not to have circulated in Spain, it was known and sung at least as far away as Sucre (Bolivia): in the archive of La Plata Cathedral (music now transferred to Archivo Nacional at Sucre) there survived as late as 1966 several concerted pieces showing how frequently his poignant bittersweet, mostly minor-key, music was in demand during the twilight years of the colonial regime.

WORKS

written in honour of the Blessed Sacrament, unless otherwise stated

Lima, Archivo Arzobispal: A del dia, Our Lady of Copacabana, 2 S, 2 vn, bc; A la mesa zagales, SSAT, 2 vn, org; A mecer de un Dios la cuna, SSST, 2 vn, bc; Contrapunto a 4°, Immaculate Conception BVM, SSAB [Hexachord cantus firmus]; Despertad canoras avecillas, SSAT, 2 vn, bc; De aquel globo, SSAT, 2 vn, bc; Dolores y gozos, TTB; En el dya festivo, Immaculate Conception BVM, SSAT, 2 vn, bc; Enigma divino, 2 S, 2 vn, bc; Gilguerillo sonoro, 2 S, 2 vn, bc; Ha dela esfera de Apolo, 2 S, 2 vn, bc; Ha del gozo, BVM, 2 S, 2 vn, bc; Ha del mundo, 2 S, 2 vn, tpt, bc; Ha del safir del mundo, BVM, ST, inc.; Lit, BVM, SSAT, TB, org; Mariposa de sus rayos, S, 2 vn, bc; Passion for Good Friday, double chorus, orch; Por besar de este fenis, SST, 2 vn, bc; Terrible dolor y espanto, St Joseph, 2 S, bc; Tres razionales, BVM, SAT, 2 vn, bc

Sucre, La Plata Cathedral: Al resplandor de esa esfera, 2 S, 2 vn, bc; Cordero sagrado que estas entre nieve, 2 S, 2 vn, bc; Ha del mar, SSAT, 2 vn, org, bc; Luminosas esferas, BVM, SSAT, 2 vn, bc

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ROBERT STEVENSON

Orel, Alfred (*b* Vienna, 3 July 1889; *d* Vienna, 11 April 1967). Austrian musicologist. After receiving a degree in law at the University of Vienna in 1912 he worked in the Austrian Finance Ministry until 1918. He began studying musicology with Adler in Vienna in 1917 and earned the doctorate in 1919 with a dissertation on the *Salve regina* settings in the Trent manuscripts. From 1918 and 1938 he oversaw the music collection in the Vienna Stadtbibliothek and simultaneously continued to work at the University of Vienna until 1945, completing the *Habilitation* in 1922 with a work on rhythm in 15th-century polyphony; he was named reader in 1929 and supernumerary professor in 1939. Orel was also interim director

of the Staatliche Akademie für Musik und Darstellende Kunst in 1938, and from 1940 to 1945 he was special consultant on Viennese music research for the Vienna office of cultural affairs. After the war he was barred from the university because of his membership in the Nazi party. Orel organized numerous exhibits on music in the 1920s and 30s and received medals of honour from the state in 1928 and 1959 for his services to the city of Vienna. He was also one of the founders and served on the board of directors of the Zentralinstitut für Mozart-Forschung in Salzburg.

Orel's chief interest was Austrian music, particularly Bruckner; his *Anton Bruckner: das Werk, der Künstler, die Zeit* (1925) remains a standard work. He was responsible for the first complete edition of Bruckner's Ninth Symphony, in which he not only restored the cuts omitted in Löwe's 1903 edition and the original orchestration, but also included sketches for the finale. Orel's other important work was on 15th-century polyphony and on composers associated with Vienna, particularly Mozart.

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Über rhythmische Qualität in mehrstimmigen Tonsätzen des 15. Jahrhunderts (Habilitationsschrift, U. of Vienna, 1922); extracts in *ZMw*, vi (1923–4), 559–607
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M. ELIZABETH C. BARTLET/PAMELA M. POTTER

Orel, Dobroslav (*b* Ronov, Bohemia, 15 Dec 1870; *d* Prague, 18 Feb 1942). Czech musicologist. A Roman Catholic priest, he taught singing in a seminary in Hradec Králové and contributed to the practical reform of church music with his manual on plainchant (1899) and his numerous articles in *Cyril*, of which he later became editor (1909–19). While in Prague (1907–19) he became a lecturer in liturgical music at the conservatory and at the same time completed his own musical studies under Novák, Hostinský and Bezecný (palaeography) and later with Adler in Vienna, where he obtained the doctorate in 1914 with a dissertation on the *Speciálník* codex of Hradec Králové: publication of an edition (in DTÖ) was prevented by World War I.

In 1919 Orel was appointed to the proposed theological faculty of Bratislava University but when it failed to come into existence he took the chair of musicology instead (1921). Until his retirement in 1938 he held a number of high offices in the university, including that of rector (1931–2). In the new music faculty he trained the first generation of Slovak musicologists and stimulated musical interest in the region: he organized and conducted choral societies; he directed the collection and publication of folk music; he led the search for manuscripts and other musical sources in Slovakia. His own interests broadened to include Slovak music. He is however best remembered for his pioneering work on early Czech polyphony and hymnology, such as his book on the St Wenceslas tradition

in music, which clarified the sources and development of the earliest Czech sacred songs. He also edited several hymnbooks, including *Český kancionál* [A Czech hymnbook] (Prague, 1921, 5/1936).

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JOHN TYRRELL

Orellana Castro, Andrés Gilberto (*b* Santa Ana, 12 Dec 1938). Salvadoran composer and violinist. He began his musical studies with his father, the composer Gilberto Orellana, then studied at the National Conservatory and with John Donald Robb at the University of New Mexico, where he received an MA in composition. He was a violinist in the Salvadoran national orchestra (1960–66) and later was its conductor (1974–85); he has also been appointed conductor of the San Salvador National Youth Orchestra. He has won several competitions in the United States, Argentina and El Salvador. In his extensive output he has experimented with a variety of compositional approaches: free harmony in the violin and piano duet *Cartas de mis padres* (1971), serial technique in the String Trio (1962), and prepared piano in *Mobile perpetuum* (1973). His works are composed in various formats and include the electronic *Variaciones sobre el tema de 'Fantasía en el bosque'* (1970), *Salmo 150* (1975) for mixed chorus and orchestra, and *Amatepec* (1977) which accompanies dance. His one symphony, *Sinfonía Pipil* (1980), draws on imagined pre-Columbian musical practices and is one of the few works that strive for a nationalist style. Beginning with *Cristo la respuesta* (1982), he has concentrated on religious compositions.

T.M. SCRUGGS

Orellana, I(gnatius) A(ntonio) de (*b* St Helier, Jersey, *c*1860; *d* London, 19 March 1931). British conductor and orchestrator. He conducted and orchestrated many musical theatre scores of the Edwardian era, most particularly *Miss Hook of Holland* and other scores of Paul A. Rubens at the Prince of Wales Theatre. Eric Coates, who performed under him as a deputy, described his 'remarkable sense of theatre' and orchestrations 'delicately finished and always in good taste ... never [interfering] with a composer's harmonic progressions'. His later work included orchestrations for Porter's *Wake Up and Dream* (1929), Coward's *Bitter Sweet* (1929) and Berners's *Luna Park* (1930), and he was also musical director for Fraser-Simson's *Toad of Toad Hall* (1929).

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ANDREW LAMB

Orellana M., Joaquín (*b* 5 Nov 1933). Guatemalan composer. He studied at the National Conservatory of Music and was violinist in the National SO for many years. He distinguished himself as an important new composer early in his career. In 1958 *El jardín encantado* was awarded first prize in the annual Central American Science, Letters and Fine Arts Competition. In 1965 his String Trio was commissioned by the Third Inter-American Music Festival and first performed there in Washington, DC. These earlier works were essentially tonal, the String Trio using pan-diatonicism. In the 1970s he began experimenting with *flujos sonoro-sociales*, recombinations on tape of ambient sound peculiar to the sonorous landscape of Guatemala. Two of his first and most successful compositions using this approach are *Electroacústica* and *Imposible a la X: historia en redondo* (1976), both presented in several international forums. An aleatory approach characterizes *Híbrido a presión* (1982) for two flutes, several specially created instruments and magnetic tape. He also investigated the sonorous possibilities of the Guatemalan marimba, considered the national instrument, by constructing new instruments from fragments of the *marimba grande*. These original instruments, which carry such names as *ciclo-im*, *rastra-son* and *pandemarimbas*, reproduce and expand certain aspects of the marimba's timbre, especially its percussive attack. *Tzulumanachí* (1974) features one of these, a *sonarimba*. Especially notable among these works is *Evocación profunda y traslaciones de una marimba* (1984), scored for marimba, narrator, mixed chorus, magnetic tape and several original marimba-derived instruments.

T.M. SCRUGGS

Øren, Jacob. *See* ØRN, JACOB.

Oresme, Nicole (*b* Normandy, *c*1320; *d* Lisieux, 1382). French philosopher and mathematician. He is recognized as the leading mathematician of his day. He studied at the University of Paris and took the MA in 1356. He served as Grand Master of the College of Navarre in Paris (1356–62) and held a series of ecclesiastical posts leading to his appointment as Bishop of Lisieux in 1377, a post he held until his death. He wrote on a wide range of topics, including theology, physics, magic and economics, frequently drawing from writers such as Plato, Aristotle, Boethius and Cassiodorus.

1	2	4	8
3	6	12	24
9	18	36	72
27	54	108	216

Nicole Oresme's grid pattern of 'harmonic numbers'

Oresme's observations on music arose from his studies of mathematics and physics. Along with the mathematician GERSONIDES, Oresme expanded Plato's series of 'harmonic numbers' (*Timaeus*, 35ff) to include two endless series of numbers based on multiples of two or three. He developed Gersonides's theory, proposing that all proportions between the two series are 'harmonic ratios', although he acknowledged that only four proportions produce consonant intervals. In his commentary on Aristotle's *De caelo*, written at the request of Charles V of France, Oresme arranged these numbers in a grid pattern (see illustration) and stated that 'this figure is full of very great mysteries and from it we can draw extremely attractive and marvelous conclusions, for it contains virtually the whole formation of speculative music' (*Le livre du ciel et du monde*, ii.18; Menut and Denomy, 478–81). He commented on harmonic numbers in several treatises, including his study of motion *Tractatus de configurationibus qualitatum et motuum* (ii.17) and his *Algorismus proportionum* (iii). Oresme wrote on other philosophical issues related to music, such as whether the movements of heavenly bodies produce sounds (*Le livre du ciel et du monde*, ii.18) and the relationship between sound and magic (*Tractatus de configurationibus*, ii.25). In his commentary on Aristotle's *Politics* (viii.6–14) he set out his ideas of harmonic numbers and expounded on Aristotle's views with quotations from the scriptures, Pythagoras, Boethius and other sources. The term 'harmonic number' is also found in Johannes Boen's *Musica*. Oresme was in contact with the leading musical theorists and mathematicians of his day: he dedicated his *Algorismus proportionum* to Philippe de Vitry and discussed mathematical issues that were also of interest to Johannes de Muris.

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only those relating to music

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C. MATTHEW BALENSUELA

Orff, Carl (*b* Munich, 10 July 1895; *d* Munich, 29 March 1982). German composer and music educator. Drawing on ancient Greek tragedy and employing models of Baroque *theatrum emblematicum*, he established a musical theatre of impressive force permeated at times by Bavarian peasant life and Christian mystery.

1. Life. 2. Works. 3. *Schulwerk*.

1. LIFE. Orff was born into a family of army officers given to scientific and historical studies, whose members were also great music lovers. He began to study the piano, the organ and the cello at the age of five. In Munich he attended the Ludwigsgymnasium (1905–7) and later the Wittelsbacher Gymnasium (1907–12). Dissatisfied with the teaching of Beer-Walbrunn at the Akademie der Tonkunst (1912–14), he discovered for himself not only the sound world of Debussy, a fascination that is readily apparent in the music drama *Gisei, das Opfer* (1913), but also the musical language of Schoenberg. His activity as Kapellmeister at the Munich Kammerspiele (1917), where he was introduced by his piano teacher Hermann Zilcher, was decisive for his musical development. There he collaborated with the director Otto Falckenberg. The first version of Orff's stage music to *Ein Sommernachtstraum* dates from that year, although the music was never performed. Drafted into the army in 1917, he was wounded at the front, and having been declared unfit for active service, he saw out the rest of the war first at the Nationaltheater in Mannheim and then at the Hoftheater in Darmstadt. On his return to Munich in 1919, he devoted himself to studying the music of the 16th and 17th centuries, especially Monteverdi, to whom Curt Sachs had drawn his attention. Between 1920 and 1921 he continued his studies with Heinrich Kaminski. In 1924 he founded, along with Dorothee Günther, the Güntherschule in Munich, an educational centre for gymnastics, rhythmic movement, music and dance; it was within these surroundings that he developed his concept of *elementare Musik*, a synthesis of gesture, poetic language and music that was later to fertilize his personal musical style and from which his *Schulwerk* would eventually evolve. The first edition of *Orff-Schulwerk: elementare Musikübung*, published in collaboration with Gunild Keetman and Hans Bergese, appeared during the period 1932–5.

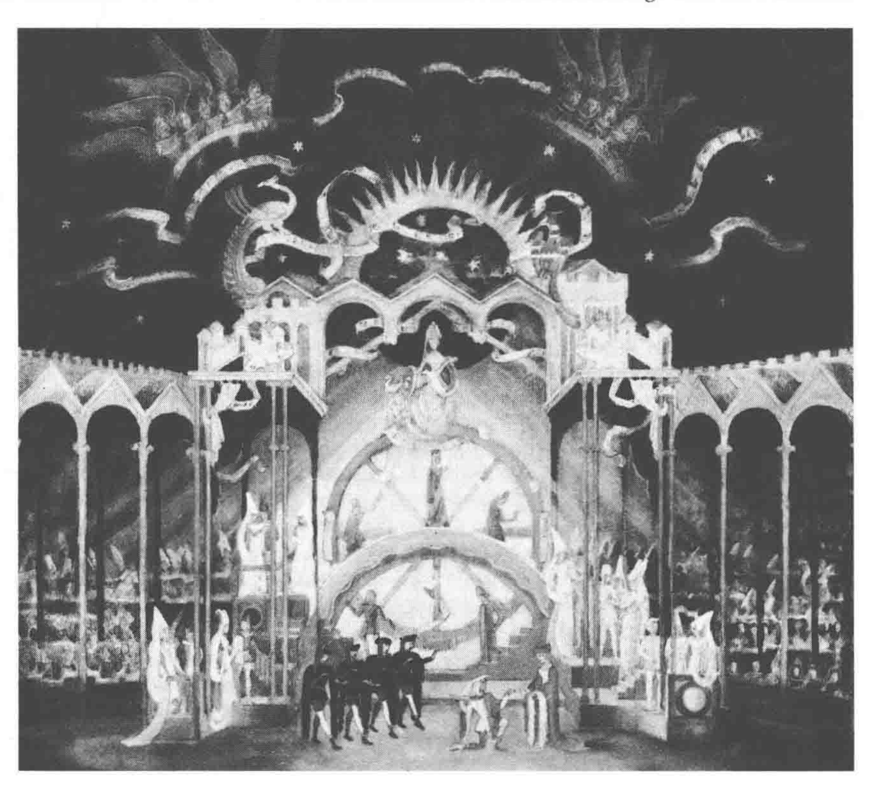
Orff's realizations of a number of Monteverdi scores, beginning with *Orpheus* (first version, 1923–4, to a German text by Dorothee Günther), were of pioneering

significance. Between 1932 and 1933, he directed the Munich Bachverein, a concert society for which he staged Schütz's *Auferstehungshistoria* (1933) and conducted several concerts. With the advent of National Socialism, he resigned from his post as director of the Bachverein. His first success as a composer, albeit not an unqualified one, came with the première of *Carmina Burana* in Frankfurt on 8 June 1937. After the war Orff, along with his publisher, was accused of having exerted too great an effort in promoting his works under Hitler's dictatorship. Particularly controversial was the first performance in Frankfurt (1939) of the third version of the incidental music to *Ein Sommernachtstraum*. Against the background of the racial discrimination exercised by the Nazis towards Mendelssohn's works, the composer may indeed have 'overestimate[d] the scope of musical autonomy in a state committed to a particular Weltanschauung' (Maier, 9). However, Orff was not a member of the party at any time and entertained towards it no feelings of ideological sympathy. Nor were there among his closest friends any supporters of the Nazi regime's ideology. The fact that *Carmina Burana* had been torn to shreds by Herbert Gerigk, the influential critic of the *Völkischer Beobachter*, who referred to the 'incomprehensibility of the language' coloured by a 'jazzy atmosphere', caused many of Germany's opera Intendanten to fear staging the work after its première.

From 1950 to 1960 Orff held a chair of composition at the Hochschule für Musik in Munich. In 1956 he became a member of the order *Pour le mérite* for science and art; he received an honorary doctorate from the University of Tübingen in 1959, and in 1972 a second from the University of Munich; that year he was also awarded the Grosses Verdienstkreuz der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, while in 1974 the Katholische Akademie of Bavaria bestowed on him the Guardini Prize. During the period 1972–81 he was occupied with his eight-volume publication *Carl Orff und sein Werk: Dokumentation* (Tutzing, 1975–83).

2. WORKS. The first significant compositions by the young Orff were settings for voice and piano of texts by, among others, Friedrich Hölderlin, Heinrich Heine, Ludwig Uhland, Nikolaus Lenau, Richard Beer-Hofmann, Friedrich Nietzsche and Karl Stieler. But his first music to be published was the cycle *Eliland, ein Sang vom Chiemsee* (1911). Around the beginning of the 1980s Orff selected 14 of the early songs, including seven Werfel poems dating from 1920–21, for a collection that appeared as *Frühe Lieder*. This song sequence shows the composer distancing himself from late Romanticism and the Straussian tradition as well as the almost seductive language of Debussy, both of which had informed the orchestral tone poem *Tanzende Faune* (1914) and the *Treibhauslieder* (to texts by Maeterlinck). In the Werfel settings and the cantata *Des Turmes Auferstehung* (1920, rev. 1921, also to a Werfel text), some of the traits that were to characterize his mature style are already evident: a diatonic and linear approach, tectonic construction, and employment of drones and ostinatos, as well as the central role of the word, the fundamental element in that matrix of musical gestures which subsequently found expression in an order of theatricality freed from the subjectivity of late Romanticism.

Orff's development in the 1920s took two main paths: his experience gathered at the Güntherschule (see §3 below), and his exploration of Renaissance and Baroque music. His interest in antiquity and classical languages did not arise out of the contemporary penchant for neoclassicism: this hypothesis, still maintained by some, has created numerous misunderstandings that have affected



1. Design by Ludwig Sievert for the first performance of Orff's 'Carmina Burana', Frankfurt, 1937 (Institut für Theaterwissenschaft, University of Cologne)

the historical reception of Orff's works. It should be recognized that Orff's return to ancient sources, his 'Abstieg zu den Müttern' as he described it, was imbued with humanistic fervour and an untainted fascination with the word as both the vehicle of and the key to all theatrical experience. Such a recognition relativizes the difficulties encountered when considering his revitalization of musical language as an 'absolute' means of expression.

The most notable product of Orff's free transcriptions is his *Orpheus*, *Klage der Ariadne* and *Tanz der Spröden*, reworked Monteverdi scores which in 1958 he grouped into the triptych *Lamenti*, and the *Entrata* after Byrd (1928, rev. 1940). It was this artistic activity that enabled him to broaden his search for a personal theatrical mode of expression. Also of great relevance in this respect were his dramatic realizations of Baroque oratorios. Along with Schütz's *Auferstehungshistoria*, Orff staged the *Lukaspassion*, a work formerly attributed to J.S. Bach (BWV246), for the Vereinigung für zeitgenössische Musik in 1932. That performance was accompanied by slide projections of 15th-century Tyrolean woodcuts, creating an imaginative expansion of both visual and musical space, and anticipating the 'imagines magicae' that were to accompany *Carmina Burana*. By exploiting his compositional experience accumulated thus far, Orff managed to write two cycles of choral pieces accompanied by piano and percussion. For the first cycle he drew once again on seven Werfel Lieder, as well as other texts; the second cycle is to words by Brecht. Here, Orff was able to experiment with pointillist effects by combining percussion instruments, and to further perfect a compositional technique based on stratified diatonic modes supported by drones and ostinatos.

His discovery during this period of the Latin language and poems by Catullus marked a caesura in his output. For Orff this was the beginning of an exploration of classical antiquity that subsequently led him back to the very roots of European culture. The graceful suppleness of the melodic lines in the two unaccompanied cycles *Catulli Carmina* I and II (1930–31) is the most tangible result of this experience. The way was paved to the theatrical genre and those *Carmina Burana* songs that Orff considered the point of departure for his mature dramatic and musical style. The 23 poems, in part chosen by Orff under the philological tutelage of Michel Hofmann from the late medieval goliardic repertory in the famous Benediktbeuern manuscript, bring to life a number of allegorical tableaux; their static quality relates back, as Werner Thomas has argued (1990, pp.113–35) to a late Renaissance and Baroque conception that has its correlate in the stasis of the musical structures, which are based on strophic form, the ostinato and the drone. The harmonic idiom used by Orff just manages to elude pure tonality by suspending its gravitational pull through the use of a proto-harmonic language tinged with modal procedures. With its concise style and rhythmic pregnancy, the music liberates the latent power of the texts to create their own images and comment on the *imagines magicae* being staged under the unsettling aegis of the goddess Fortuna. Orff's own research into the area of Bavarian folksong, carried out with Kurt Huber, manifests itself in the form of alternating duple and triple dance rhythms modelled on the *Zwiefacher* and finds a place not only in this work but also in *Der Mond*.

In 1953 Orff grouped *Carmina Burana*, *Catulli Carmina* (1941–3) and *Trionfo di Afrodite* (1949–51) into the triptych *Trionfi*. In *Catulli Carmina* he lends 11 poems by Catullus (including six earlier *a cappella* choruses) a musical and dramatic dimension. This unfolds within a scene which, in its reliance on a *Rahmenspiel* used to frame the action and devised by Orff himself to his own words, and the use of various groups of people acting the part of spectators, acquires in performance those emblematic qualities that had already characterized *Carmina Burana*. The work is a parable of the power of Eros; above is the stage on which the dancers move, whereas the choir and the solo singers are placed in the orchestra pit. The actual songs of the *Catulli Carmina* are performed *a cappella*, as if they were a *commedia madrigalesca* or some sort of play within a play. Furthermore, this *Rahmenspiel* is scored for percussion instruments and four pianos, heralding future explorations of the timbral possibilities of percussion instruments that would lead Orff to abandon the traditional orchestra.

In the *Trionfo di Afrodite*, the last panel of the triptych, the ecstatic and melismatic parts of the bride and bridegroom already exhibit signs of the style employed in *Antigonae*. Here, Orff makes use of the ancient Greek language for the first time. To texts by Sappho and Catullus (*Epithalamia* lxi and lxii) he evokes the atmosphere of an archaic wedding ceremony that culminates with the appearance of Aphrodite (verses 1268–81 of *Hippolytus* by Euripides). Such a manifestation of divinity is achieved by a chromatic filling out of the musical space, a procedure that marks the most complete distancing from the diatonic background and which Orff later adopted in the chordal agglomerates of the Tiresias episode in *Oedipus* (Zillig, 207).

With *Der Mond* and *Die Kluge* Orff made a most original contribution to the genre of fairy tale opera. In *Der Mond* (1936–8), designated 'ein kleines Welttheater', the reference to the enormous multi-dimensionality of the Baroque theatre is evident. The story unravels on three levels: the level of human action, that of the underworld, and that of the heavens. It is out of this final plane that Petrus, the guardian of the night and the heavens, descends at the end of the work to restore the moon to its properly assigned place above the earth. This subject, which originates in the mythical interpretation of the phenomenon of the phases of the moon, is based on the fable of the same name by the Grimm brothers. Orff traces this story back to its pre-Christian origins, wholly evident in the finale. Petrus is no longer the St Peter of the Grimms, but rather a wise, good-natured custodian of order in the world. In Orff's setting the story unfolds through the voice of a narrator, and the scene acquires epic and evocative characteristics. Orff's allusion to the Evangelist of the Baroque oratorio is clear: the formal structure is that of a Singspiel, its music bestowing occasionally a knowing wink at 19th-century operatic convention and exhibiting the immediacy of popular songs and dance tunes (as, for example, in the 'Totenbacchanal' scene). Orff considered the orchestra of *Der Mond* as his 'last Romantic orchestra', perhaps because of the magical tonal colours of the finale. It is not only the transparency of the score but also the fairy tale stylization of the characters that are novel, placing the work firmly in the domain of 20th century sensibility.

For his second fairy tale opera, *Die Kluge: die Geschichte von dem König und der klugen Frau* (1941–2), Orff drew on a fable common to countless cultures of East and West, taking as his starting point a version by the Cabila people as recorded by Leo Frobenius (*Atlantis*, 1921–8). The tale centres on the wisdom of a peasant girl who is married to the King after solving three riddles, then helps her husband achieve a fuller understanding of himself and the world. The multi-dimensionality evinced in Orff's 'Welttheater', that of *Der Mond*, here contrasts with the centrality of humankind and its role in fable. The action takes place on two planes. The decision to introduce a subplot acted out by three mechanicals to accompany the main story is evidence of a Shakespearean influence in a theatrical sense, these *Strolche* ('vagabonds') wholly characteristic of Orff's own idea of theatre. The treatment of the orchestra is characterized by an indulgence in harsh tonal colours far removed from any Romantic sound ideal. In terms of compositional techniques, here as elsewhere, the repetition of rhythmically incisive, brief melodic cells in increasingly abbreviated forms is significant, exemplified in the peasant lament with which the work opens.

From the 1940s onwards Orff delved increasingly into classical antiquity. The trilogy that he began with *Antigonae* (1941–9) resulted both in means and intention in his most radical contribution to modern music theatre, a salient moment in the 20th century's attempts to harness ancient Attic tragedy. *Antigonae* itself marks a second turning point in Orff's development, for it coincides with the implementation of an idea that had flashed through his mind in 1914. While listening to Strauss's *Elektra* in a performance conducted by the composer, Orff became aware that this opera marked the end of a musical era and of a particular way of dealing with antiquity. In Hölderlin's version of *Antigonae* he recognized a basis that could be used to restore to theatre a cultic status and would make it possible to reclaim the tragedies of Sophocles for the music theatre of his own times. As Stefan Kunze wrote (1985–90, p.201), according to Orff 'the Antique is not a means to devise new forms of musical expression', to 'serve the composition', but rather one by which 'to appropriate antique tragedy as a real theatrical event'. To this corresponds the development of a singing style that takes as its starting point recitative in the manner of psalmody, the use of brittle, incisive instrumental sounds entrusted to six pianos, and a large battery of percussion, as well as choirs of wind instruments and nine double basses.

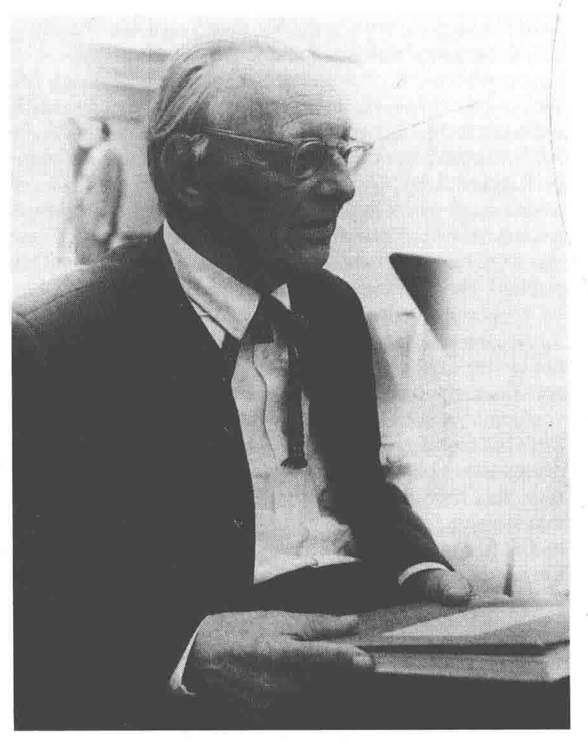
Hölderlin's 'Hesperic' translation acts as a mediator, allowing us to glimpse the sacral nature of the Sophocles text: the 'Sphinx-like rigidity' of the ancient Greek is transformed into the 'glowing magma' that is 'Western language' (Georgiades, 192). This is counterbalanced by a strict musical stylization in which recitative on the *recto tono* builds up to the high pathos of Creon's melismas and to ecstatic levels in the chromatic declamation of Tiresias. At the end of a long development, Orff's style still admits a harmonic idiom that Wilhelm Keller (p.43) calls 'personantisch', by which he means 'the simultaneous sounding of different elements within a clearly defined tonal field of reference'. In *Antigonae*, and in later tragedies too, the spoken word plays a central role. Out of the word are generated the rhythmic pulse and melodic line, while the orchestra sustains the declamation of the singers and, in erecting large, static blocks of sound, mirrors the architectonics of the tragedy. In his next work, *Oedipus der Tyrann* (1951–8), also based on a Hölderlin text, the word again becomes the pivot around which the musical drama is constructed, given the dialectic nature of a drama in which, according to Hölderlin, 'the spoken word set against the spoken word is everything'. A highly graduated range of expressive nuances combines in various ways with the percussion instruments to produce new timbres. The central role of the Oedipus figure corresponds musically to a strictly uniform distribution of tonal areas.

In *Prometheus desmotes* (1963–7) it is the scene of the tragedy that becomes the world itself. And if in the 'Osterspiel' and 'Weihnachtsspiel' (i.e. the diptych *Comoedia de Christi resurrectione* and the *Ludus de nato Infante mirificus* which, together with *Die Bernauerin* and *Astutuli*, make up the 'Bairisches Welttheater') Orff had already attached to ancient Greek a weighty symbolic significance, the decision to resort to the original language in the case of *Prometheus* was fraught with problems. Orff applied to the quantitative scanning of the verse the same 'musico-gestural speech ductus' (*Dokumentation*, viii, 1985, p.10) that he had used in the previous tragedies, opting for a free declamatory rhythm. Orff's theatre rejects any historicizing approach. It is the intention of the composer that the eloquence of the images and the preponderance of the visible – characteristics that *Prometheus* makes its own – compensate for the loss of a semantic dimension. By demanding an exotic array of percussion that calls for 15 to 18 players, the orchestra ensures that many world cultures are represented. And by incorporating cluster techniques and magnetic tape (Orff approaching, in this regard at least, the avant garde) the composer manages to evoke the archaic and cultic significance of this ancient myth.

In the four works comprising the 'Bairisches Welttheater' the entire theatrical experience relies once again on the spoken word. A tragic dimension seeps through *Die Bernauerin* (1944–6). It tells the story of a young Augsburg girl who, in 1432, is secretly married to the Duke, Albrecht III, before falling victim to a political conspiracy instigated by Albrecht's father. By distancing himself from the work of the same name by Hebbel and following the example of Schmeller's *Bayerisches Wörterbuch* (1827–37) and the 15th-century *Liederbuch der Clara Hätzlerin*, Orff pointed up the musicality of even the most recondite forms of the ancient Bavarian language. Brief passages of music are inserted and frame the spoken parts. Earthly events are driven by higher powers of which the witches constitute the demonic aspect. And it is only in the finale – where the action, thanks to the intervention of these invisible forces, receives a cathartic urge that pushes the drama into the sphere of tragedy and of mystery plays – that the orchestra supports the declamation without interruption. In *Astutuli* (1946–8), the satyr-like sibling of *Die Bernauerin*, Orff retraces his steps to the origins of European theatre, treading the bare boards on which the Roman comedian, or *joculator*, used to perform. The action is punctuated only by percussion instruments; the Bavarian language brims with images and mimetic power; and the only musical number in the traditional sense is the final 'Dreher' of the unrepentant and gullible fools, who were cheated and robbed by the *Gagler*, or itinerant confidence tricksters: 'mundus vult decipi'.

The gestation of *De temporum fine comoedia*, which is the epitome of Orff's theatrical work, began while he was working on *Prometheus*. The score to this 'Spiel vom Ende der Zeiten' was completed between 1970 and 1971, with texts taken from the *Oracula sibyllina*, an Orphic Hymn to Oneiros, and also from the *Carmina Burana* collection. Orff lends to a theological idea a theatrical form that was already present in *Des Turmes Auferstehung*: Origene's 'apokatástasis pánton', namely the idea that the world returns to God with the consequence that all guilt is temporally finite. The vastness of this eschatological scenario feeds the visionary quality of this modern mystery play. And in the vision invoked by the Anachoretes one participates in the repentance of Lucifer, announced symbolically in the music by open 5ths to a blare of trumpets. There follows a transfiguring dematerialization of all musical parameters, then a canon for four viols. This symbolic mandala representing 'Tà pánta Noûs' ('Everything is Spirit') and closing with a reference to Anaxagoras, signifies both the end of the *comoedia* and of Orff's creative career.

3. 'SCHULWERK'. The birth of the Güntherschule must be viewed against the historical backdrop of the *Neue Tanzbewegung* of the first few decades of the 20th century. This anti-academic movement was personified in Germany by Rudolf von Laban and Mary Wigman, both exponents of the so-called 'Ausdruckstanz', or expressive dance. In *Über das Geistige in der Kunst* (1912), Wassily Kandinsky had already written that future dance forms would arise whose expression would rely on the internalization of movement. Indeed, the very notion of the *elementare* (elemental), as applied by Orff to music and to verbal and bodily expression, evokes the kind of dissection of the figurative universe into its primary elements that Kandinsky had already theorized. Orff and Dorothee Günther intended to obviate the absence of adequate elemental music in the dance schools of, among others, Dalcroze and Bode by searching for a music that 'begins in movement'. Of decisive importance was the work of Maja Lex at the Güntherschule from 1925 onwards. She managed to devise an elemental dance style that was free from the influence of Wigman's expressionism. Starting in 1930, Maja Lex guided the dance group of the Güntherschule to national and international success. Only after 1948, as the *Schulwerk* spread through broadcasts by Bavarian Radio, was full attention also paid to the relationship between sound and word, whereby rhythm remained the fundamental kinetic element behind the improvisation process. The first volume of *Musik für Kinder* (1950–54, 5 vols.) takes as its starting point the simplest possible poetic material, such as children's rhymes and singing games, all rich in mimetic and gestural elements. The 20 editions of the *Schulwerk*, issued from the 1950s onwards, include editions in many different languages, including African languages and Japanese, each of which draws for inspiration on the musical and literary cultural heritage of the culture in question.



2. *Carl Orff*

In creating a body of suitable instruments, especially percussion and recorders, a vital role was played by Gunild Keetman (1904–90), Orff's *alter ego* where his experimentation with new teaching methods was concerned. The highly differentiated and novel use of percussion instruments – true of course for all of Orff's work – must be considered within the historical perspective of their emancipation during the 20th century. Also noteworthy in this respect was the contribution made by two instrument makers: Karl Maendler before World War II, and after 1945, Klaus Becker, the founder of Studio 49. It was in 1949 that the *Schulwerk* arrived at the Mozarteum, where, in 1961, the Orff-Institut was inaugurated. From the 1950s onwards the approach began to spread around the world.

Improvisation techniques represent the essence of all experimentation; they were the pivotal idea of the *Schulwerk* during the very early years, and before the introduction of the now obselete ideological constructs with which theoreticians in the 1930s sought to underpin the activities of the Güntherschule. Alien to all rigid methodology, the *Schulwerk* aims to support creativity in the child. This is effected by the assimilation, always on the basis of elemental, easily grasped structures, of the traditional musical forms that have arisen throughout history. Theoretical debate over the last few decades has pointed up the difficulties of arriving at a satisfactory definition of the elemental, while simultaneously demonstrating the term's precarious and ephemeral philosophical quality. The concept of the elemental preserves a certain utility if one recognizes the historical origin of the models and the cultural preconditions of 'elementare Musik', irrespective of the traditions to which it refers. It is necessary to identify in the elemental structures not an original essence, but rather the expression of a 'second-order naturalness', one filtered by historical experience. Indeed, as Orff and Keetman worked on the progressive enlargement of the melodic range of the models and the internal ordering of the five volumes of *Musik für Kinder*, which cover all the major modes (books 2 and 3) and all minor ones (books 4 and 5) in the sequence *Bordun–Stufen–Dominanten*, he studiously avoided an evolutionary portrayal of the history of music.

The efficacy of the concept of elemental music presupposes a dimension of craftsmanship which has aesthetic autonomy and requires no simplification of complex artistic means of expression. Nonetheless, at the time the first edition appeared the models used in the *Schulwerk* were already being misunderstood as musical 'texts' rather than cues for improvisation. The difficulty of applying in a creative manner the methodological suggestions of Orff and his colleagues has not prevented the *Schulwerk* from demonstrating its incredible vitality and powers of regeneration within ever-changing social and cultural environments, a vigour that is also confirmed by the application of this approach with handicapped children and in the field of music therapy.

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ALBERTO FASSONE

Orford Quartet. Canadian string quartet. It was formed in 1965 at the summer school of Les Jeunesses Musicales de Québec at Mount Orford by Andrew Dawes (*b* High River, AB, 7 Feb 1940), Kenneth Perkins, Terence Helmer and Marcel St-Cyr. The four were coached by Lorand Fenyves of the University of Toronto, former leader of

the Orchestre de la Suisse Romande, with whom Dawes and Perkins had studied in Geneva. In 1968 the ensemble was given a residency at the university. Regarded as the leading quartet in Canada, it toured extensively in Europe and North America, playing the Classical and Romantic repertory as well as such contemporary works as those of George Crumb and Leon Kirchner. In 1972 it gave the première of Jacques Hetu's Quartet and in November 1974 it shared first prize in the EBU competition in Stockholm. In 1980 Denis Brott took over the cello chair and this formation of the quartet recorded a celebrated Beethoven cycle. Robert Levine became the viola player in 1986, to be succeeded the following year by Sophie Renshaw, and Desmond Hoebig replaced Brott in 1988. The ensemble was dissolved in 1992 but in 1995–6 Dawes made a comeback to fill in as leader of the Tokyo Quartet.

TULLY POTTER

Orgad, Ben-Zion (*b* Gelsenkirchen, 21 Aug 1926). Israeli composer and teacher of German origin. In 1933 he moved to Palestine, where he studied the violin with P. Kimari (1934–42) and R. Bergman (1942–7), and composition with Ben-Haim (1941–6) and Tal, graduating from the Rubin Academy of Music, Jerusalem, in 1947. He went to the USA in 1949 to study with Copland at Tanglewood and to attend Kurt Sachs's lectures at New York University. In 1950 his symphony *Ha-sui Yisra'el* ('The Beauty of Israel') was introduced by the Israel PO under Bernstein, and in 1950 his biblical cantata *Sipur ha-meraglim* ('The Story of the Spies') won him the International Koussevitzky Competition, enabling him to continue his studies at Tanglewood, where the work was first performed in 1952. He also studied under Fine, Shapero and Levi at Brandeis University (1960–61), receiving the MFA in musicology. In Israel he has worked as supervisor (1956–74) and chief supervisor (1975–88) of music education for the Ministry of Education and Culture, besides appearing widely as a lecturer on Israeli and contemporary music. In 1997 Orgad won the Israel Prize in music, the highest national award.

A defining aspect of Orgad's music is its roots in the Hebrew language. Patterns of intonation and metrical values typical of biblical and modern Hebrew are expressed in extended modal tonalities, *maqām* and chromaticism, while the melos and melismas originating from the rich Eastern and Western traditions of chanted biblical tropes are also present. These are discussed in his article 'The Musical Potential of the Hebrew Language and its Manifestation in Art Music' (1978). Personal *maqāmat* are recognizable in early works, such as *Out of the Dust* (1956) and *Monologue* (1957), as well as in the seven *Filigree* works (1989–97). Since *Mizmorim* ('Songs of Thanksgiving and Praise') (1966–8) he has exploited simultaneity as a means of construction, employing diverse sound groupings, different texts in one or more languages, and varied spatial dispositions. His passion *Ha-gzerot ha-yeshanot* ('The Old Decrees') (1970) and the orchestral *Ballade* (1971) are further examples, while tonal gesture has become an additional element since *Reshuyot* in 1978. Orgad has used the term 'tonescapes' to indicate an intentional relation to 'spiritual sites', with Jerusalem the most common, from *Ḥazon Yesha'yahu* ('Isaiah's Vision') (1953) to *Shtay Petikhot* ('Two Openings') (1995), as well as Galilee in the seven *Filigree* works and Terezin in *Makom Ishi* ('A Personal Place') (1995). In *Makom Ishi*, *Hityaḥadut shniyah* [Individuations no.2] (1990) and *Ha-gzerot ha-yeshanot*, the use of German and Yiddish songs merges the 'site' into the simultaneous texture. Orgad has stressed the significance of collaboration with performers and how they are latent partners in his creative process. Many of his musical characteristics are also expressed in his three books of poetry, his translation of 40 of Paul Celan's late poems (1987) and his prose works.

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(*selective list*)

VOCAL

Choral and orch: Sipur ha-meraglim [The Story of the Spies] (Bible: *Numbers*), 1951; Ḥazon Yesha'yahu [Isaiah's Vision], 1953; Ha-gzerot ha-yeshanot [The Old Decrees] (Passion MS from Darmstadt, 1096), S, Mez, T, Bar, vv, chbr orch, 1970; Sipuro shel ḥalil [Story of a Pipe] (after S.Y. Agnon), S, Mez, Bar, vv, orch, 1972; Yisurei ge'ulah [Sufferings for Redemption] (S. Ibn Gabirol), Mez, female vv, orch, 1974; And this is the Blessing, 1993

Solo vocal and orch: Tfilah (Prayer), Bar, chbr orch, 1948; Ha-sui Yisra'el [The Beauty of Israel] (Bible: *II Samuel*), sym., Bar, orch, 1949; Mizmorim [Songs of Thanksgiving and Praise] (Bible, trad.), S, A, T, B, chbr orch, 1966–8; Shirim ba-boqer ba-boqer [Songs of an Early Morning] (A. Gilboa), (Mez, Bar)/Mez, chbr orch, 1968; Iltam Zumra [A Hymn to the Goddess] (Sumerian, Akkadian texts), Mez, Bar, chbr orch, 1989

Unacc. choral: Eikhah nissa [How Shall We Bear], SATB, 1947; Adonai adoneinu [O Lord, our Lord], motet, male vv, 1952; Nesi'at Kapayim [Blessing of the Priests], cant, 3 SATB, 1976; Songs of the Choshen Valley, 8 songs, SATB, 1981

Solo vocal with insts: Min he-'afar [Out of the Dust] (E. Ur), Mez, fl, bn, va, vc, 1956; Death Came to the Wooden Horse Michael (N. Zach), 2 S/Mez, 9 insts, 1968, rev. 1977; Sha'ar sha'ar [Gate], v, vn, va, vc, pf, 1977; Maqom Ishi [A Personal Place], Mez, fl, cl, bn, hn, tpt, perc, 2 vn, va, db, 1995

INSTRUMENTAL

Orch: Mar'ot [6 Movts], 1947; Choreographic Sketches, 1953; Bamot bonim la-melekh [Building a King's Stage], 1957; Music, hn, orch, 1959; Kaleidoscope, 1961; Ashmoret rishonah [First Watch], str qt, str, 1969; Ballade, 1971; Ashmoret shniya [Second Watch], chbr orch, 1973, arr. sym. orch, 1982; Dialogues on the First Scroll, chbr orch, 1975; Ashmoret shlishit [A Vigil in Jerusalem: Third Watch], 1978; Hallel [Praise], 1978; Hityahadut [Individuations no.1], concertante, cl, chbr orch, 1981; Hityachadut shniyah [Individuations no.2], concertante, vn, vc, chbr orch, 1990; Toccata in a Galilean Maqam, 1994

Chbr: Fantasy, vc, pf, 1947; Septet, ww, str, 1959; Duo, vn, vc, 1960; Str Trio, 1961; Nofim [Landscapes], wind qnt, 1969; Songs without Words, 6 insts, 1970; She'arim [Gates], brass ens, 1987; Filigree no.1, cl, 2 vn, va, vc, 1989–90; Filigree no.2, ob, 2 vn, va, vc, 1990; Filigree no.3, bn, 2 vn, va, vc, 1992; Filigree no.4, cl, bn, hn, vn, va, vc, 1992; Shtei petiḥot [Two Openings], nar, 3 hn, 3 tpt, 3 trbn, tuba, perc, 1995

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Incid music

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WILLIAM Y. ELIAS/NATHAN MISHORI

Organ (Fr. *orgue, orgues*; Dutch, Ger. *Orgel*; It., Sp. *organo*; Dan. *Orglet*; from Gk. *organon* via Lat. *organum*). A wind instrument consisting of one or more scale-like rows of individual pipes of graded size which are made to sound by air under pressure directed from a wind-raising device and admitted to the pipes by means of valves operated from a keyboard. Although this definition could include such instruments as the REGALS, PORTATIVE, POSITIVE and CLAVIORGAN, this article is concerned with the larger organ proper.

The organ is, together with the clock, the most complex of all mechanical instruments developed before the Industrial Revolution. Among musical instruments its history is the most involved and wide-ranging, and its extant repertory the oldest and largest (*see* KEYBOARD MUSIC, §§I–II; *see also* CONTINUO). Despite its essentially indirect and therefore relatively inflexible production of sound, no other instrument has inspired such avowed respect as the organ, 'that great triumph of human skill ... the most perfect musical instrument' (*Grove1*), 'in my eyes and ears ... the king of instruments' (Mozart, letter to his father, 17–18 October 1777).

I. Word origin

Plato (*Laws*) and Aristotle (*Politics*) both used the term 'organon' to denote a tool or instrument in a general sense: something with which to do a job of work (*ergon*, from root *uerğ-*; cf *Werk*, 'work'). Plato (*Republic*) and later authors also used it to denote any kind or all kinds of musical instrument or contrivance. No Greek author used it to mean 'pipe organ', and even in the term 'hydraulic organ' (1st century CE) used by Hero of Alexandria 'organ' has the sense of tool, so that the whole term properly indicates 'an aulos-like device or instrument, operated by water'. (In this context, moreover, 'aulos' may indicate not the musical wind instrument of that name but 'pipe', 'conduit' etc.; thus 'hydraulic' refers to the water and air conduits.) Classical and patristic Latin show a fairly clear evolution of the terms 'organum', 'organa', 'organis' from a general to a specific sense, and a musical connection is often clear from the context, more consistently so than in Greek. 9th- and 10th-century Arabic had its own versions of the Greek, for example *hedhrula* ('hydraulis') and *urghanon* ('organon'). The use of 'organum' to denote a kind of polyphony is of course post-classical (*see* ORGANUM).

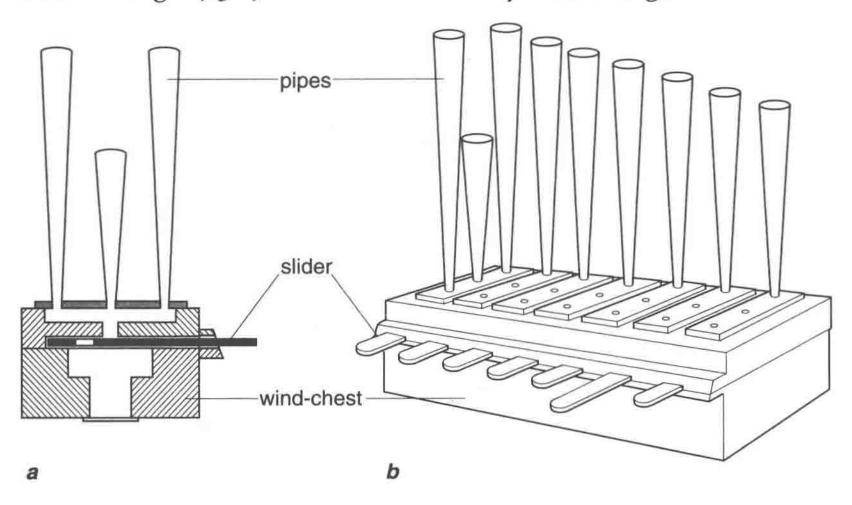
In his commentary on Psalm cl St Augustine correctly explained the Vulgate word 'organum' as derived from 'a Greek term', and thought it unlikely to be correct in this psalm. He defined it as follows (the English translation is by John of Trevisa, 1398): 'Organum is a generall name of all Instrumentes of Musyk: and is nethelesse specyally apropryte to the Instrument that is made of many pipes; and blowen wyth belowes'. In one sentence St Augustine used the singular *organum* and the plural *organa* for the same object, thus foreshadowing late medieval usage of the plural in English and in Old High German (Notker Labeo's *diu organâ* and *orglun*) and present-day usage in Slavonic languages, (*varhany, orgány*: plural). The English derivatives of 'organ' ('organic', 'organize') are mostly post-medieval terms, and are sometimes found first in the musical sense (i.e. 'organic': 'like organs'), sometimes first in the non-musical sense: 'organize', 'to give an orderly structure to', appears in the 17th century, while 'organize', 'to supply one or more sets of organ pipes to' a harpsichord or piano, appears in the 18th century, probably from French usage (e.g. *clavecin organisé*). The plural 'organs' denoting a single object (e.g. *orgues/ogres, Orgenen/Orgeln* in 12th-century French and German verse) belongs to the musical use of the term. In some languages, notably French, the singular *orgue* seems much the later term, but documents are inconsistent (e.g. 'money paied to the organe maker for the orgonis', 14th century). A 'pair of organs' was a phrase used in 17th-century England generally to denote an organ of any size. During the 16th century, particularly in documents prepared by non-musicians, a 'pair of organs or virginals' may perhaps have indicated an instrument with longer than average compass, but more probably meant merely an 'instrument of many pipes or strings' (cf a 'pair of stairs' in 15th-century French and English). By 1613 the new two-manual organ of Worcester Cathedral was called 'Double Organ', and it is this kind of instrument that was normally meant in 17th-century contracts (e.g. those of Durham, Wells and Canterbury, all 1662) and in the voluntaries for Double organ popular from around 1640. The agreement from Canterbury is explicit: 'A Double Organ, viz a great Organ and a Chaire Organ' (*see* DOUBLE ORGAN). Biblical use of 'organ' in English translations is unreliable. Septuagint Greek uses *organon* most often in its general sense of 'tool'; Old Testament Hebrew uses *ûgab* on four occasions, apparently to indicate some kind of wind instrument, perhaps a vertical flute; Vulgate Latin uses *organum* indiscriminately for both.

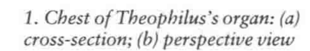
'Organ', 'orgue' and 'organo' are also used in the sense of *Werk* to denote individual manual or pedal departments of the whole instrument. Before about 1675 such terms applied only to departments built into separate organ cases. In England, Echoes and Swells were not usually called 'Swell Organ' before about 1800, although by about 1850 all departments of an organ were referred to as 'organs'.

II. Construction

There are three main parts to the construction of an organ: the wind-raising device, the chest with its pipes, and the (keyboard and valve) mechanism admitting wind to the pipes. These three parts are common to any pipe organ; it is in their precise nature that essential differences lie – from the small hydraulic organ of the 3rd century BCE; to the monster electric organ of the 1920s. At different points in history builders have tended to develop different parts of the instrument, while at other times (*c*1400 and *c*1850) all parts saw intense development.

1. HYDRAULIC ORGAN. Said to have been invented by the Alexandrian engineer Ctesibius, this most primitive




1. Chest of Theophilus's organ: (a) cross-section; (b) perspective view

form of organ, which was known from Greco-Roman times through numerous descriptions and iconography, differed from later versions in that the wind supply to the pipes was regulated by water-pressure rather than by weighted bellows. The number of pipes and compass of keys were small, and it was frequently used outdoors, and in various secular ceremonial functions. For a full discussion and illustrations of its construction, *see* HYDRAULIS and see also §IV, 1 below. It is not to be confused with the later WATER ORGAN, a normal pneumatic organ in which the bellows were operated by water power.

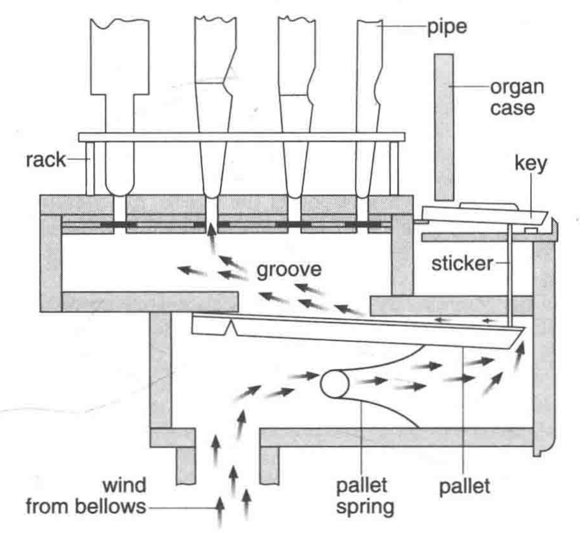
2. A MEDIEVAL CHEST. Fig.1 shows how in Theophilus's organ (11th century) the wind, raised by two or more bellows operated by the blowers' body-weight, is admitted to the several ranks of pipes when a perforated hand-slider is pulled out until its hole is aligned with the vertical channel between the wind-chest and the pipe-foot; to obtain a 'clean' sound, the slider must be operated as quickly as possible. To stop the sound, the slider is pushed back. The whole chest could be made of wood or moulded metal.

Other medieval chests differed significantly. According to the description in the Berne Codex (11th century), the wind did not pass to the two ranks of pipes from one duct but each pipe had its own duct from the wind-chamber below; thus the hand-slider required as many holes to be aligned as there were ranks. Also the 'key' was (like that of the hydraulis) a pivoted square which, when depressed, would push the slider into sounding position, while a spring pulled it back afterwards to its blocking position. Early medieval positives and portatives probably worked by one or other of such systems, which do not of themselves presuppose any particular size.

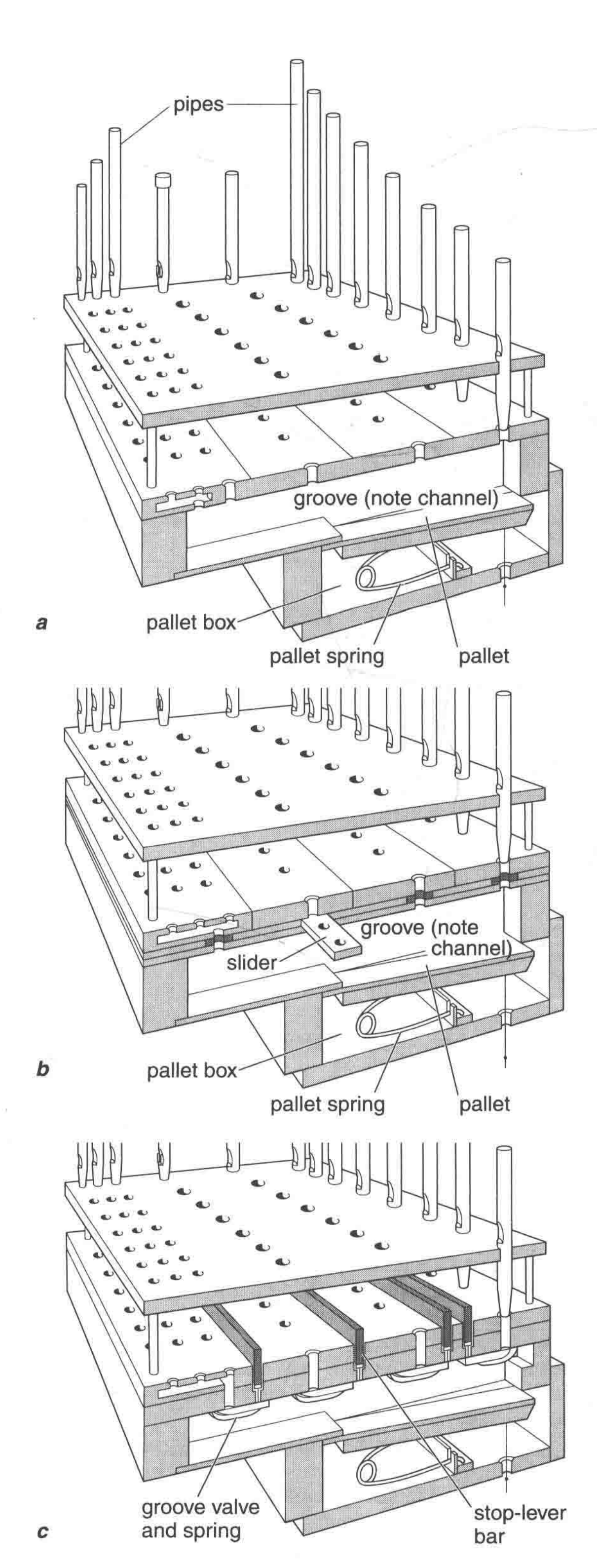
3. A POSITIVE (OR CHAMBER) ORGAN ACTION. In the 'pin action' portrayed in fig.2, wind accumulated in the lower chamber or pallet box is admitted to each upper chamber or groove when the corresponding key depresses the hinged pallet. The new, crucial device in this system is the pallet and its groove or channel, both of unknown origin, although well established by the 14th century. The effectiveness and versatility of the resulting chest construction promoted the development of the Renaissance organ. In theory and (many organists and builders believe) in practice, the grooved or 'barred' chest facilitates tonal blend between the several pipes belonging to each key. Later medieval positives probably had a similar action, in most cases to fewer (and often sliderless) ranks of pipes; later medieval portatives also probably worked from a similar (though simpler and more compact) pin action, whatever the shape and size of the keys.

4. DETAILS OF MEDIEVAL AND RENAISSANCE CHESTS. Fig.3*a* shows a medieval block-chest (or BLOCKWERK): the opened pallet admits wind to all the pipes on one groove or channel (i.e. all those belonging to one key) and the player is unable to separate the ranks of pipes. To obtain variety of sound some organs had grooves divided into two parts, each with its own pallet; each resulting 'half-chest' could have its wind blocked off with a valve somewhere between bellows and pallet box, though in practice the front half-chest (whose pipes were those of the case front or Open and perhaps Stopped Diapasons) played all the time. Each key in such a double chest operated two pallets. The reliability and wind-saving virtues of this system gave it some popularity in the Netherlands during the 15th century.

In the slider-chest (? late 15th century) shown in fig.3*b*, the opened pallet admits wind to each single or multi-rank 'stop' by means of a perforated slip of wood ('slider')



2. Pin action in a Renaissance or Baroque chamber organ



3. Medieval and Renaissance chests: (a) medieval block-chest; (b) ?late 15th-century slider-chest; (c) early 16th-century spring-chest

running longitudinally in the board between the pipe-foot and the groove on the upper level of the chest. The slider can be aligned either to allow wind to pass through ('stop drawn') or to prevent it passing through ('stop pushed in'). By means of rods, trundles and levers, the sliders can also be operated by a 'stop-knob' near the player (below and in front of the chest itself). Sliders were known first in small organs, perhaps as early as 1400, but were not much used in larger ones (or the larger departments of two-manual organs) until the 16th century.

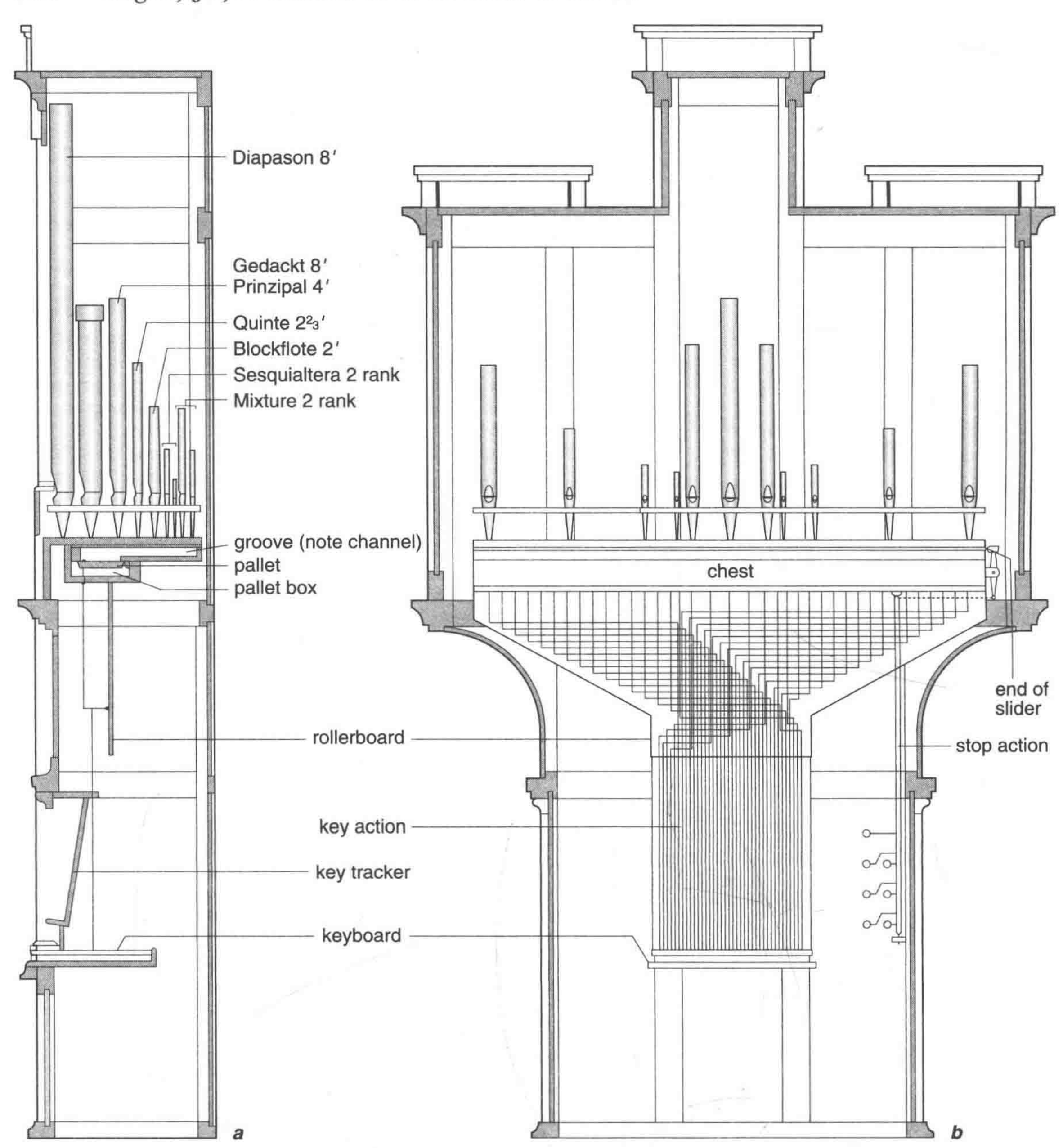
Fig.3*c* shows a spring-chest (early 16th century) in which the opened pallet admits wind to each single or multi-rank stop by means of a secondary pallet or 'groove-valve' for each, which is operated by the stop-lever bar. The spring acting on the secondary pallet also causes the bar to spring back to the 'off' position unless prevented (i.e. unless the player notches the stop-lever at the keyboard into the 'on' position).

Other spring-chests differed significantly. Many of the Italian examples from the late 15th century onwards had their secondary pallets placed vertically rather than horizontally, with the result that the bar moved horizontally. Because brass springs lose their flexibility in time, some builders in 16th-century Italy and 17th-century Germany designed the chest so that all the secondary pallets belonging to one groove could on occasion be pulled out in one strip (looking like a long, narrow drawer) and the faulty spring replaced without dismantling the pallet box.

The spring-chest is troublesome to make, as 17th-century theorists such as Mersenne and Werckmeister noted; it also takes up more room than a slider-chest. But it is said that spring-chests last longer, and (although no results of controlled experiments have been published) cause the pipes to speak better. Since there could be no loss of wind through shrinking or warping of sliders, spring-chests probably contributed to greater stability of tuning, although their complexity would be likely to make them more sensitive to the extremes of humidity and dryness found in modern, centrally heated churches. While the spaciousness of the chests dictated by the spatial requirements of the 'groove-valves' makes pipes and action more accessible for tuning and repair, it also requires that the main key pallets be made larger, making the touch heavier and less sensitive than that of slider-chest organs. This may be why the spring-chest was abandoned in the north, where higher wind pressures complicated this situation.

5. Mechanical action. Fig.4 depicts the side and front elevation of a single-manual organ with suspended action. Organs of this simple construction have been built since at least the 15th century; larger and more sophisticated instruments of this type were being built in Spain, Italy and Central America as late as the 19th century, and there was a revival in the use of this action during the late 20th century.

In this action, shown in exploded detail in fig.5, all motion is in the same (downward) direction. A tracker attached to the centre of a key which is hinged at the back end descends when the key is depressed. As the width of the chest is greater than that of the keyboard, the action is intercepted by a roller, which transfers the motion horizontally to another tracker, which in turn pulls down the pallet in the chest, admitting wind to the groove under the pipe. Very small or very primitive organs can be found

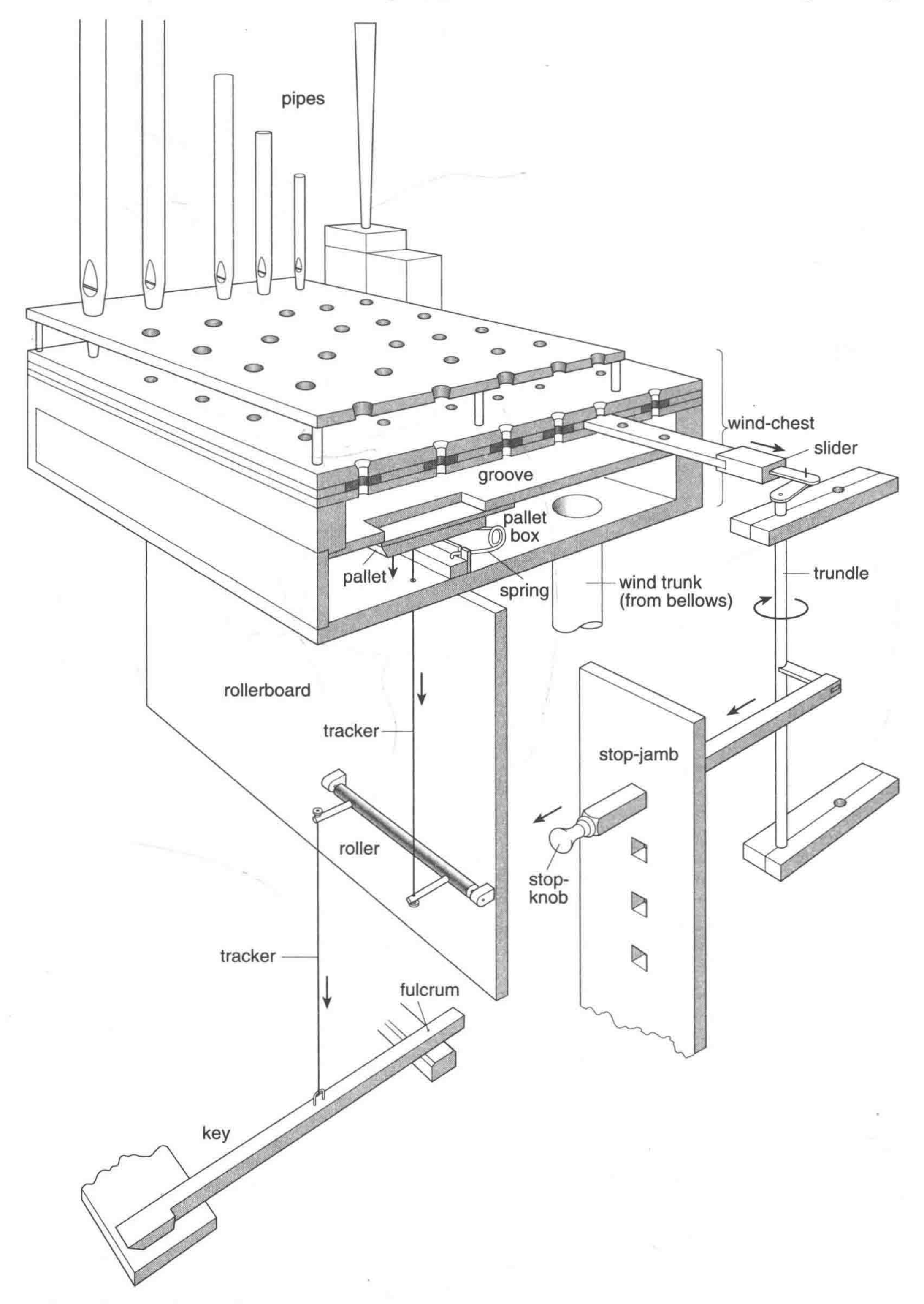


4. Tracker action mechanism: (a) side view; (b) front view

in which the rollerboard is eliminated and the trackers simply fanned or splayed to correct the discrepancy between key-scale and chest-scale.

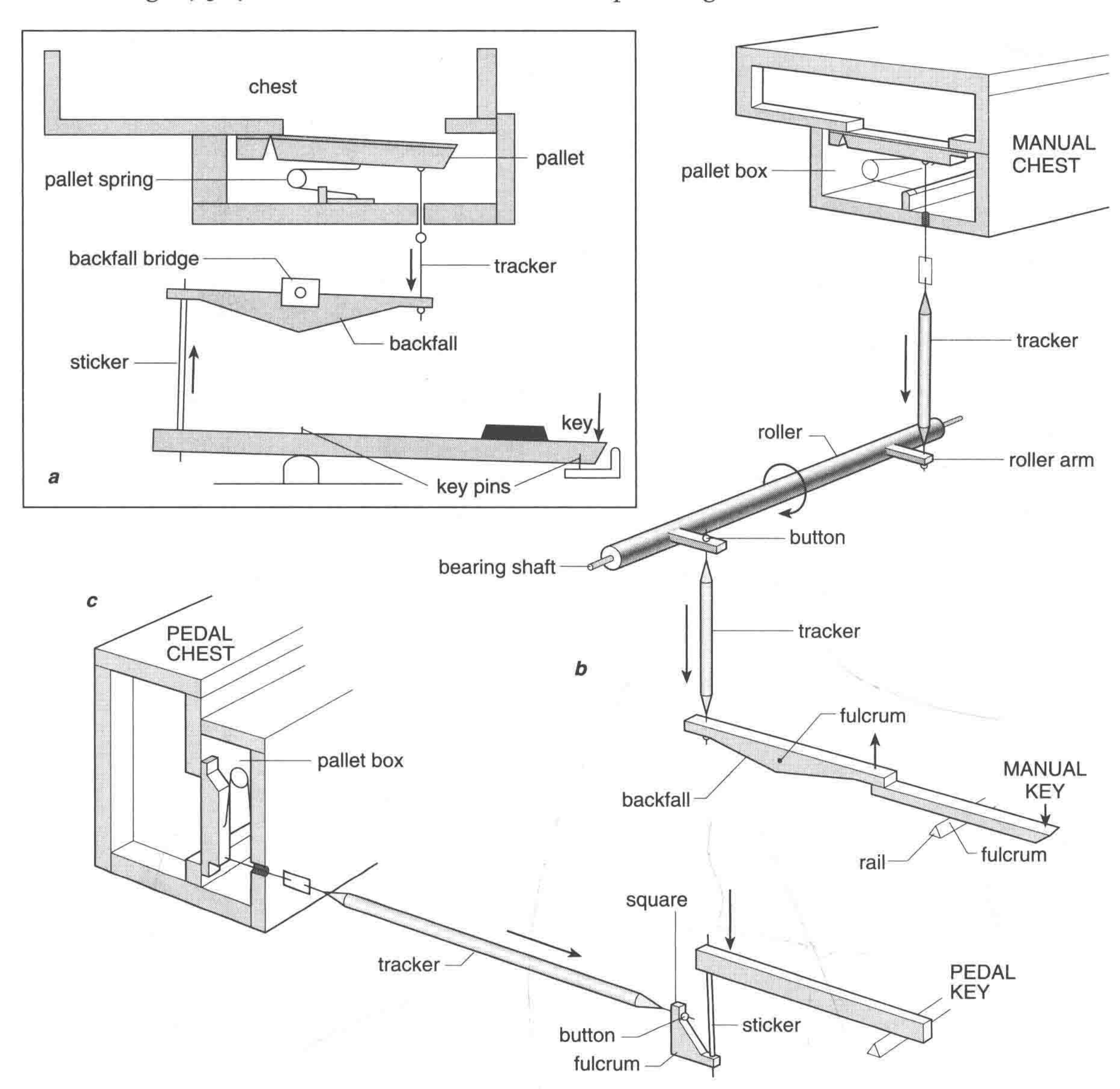
Fig.6 depicts the so-called balanced action which originated in north-western Europe in the 17th century, was adopted in England shortly before the beginning of the 18th century and was widely used in the 19th century. This action, which allows for more flexibility in the location and number of chests, involves a transfer of motion direction. Fig.6*a* illustrates how the key, when depressed, pushes up one end of the balanced backfall, causing the opposite end to descend, pulling down the tracker attached to the pallet; in this simple arrangement the backfalls must be splayed to compensate for the difference between key-scale and chest-scale, but it is also possible for them to remain key-scale and communicate with a rollerboard, as shown in fig.6*b*. Fig.6*c* shows another variant (illustrated here in the pedal department, although the mechanism may also be applied to the manuals) in which motion is transferred by means of a rocking square.

Regardless of the type of key action (suspended or balanced), the stop action usually operates in the manner depicted in fig.5. The stop-knob is attached to a rod which is attached either to a rotating trundle (as shown), or, by means of squares, to a rocking arm, which in turn draws or retires the slider associated with a particular rank of pipes on the chest.



5. Key- and stop-mechanism of a single-manual organ with suspended action

6. A NORTH EUROPEAN ORGAN. Fig.7 shows a four-manual instrument in cross-section; only a selection of pipe-ranks is indicated. In this design, the pedal-chests may be to the left and right of the main case or (with less immediacy of sound) behind it. The space between bench and Chair Organ was often enlarged in churches in Roman Catholic countries to accommodate a choir and orchestra; special stops (cornet), chests (echo chests), and toy stops could be conducted off the main wind-trunks; one or more departments could be enclosed in a Swell



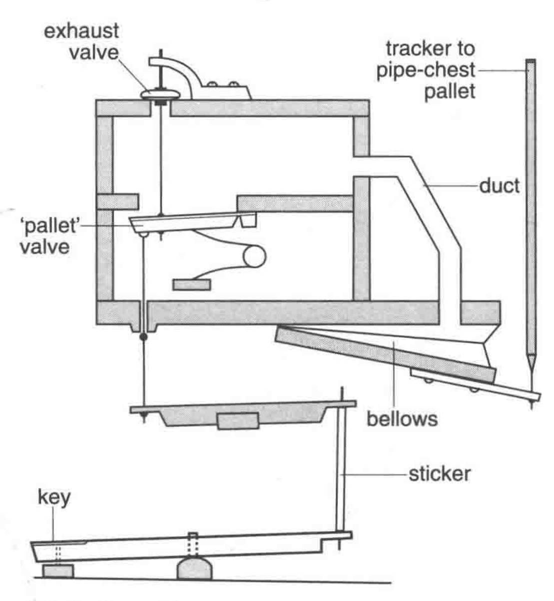
6. Key-mechanism of a single-manual organ with balanced action

box; Tremulants could be fixed in the main trunk, a subsidiary department trunk, or the trunk of an isolated stop (*see* TREMULANT).

7. BARKER-LEVER ACTION. Fig.8 illustrates the principles of a mechanism invented in the mid-19th century by CHARLES SPACKMAN BARKER and constantly redesigned and patented by countless other builders. When a key is depressed, air under pressure from the main bellows is admitted through a pallet-like valve to inflate small bellows (one for each key) which, in moving, travel sufficiently to pull a tracker connected with the pipe-chest pallet. On release the exhaust valve at the top allows the small bellows to deflate immediately. In this way, average light finger pressure on the key brings into play a wind-power sufficient to operate pallets at some distance from the player, especially those of large-scale pipes and on chests working under high wind pressure (e.g. Solo organ). The pneumatic unit, or 'Barker lever', is placed inside the organ, near the keyboard, at a point where the tracker rises vertically from the keys and merely intercepts an otherwise traditional mechanical action. Perhaps one of its most important applications is to inter-manual couplers, allowing additional manuals to be coupled to the main manual without significantly increasing key resistance. This type of assisted action was used extensively in France during the second half of the 19th century, and generally used for larger organs in the USA and Britain during the same period.

8. CONE-CHEST (*Kegellade*). The cone-chest, or ventil-chest with cone-shaped valves, is found particularly in 19th-century German organs (fig.9 shows a mid-century example) and was one of several chests developed between 1775 and 1875 in the interests of mechanical reliability. Though bulky, the cone-chest avoided some of the faults to which a working slider-chest was subject, but was more inclined to be affected by extremes of humidity. In the cone-chest all the pipes belonging to a rank are mounted on one channel running the length of the chest;

7. Four-manual north European organ in cross-section

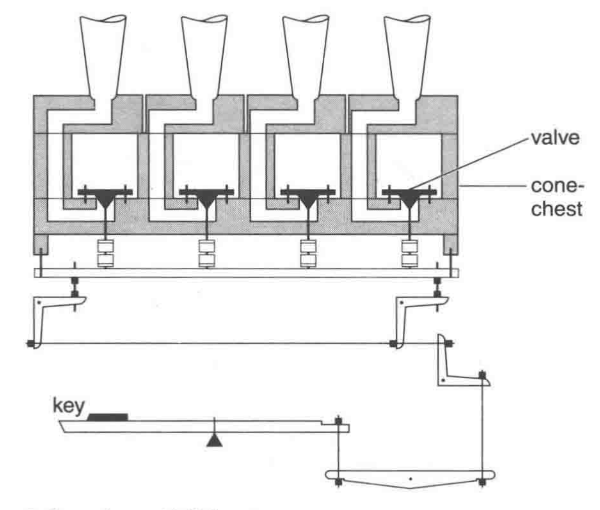


8. Barker-lever action

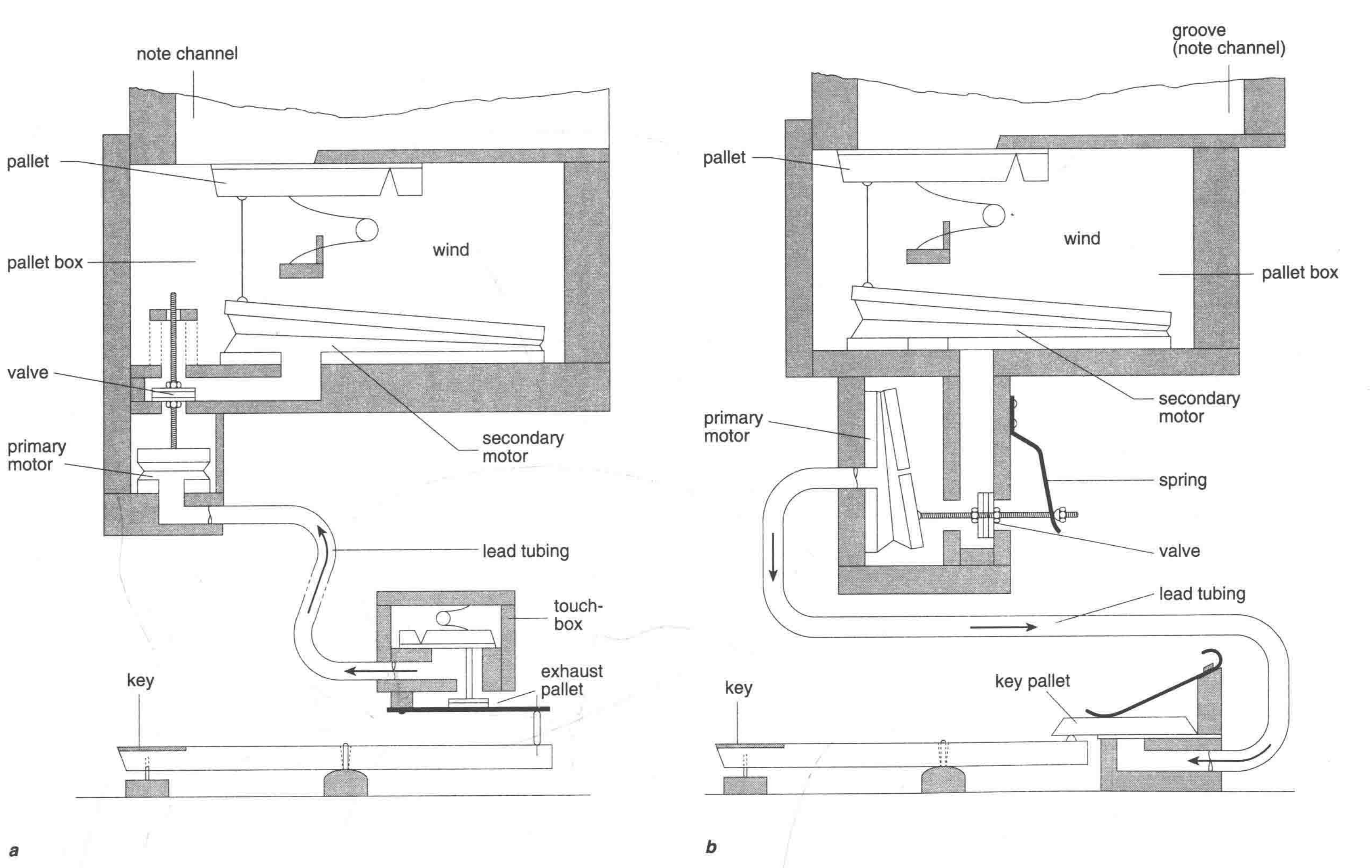
to the whole of this channel wind is admitted when the stop-knob is drawn.

There are no lateral key-channels or grooves in such 'barless chests'. Each key activates a series of cone-shaped valves, one for each pipe; thus although only one stop may be required by the organist, all the other valves move. The valves need not be cone-shaped; they may even be replaced by little discs operated by small bellows-like pneumatic motors.

9. Tubular-pneumatic action. This type of action, shown in fig.10, was developed in the late 19th century, and could be applied either to slider-chests or to the newer individual pipe-valve chests. Two forms of tubular-pneumatic action are illustrated here: in fig.10*a*, when a key is depressed, air under pressure in the touch-box above the key is admitted along the lead or copper tubing to the bellows-like 'primary' pneumatic motor which opens, forcing a valve to rise (hence the name 'pressure-pneumatic action'). This in turn releases air from the



9. Cone-chest, mid-19th century



10. Tubular-pneumatic actions as applied to a slider-chest: (a) pressure-pneumatic; (b) exhaust-pneumatic

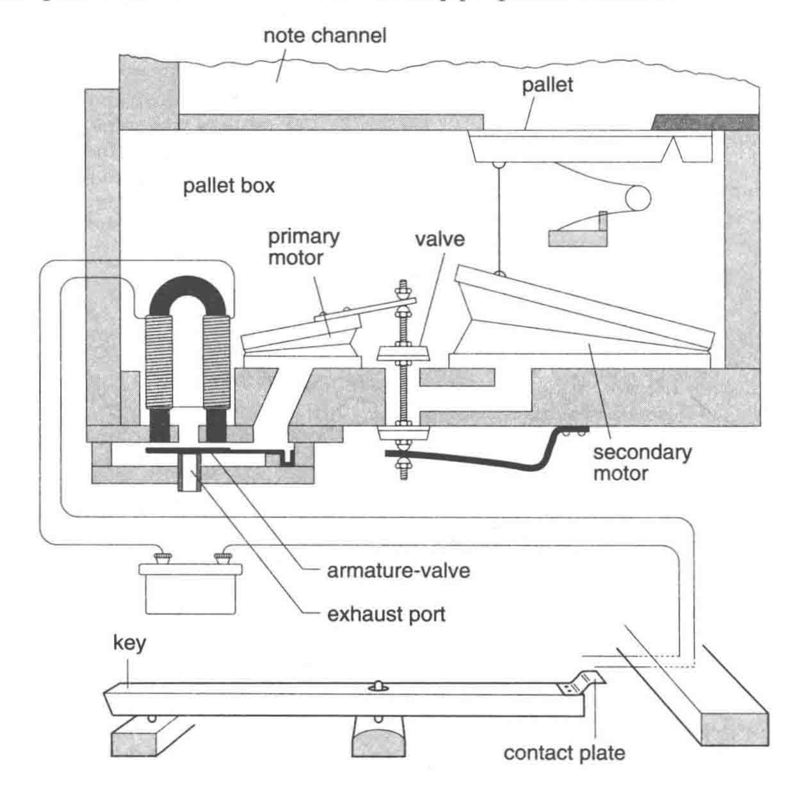
pallet box that was held under a secondary motor. The secondary motor collapses under pressure from the wind in the pallet box, pulling open the pallet. 'Exhaust-pneumatic action' (shown in fig.10*b*) is that in which the air under pressure is contained in a box underneath the pipe-chest pallet box, pushing the pallet shut via the secondary motor when at rest; when depressed, the key opens a valve that allows this wind to escape along the lead tubing away from the pallet, collapsing the primary and secondary motors, thus pulling open the pallet. Pressure-pneumatic action never became popular in France, and in England and North America many builders preferred exhaust-pneumatic, believing it to be more prompt, silent and durable. Tubular-pneumatic action continued to be extensively used by builders in Australia and New Zealand until the 1940s.

10. ELECTRIC ACTIONS. From the final years of the 19th century to the middle of the 20th century, electricity was used in a variety of ways by different organ builders and in different countries. The basic premise is that the key (or stop control) closes a switch which sends a low-voltage impulse to a mechanism in the chest. One of the simplest forms, utilizing the traditional slider-chest, is shown in fig.11.

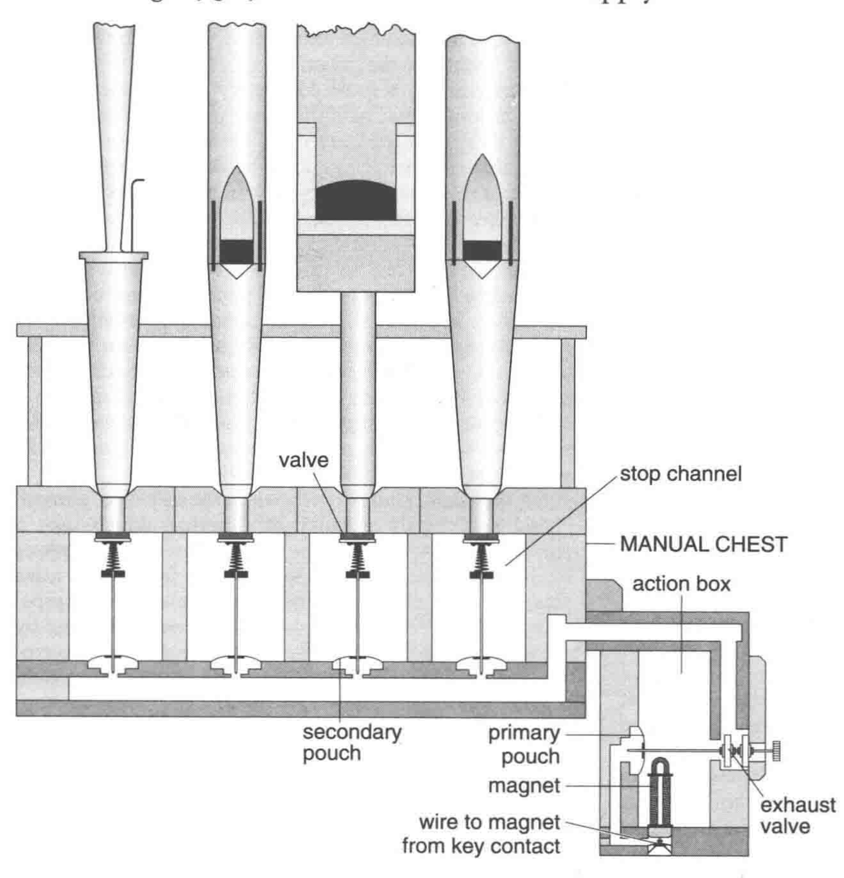
An electro-magnet is activated when the key is depressed and its circuit completed. The armature acts as a valve, rising to the magnet and thus allowing the wind to escape from the primary pneumatic motor (previously filled with wind from the pallet box) which in turn collapses, opening the port below the secondary pneumatic motor and thus allowing its wind to escape. On collapsing, the secondary motor pulls down the pallet. On the release of the key, the circuit is broken, the magnet drops the armature valve and wind is restored to the small pneumatic motor, while the external spring closes the port under the main pneumatic motor which inflates and, assisted by the pallet spring, pushes up the pallet.

Electric action is most commonly used in conjunction with various types of 'individual pipe-valve' chests, in which there is a separate valve for each pipe. An early type, also used in conjunction with tubular-pneumatic action, is the ventil chest (fig.12). In this chest, also called a 'membrane chest', channels isolate the stops, and a stop is activated by releasing wind into its channel. Felt and leather discs attched to thin leather pneumatic pouches replace the larger wedge-shaped pneumatic motors, since less effort is required to open a small pipe-valve. The electro-magnet is activated by an impulse from the key, exhausting a small channel to the primary pouch. This is pushed in by pressure in the action-box, pulling open a larger exhaust port; this in turn causes the valves under the pipes for a given note to be pulled open, admitting wind from the stop-channels into the pipes.

More complex but very efficient is the so-called 'pitman' chest, particularly popular in America, which uses a similar principle to open the pipe-valves. Other kinds of electric action include the Austin type, in which a trace attached to a single pneumatic motor opens all pipe-valves of a given note that have not been disengaged by the stop mechanism, and the 'direct electric' or 'electro-mechanical' type, in which each pipe-valve has its own magnet, directly energized by the key contact, and stop-control is by means of switching mechanisms. For detailed diagrams and descriptions of various chest actions and other electrical mechanisms, see Audsley (B1905), W. and T. Lewis (B1911), Whitworth (B1930) or W.H. Barnes (D(xxxv)1930). Electric actions allow divisions of the organ to be separated and the console to be placed at a distance from the pipes if required. Since electricity takes the place of a direct mechanical connection, however, control over pipe-speech is sacrificed.



11. Electro-pneumatic action as applied to a slider-chest



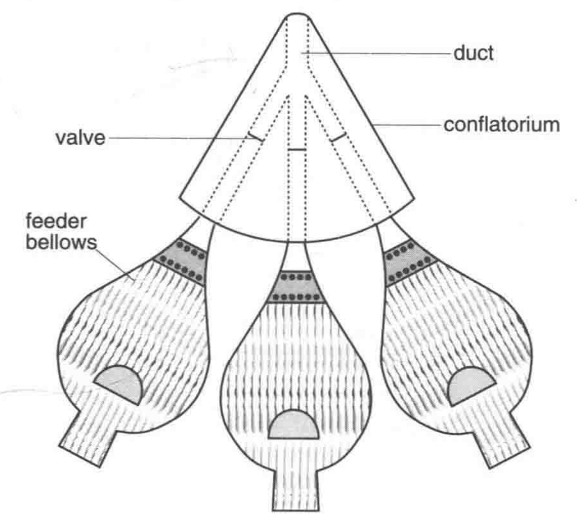
12. *Simple type of ventil chest, with individual pipe-valves*

11. Wind supply.

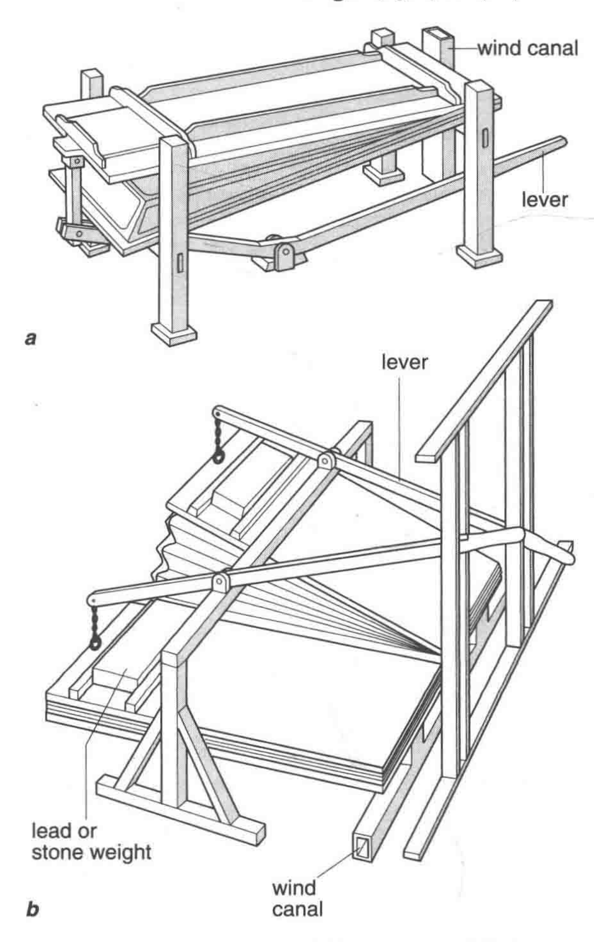
(i) A medieval bellows. In fig.13, derived from Theophilus's organ, air is fed in turn by three 'feeder bellows' through channels meeting inside the *conflatorium* to make one central duct (the inner construction is shown with dotted lines); before the channels meet, the wind passes through a copper valve which opens as the bellows send out air and closes as soon as they are emptied. The collected wind is then directed along a trunk curving up to the pipe-chest. There may be more than one *conflatorium*, and the bellows can be in pairs or larger sets.

(ii) Wedge-bellows. The late medieval bellows (Ger. *Spanbalg*) was wedge-shaped, consisting of upper (movable) and lower (fixed) boards hinged at one end, and wooden ribs hinged with leather. They could be of any size, depending on the size of the organ. They could be single-fold (fig.14*a*) or multifold (14*b*); during the 17th and 18th centuries the former was favoured in northern European countries, and the latter in France and southern European countries. The number of bellows in an organ varied with the size, from the small single-bellows portative to large cathedral organs with eight or more; church organs usually had two to four. Methods of operation varied, but all were based on the principle of mechanically raising the weighted upper board of the bellows and allowing it to 'rest on the wind'; by the time one bellows had been exhausted, another would have been filled, thus assuring a continuous supply. A system of one-way check-valves allowed only the filled bellows to deliver wind to the wind-chests of the organ.

The commonest means of filling the bellows were either by treading (hence the German term *Balgetreter*) on one end of a lever which pushed up the upper board (fig.14*a*), or by pulling down on a lever which pulled up the upper board (fig.14*b*). In some instances, especially if the bellows were located above the organ, a system of ropes and pulleys was employed, but in all cases the motive power was the organ-blower's body weight and muscle. Small or medium-sized instruments could be blown by a single person, but larger ones often required several.



13. *Bellows of Theophilus's organ*

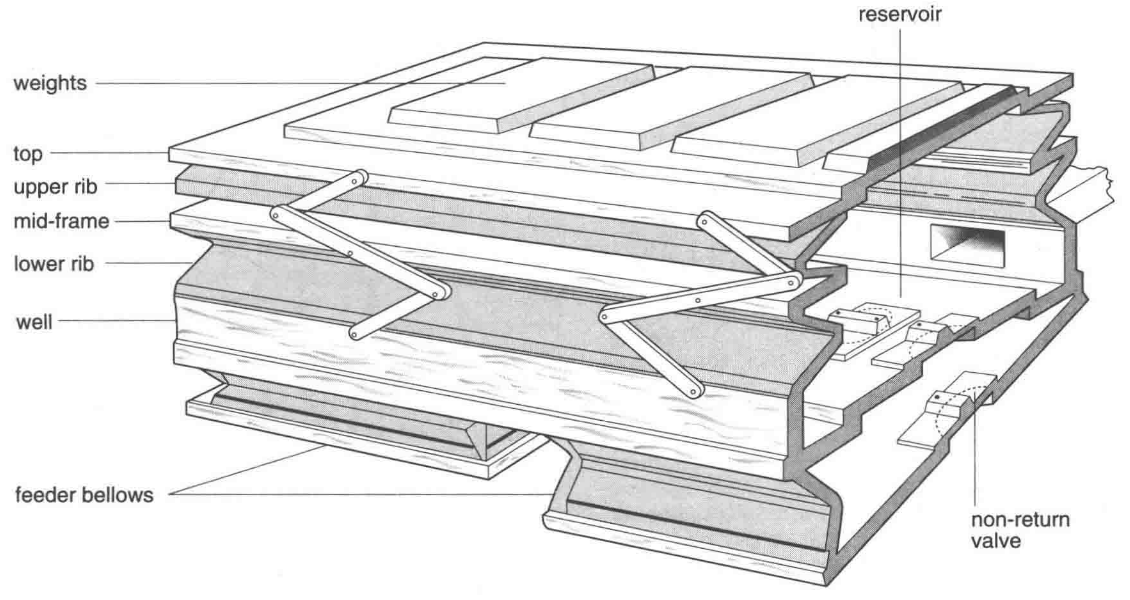


14. Late medieval Spanbalg (wedge-bellows): (a) single-fold; (b) multifold

(iii) Reservoir and feeder-bellows. The wedge-bellows system was universally in use until the 18th century. Although effective, it was bulky, because a minimum of two bellows was needed to provide an uninterrupted supply of wind to the chests of the organ, and even in quite small organs a separate person was required to operate them. Early in 18th-century England a more compact arrangement appeared, perhaps orginally devised for chamber organs, in which a single wedge-bellows affixed to the underside of a board fed wind into a second, weighted wedge-bellows above, which in turn delivered it to the wind-chest. Continuous operation of the lower (feeder) bellows assured that the upper (reservoir) bellows would always contain sufficient wind. In chamber organs, this allowed the player to provide the wind by operating a foot-lever connected to the feeder-bellows; when applied to larger organs, the feeder would still have to be operated by a second person.

An improvement on this system was the replacement, in the late 18th century, of the upper wedge (reservoir) with a horizontal reservoir having usually two sets of ribs with a floating-frame between, expandable on all four sides, which afforded greater capacity within the same space and allowed the entire wind-supply system to be located in the base of the organ-case (fig.15). This reservoir is continuously supplied with wind by two wedge-feeders below it, operated by a rocking lever which opened one while it closed the other. By this means a single person could supply adequate wind to a fairly large instrument, although as larger organs were built in the early 19th century, more than one reservoir (and thus more than one organ-blower) was required.

By the 19th century this system was in universal use in England and America, and was soon adopted in France and elsewhere. Early in the 19th century the English builder Benjamin Flight, noting that a slight pressure-rise occurred as the typical double-fold reservoir collapsed, reversed the fold of the upper set of ribs to help equalize the pressure (fig.15). This system was widely used in England thereafter, although not adopted in America



15. Reservoir and feeder-bellows

until the 1880s and rarely employed on the Continent save by the French who, following Cavaillé-Coll, devised complex wind systems involving multiple reservoirs of this type, often supplying differing wind pressures. In the 20th century, with the advent of the electric fan-blower, builders elsewhere often adopted this kind of multiple-reservoir, multiple wind-pressure system.

In the mid-20th century, some builders replaced the smaller regulating reservoirs with a spring-loaded 'floating' plate, attached by a rubber-cloth membrane to the bottom of the wind-box of the soundboard. While useful in saving space in small organs, these devices (called 'Schwimmer' by the German builders, a term also adopted by many English-speaking builders) often produced undesirable wind characteristics such as oscillation and pressure-drop unless carefully designed and adjusted.

(iv) Other types of bellows. During the 17th century a type of square, multifold bellows appeared in France, called *soufflets à lanterne* because of their resemblance to multifold paper or parchment ('Chinese') lanterns. The weighted top board was raised by a rope and pulley and allowed to collapse, sending wind to the organ; as with the wedge-bellows, more than one was needed for a continuous supply. In 19th-century Germany, the box-bellows (*Kastenbalg*) appeared. It operated on the same principle as a gasometer, in that a weighted smaller box, fitting snugly into a larger one, was raised by a pulley and allowed to drop, forcing wind into the organ. Neither became widely accepted, probably because the former was more fragile than its wedge-shaped counterpart, and the latter, being made of wood, was liable to get out of order owing to atmospheric changes.

(v) Organ blowing. Until the middle of the 19th century, manpower was the only means of operating the feeders, even in large organs, although in these one sometimes found alternative systems such as a crank-and-flywheel operating three feeders from a camshaft. During the second half of the 19th century, while manpower still sufficed for most smaller church organs, advancing technology offered alternatives for the larger ones. English builders such as Hill and Willis favoured steam power, by which steam-driven pistons supplied the wind in place of the feeders; such a system was employed in the Royal Albert Hall, London, from 1871 to 1920. In America, water power from the mains was preferred, especially by city churches, which were exempt from water taxes. These water motors were quite simple, the principle being a reciprocating piston which was attached to the lever operating the feeders. At the turn of the century, the electrically operated centrifugal fan blower came into use, eliminating the necessity of feeders, and is now almost universally employed.

With the advent of the unlimited mechanical wind supply brought by the fan blower and by the use of multiple small reservoirs, a fashion for 'rock-steady' wind supply emerged, particularly in connection with the 'monster' organs of the early 20th century. Study of the wind characteristics of pre-20th-century organs during the 1970s and 80s began to cast doubt on the musical efficacy of an inflexible wind system. Although this inevitably caused some controversy among both players and builders, by the end of the 20th century many had accepted that a wind system with a carefully calculated amount of natural 'give' is of musical value, especially in organs designed to emulate historical tonal principles. Many of these eschew modern wind systems for reproductions of older types, sometimes with both electric and manual blowing options.

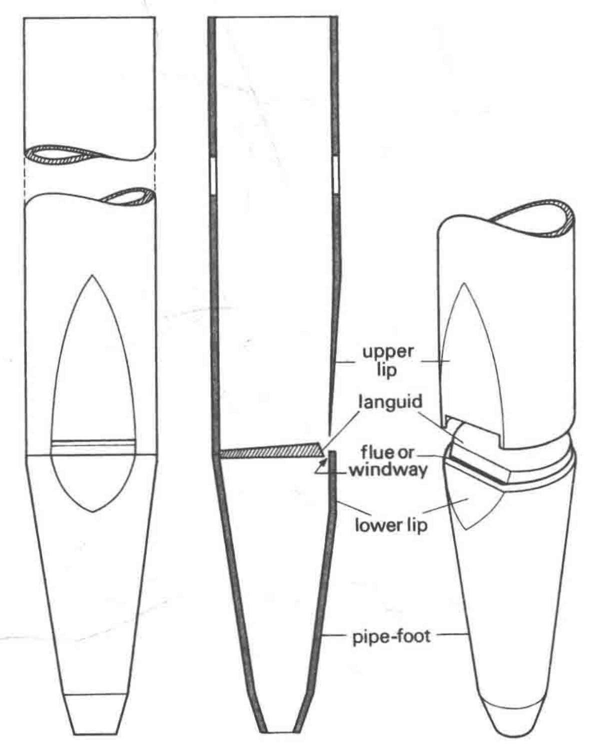
III. Pipework

There are several classes of organ pipes, the two oldest and most integral to the development of the organ being flue pipes and reed pipes. More common by far, though not necessarily more varied, are flue pipes. Both types operate on the coupled-air system of sound production common to flutes, recorders, oboes, clarinets etc.

1. Flue pipes. 2. Reed pipes. 3. Free reeds. 4. Diaphones (valvular reeds).

1. FLUE PIPES. Air under pressure from the chest passes through the foot-hole (bore) at the base of the pipe-foot (fig.16) and so through the flue or windway, to issue in a flat sheet of wind striking the edge of the upper lip; the refracted wind causes eddies to form at the mouth, first on one side of the upper lip, then on the other. The natural frequency of the pipe's body is coupled to the note of the 'edge tones' produced at the upper lip and gives to the eddies a rate of production that becomes the frequency of the note produced. Thus the effective length of the pipe is the principal factor in the pitch of the note.

Pitch and timbre are affected by several other factors, few of which, however, are variable outside narrow limits. A narrow pipe, to produce a certain pitch, must be longer than a wide one; a conical one must likewise be longer if it narrows towards the top, but shorter if it tapers outwards. Such variations in shape, however, are generally more important for their effect on a pipe's timbre than on its pitch. A cylindrical pipe stopped at the end will sound approximately an octave lower than if it were open; for a



16. Foot of a metal flue pipe from the front, in cross-section and in perspective

conical pipe the difference is not quite so great. A half-stopped cylindrical pipe (i.e. with its cap pierced and usually a tube passing through the hole) speaks at a somewhat higher pitch than a stopped pipe.

The narrower the mouth or the smaller the flue, then the smaller the volume of air (at any given pressure) striking the upper lip and the softer the sound; the higher the mouth in relation to its width (i.e. the greater the 'cut-up'), then the rounder, duller or more flute-like the tone (hence the designation 'flute stops'); the narrower the pipe as a whole, the richer the harmonic spectrum and the more string-like the tone (hence 'string stops'). It was said at one time that the harder the metal, the richer the harmonic spectrum; or the more lead contained in the pipe-alloy, the 'duller' the sound. But Backus and Hundley (C1966) established from theoretical and experimental evidence that 'the steady tone of a pipe does not depend on the material of the pipewall. The belief that the use of tin in constructing pipes gives a better tone appears to be a myth unsupported by the evidence'. Experienced voicers, however, will aver that the composition of pipe metal does affect tone quality, and that it is impossible to match exactly the tone quality of two otherwise identical pipes made of very different alloys. More to the point, perhaps, is that tin-lead alloys are easy to work and shape, thus allowing the builder a high degree of adjustment at the parts of the pipe crucial to voicing processes.

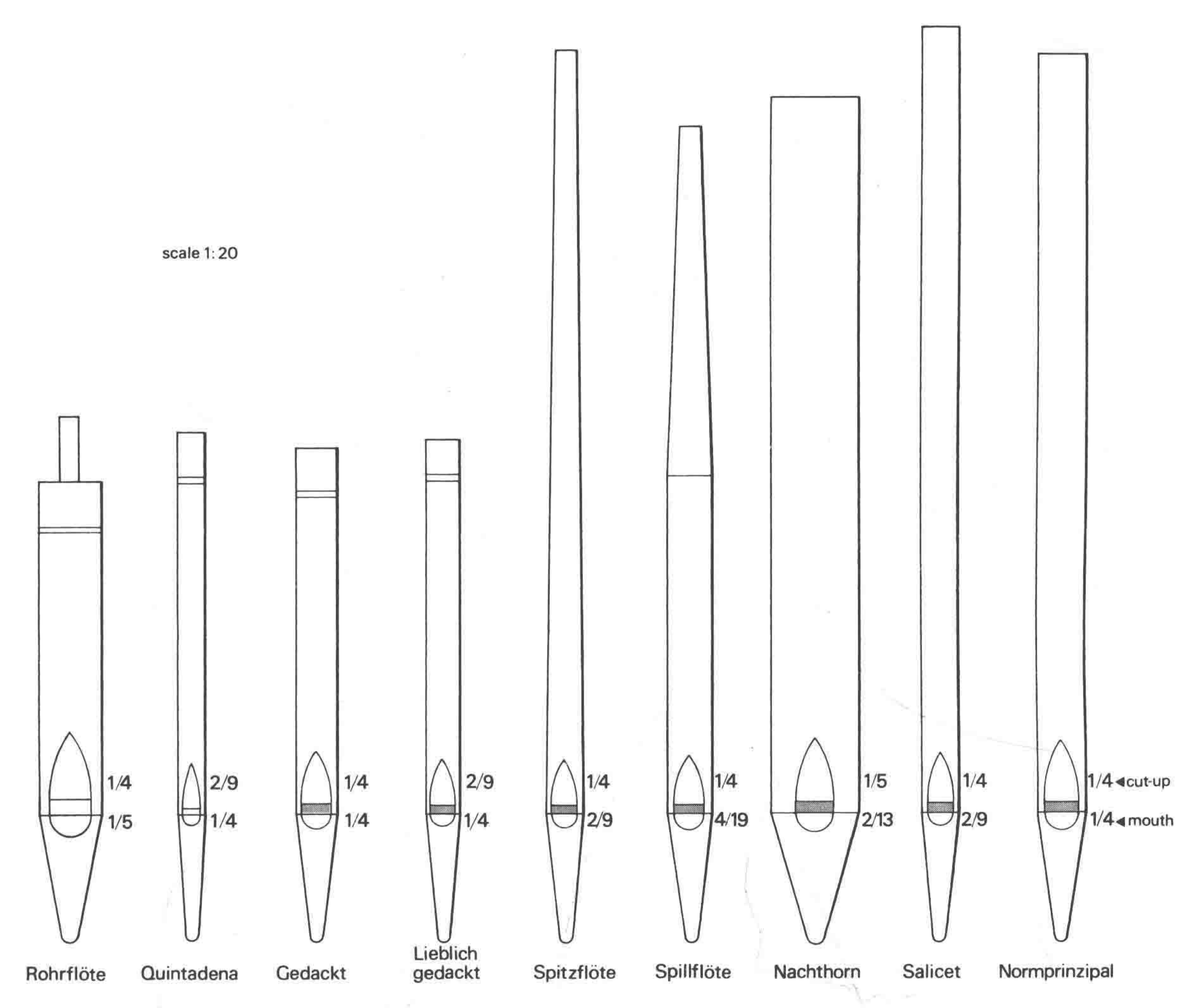
Most of these factors can be used only to a certain degree: a point is soon reached when a pipe will not speak at all, even when other factors are altered, e.g. increasing or decreasing the wind pressure. Consequently the various interrelated factors involved in voicing a pipe require pragmatic expertise in their manipulation.

In addition to its more general usage, the term 'scale' can refer to a pipe's diameter in relation to a norm ('wide' or 'narrow' scale), and the relationship or ratio between one pipe's diameter and that of its octave below in the same rank (3:5 etc.; *see* SCALING). One well-known norm is the *Normprinzipal* suggested at the German Organ Reform (*Orgelbewegung*) conferences in the 1920s; this norm is 'one pipe larger' than the *Normalmensur* promulgated by J.G. Töpfer about 1845 (thus the diameter of Töpfer's C pipe is that of the *Normprinzipal* C♯). G.A. Sorge had been the first to use logarithms to find constant scalings for organ pipes (*c*1760), calculating pipe diameter, pipe length, mouth width and mouth height by this method. Other 17th- and 18th-century theorists (such as Mersenne and Bédos de Celles) suggested scaling-figures by means of tables culled from practical experience and from the empiricism of organ builders themselves. Only two generations after Sorge did Töpfer develop the idea of arithmetical calculation for pipes (with immense influence on builders of his time): he calculated the cross-sectional area of a pipe an octave higher than the given pipe by applying the ratio 1:√8. Thus a pipe with half the diameter of a given pipe is not an octave (12 pipes) above but 16 or 17 pipes above. Such a factor as 1:√8 was itself reasonable, and many older builders had worked more or less to it, though empirically and not rigidly; indeed, Töpfer's formula can be deplored for the encouragement it gave to 19th-century 'organ-factory builders' who applied a constant scale irrespective of the acoustics of the church or indeed any other variable of importance to organ tone. The *Orgelbewegung*'s *Normprinzipal* was similarly abused by some of the less imaginative builders of the neo-Baroque era in the early 20th century.

Fig.17 shows some flue-pipe shapes and is scaled to indicate the relative sizes of different types all producing the same C. (The *Normprinzipal* diameter of the C pipe at a pitch standard of *a'* = 435 is 155·5 mm; at a pitch standard of *a'* = 440, the diameter for C would be reduced to 154·17 mm – a fine point of difference since variations in temperature will change the pitch this much). Most historic types of English Open Diapason, French Montre and Venetian Principale have been wider in scale than the *Normprinzipal*, and for many builders it remains merely one of the possible norms. It must also be remembered that the diagram does not refer to factors other than scaling, such as wind pressure. Mouth widths are usually expressed as proportions of the circumference, and those ordinarily used range from 2:7 down to 1:6, though 1:4 remains common for Principal pipes, and further extremes have been used for special effects. The cut-up is expressed as a fraction of the mouth width, 'quarter cut-up' indicating that the mouth is a quarter as high as it is wide.

Wooden pipes are either stopped (most commonly 8′, then 16′ and 4′) or open (16′, 8′, 4′, 2′); sometimes half-stopped wooden pipes (i.e. with a pierced stopper) of the Rohrflöte (Chimney Flute) type are found, especially in small organs. Metal or wood conical pipes narrowing towards the top have been found in the largest Dutch, German and Spanish organs since about 1540. Metal pipes with 'pavilions' or 'bells' (inverted conical caps) were made especially by French and English builders for about a century from about 1840, both on the flute and string side of tone-colour, as well as in Principals. Overblowing pipes have also been popular in large organs and in special instruments made for colourful secular use; the most common during the period *c*1600–1800 was the narrow-scaled, narrow-mouthed open cylindrical pipe, overblowing to the 2nd partial or 'at the octave' above. Such pipes require to be twice as long as the pitch length (8′ for 4′ pitch). Stopped pipes overblow to the 3rd partial or 'at the 12th' above, and require to be three times as long as the normal stopped length (6′ for 4′ pitch); they are fairly rare. Overblowing flute pipes (Flûte harmonique, etc.) became widely used after the middle of the 19th century, having been developed to a high degree in France. Such pipes are of double length but of the scale of a normal-length open flute, and are pierced at the node (approximately halfway up from the mouth) with one or two small holes. Given full wind, such pipes will overblow, giving a strong, sweet and rather fundamental tone not unlike that of the modern orchestral flute, but are not usually found below 1⅗′ *e′* in pitch, the lower part of the stop consisting of wide-scaled open pipes of normal length. Alternatively, to prevent overblowing in narrow-scaled string-toned pipes, or to aid tuning at the mouth of stopped pipes, 'ears' or 'beards' are often added: these are short metal plates or rods of metal or wood soldered or held to the sides of (and sometimes below) the mouth, protruding from it and helping to direct the vortices of wind on to the edge of the upper lip.

2. REED PIPES. Air under pressure from the chest passes through the bore into the boot and so through the opening in the shallot (fig.18); in so doing the wind sets the thin, flexible brass reed-tongue into vibration against the shallot; this in turn sets the air column in the pipe or resonator into vibration, producing a coupled system.

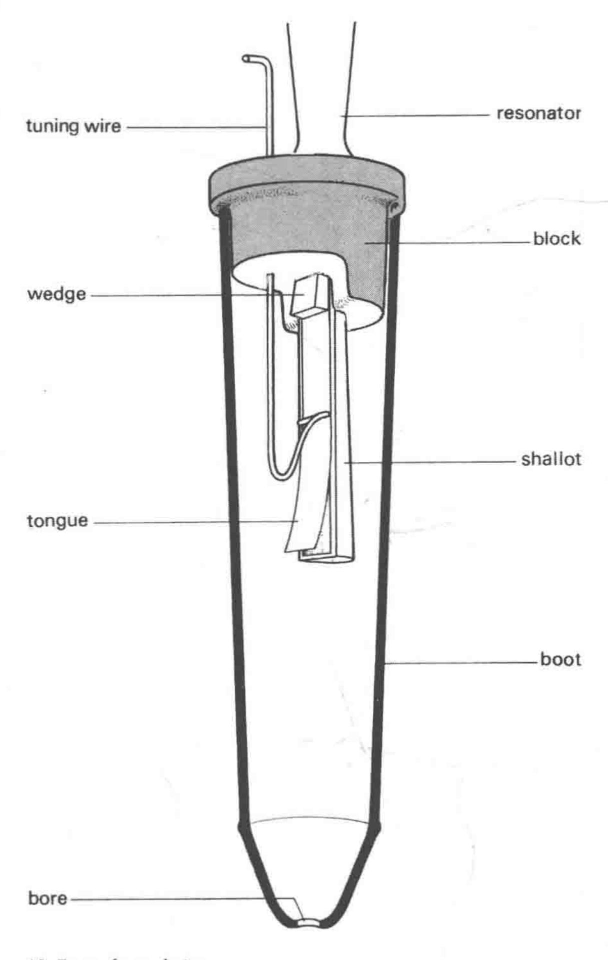


17. Various flue-pipe shapes scaled to indicate the relative sizes of different pipes all producing the same C

The frequency of the note produced is determined by the length of the air column in the resonator and by the length, mass and stiffness of the reed-tongue.

The pitch and tone of the pipe are affected by many factors; if all the factors are constant, then the longer the reed-tongue and shallot, the lower the pitch. To produce a required pitch in reed pipes with either cylindrical or conical resonators, the resonator must be shorter the longer the tongue. But in practice this property is used within only a small margin, as the tone is more immediately and strikingly affected by a change in the relationship between tongue length and resonator length. Natural 'full-length' ('harmonic-length') cylindrical resonators correspond roughly in length to stopped pipes of the same pitch; for natural 'full-length' conical resonators the 'resonance length' is as little as three-quarters of the pitch length (i.e. 6′ or 7′ for an 8′ Trumpet). A reed pipe will speak (although weakly and without fundamental) without its resonator, whose purpose is to reinforce certain partials, to 'give tone' to the pipe. But in a reed with a resonator a point is soon reached, if the reed-resonator relationship is altered, when the pipe will either fly off its speech or not speak at all. This is particularly true of double-cone reeds such as Oboes and Schalmeys.

The thinner the tongue, the richer the harmonics in the tone it produces; the thicker the tongue, the smoother and more fundamental the tone. Wider resonators produce stronger tone; conical resonators have a 'thicker' partial-content than cylindrical ones. The resonator gives its air column its own natural frequency; when this is greater than that of the tongue (i.e. when the pipe is shorter than the tongue requires for both to respond naturally to the same pitch) the tone becomes brighter, richer in partials. The more open the shallot, the louder and richer the tone; to obtain brilliance from partly closed shallots, higher wind pressure is required; to obtain a rounder, more horn-like tone, 19th-century builders placed the opening higher on the face of the shallot, the curved tongue thus closing the opening before its travel was complete. As in the case of flue pipes, it has been established recently that the hardness of the resonator material (this can be, in order of decreasing hardness, brass, tin, lead or wood) is unlikely to influence the tone – tradition and hearsay notwithstanding. However, the hardness of the tongue material is a definite factor in tone quality. The commonest material used by modern builders is what is known as 'half-hard' brass, but soft brass, hard brass and even (the very hard) phosphor bronze are also used in certain



18. Foot of a reed pipe

instances. The thickness of the tongue likewise has an effect on tone.

Reeds with very short resonators (whatever their shape), and usually of small scale, are called Regal stops and were known from at least about 1475. In practice, most REGALS are either predominantly conical in shape or predominantly cylindrical; they also exhibit an inconstant scale (i.e. relative to the reed-tongues, the resonators in the treble are progressively longer than in the bass). Reed stops with resonators of twice or even four times natural length were sometimes made in the later 19th century, especially by French and English builders, and became equivalent to overblowing flue pipes, although such overlength resonators are generally used only above the pitch of 2′ *c*′. Builders of the 19th century, particularly in those two countries, very often placed their reeds on higher wind pressure than the flue stops (18 cm upwards) by means of divided windboxes and double pallets, in the chest. The desire to supply 'carrying power' by such means, particularly in the treble, had progressively increased in France from about the second third of the 18th century onwards.

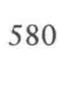
Fig.19 shows models of some of the more popular reeds of the early 17th century (*PraetoriusSM*, ii; fig.19*a*) and the late 19th (Audsley, B1905; fig.19*b*). A great deal depends on the use of various shapes and proportions of shallots, and these, like the tube, block and boot, may be made of wood (though this is more often a feature of low-pitched pedal reeds than a general alternative).

3. FREE REEDS. Free reeds were developed in Europe (probably after the Asian *sheng*) towards the end of the 18th century in several areas around the Baltic (*see* FREE REED), and offered the first radically different type of organ pipe since flues and reeds had been perfected. Instead of a shallot with an orifice against which the tongue beats when wind excites it, a thick, oblong plate of brass is perforated with a narrow opening through which vibrates the close-fitting brass tongue (fig.20). It swings freely, hence 'free reed'. The boot needs to be larger than that of a corresponding reed stop to allow copious winding. When made by German builders about 1825 and French builders about 1850, free reeds had resonators of various types and tone-colour, thus being legitimate ranks of organ pipes.

However, some stops, such as the Physharmonika, had instead of individual pipe-resonators one resonating chamber common to all notes of the rank, thus taking less room on the chest. It was such pipeless free reeds that led to the various kinds of harmonium, or REED ORGAN, of the 19th century. Free reeds could be mass-produced more easily than the so-called beating-reed stops, although in itself the workmanship was not inferior. The best builders by no means regarded them as easy alternatives to beating reeds, and the best examples, especially when used at 16′ pitch in the pedal, could sound deceptively like beating reeds.

Though less incisive in articulation and weaker in volume than the beating reed, the free reed had a quality highly favoured by its period: it could be made 'expressive'. On admitting more wind to a free reed, the amplitude, but not the frequency, of the swinging tongue is increased; it can thus produce a louder tone without rising in pitch, like a more or less excited tuning-fork but unlike a beating reed. When the free reed was a separate stop in a large organ, however, this property could not easily be exploited. Rarely outside the period 1810–1910, and then most often only in parts of northern France, central Germany and northern Italy, did the free reed achieve much popularity.

4. DIAPHONES (VALVULAR REEDS). In 1894 Robert Hope-Jones took out a patent for a pipe, making use of the fact that any device allowing puffs of compressed air to be projected into a tube or resonating box (i.e. into a chamber holding a column of non-pressurized air) will create a sound if the frequency becomes audible (fig.21). On activation from the keyboard, air under pressure is admitted through the bore and sets the thin 'vibrator' into motion, whereupon the pallet-like disc attached to its free end admits a rapid and regular succession of puffs of air into the resonator (i.e. the pipe standing above). As with the free reed, the tone increases in volume but not in frequency as the wind pressure is increased; but, as is not the case with the free reed, greater wind pressure can make for much power. The tone itself is smooth and powerful, but always 'unblending' and useful only in organs (chiefly cinema organs) conceived on ideals current in a few areas of Europe and the USA between 1900 and 1930. The most enduring application of the diaphone principle has been fog-signalling, and many lighthouse



19. Reed pipes: (a) after Praetorius (2/1619); (b) after Audsley (1905)

diaphones were in regular use in the USA and elsewhere until late in the 20th century.

See also ORGAN STOP and REGISTRATION, §I.

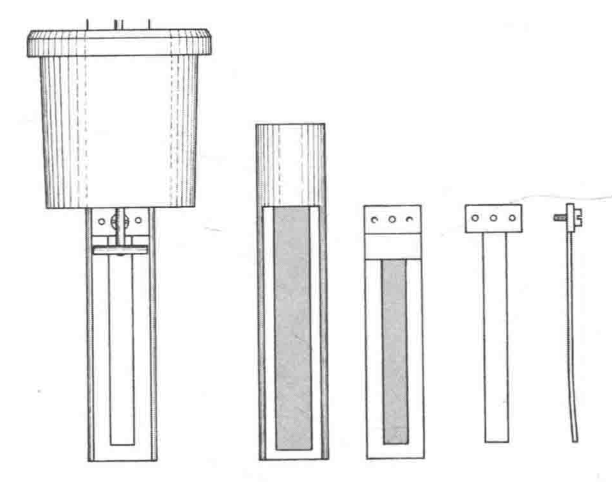
IV. The classical and medieval organ

Since the 3rd century BCE it has been possible to regard the organ as an instrument composed of four elements: (i) a wind-raising device operated by lever, pulley or other mechanism, directing air under pressure to (ii) a 'chest' in which the wind is stored until admitted by (iii) a mechanism operated by some kind of keyboard to (iv) one or more rows of pipes (*see* RANK). The absence of any one of these elements prevents an instrument from being properly considered an organ. But other instruments could well have presented models or given ideas to early organ makers, particularly those in east Mediterranean countries. It is unlikely that at any single period the hydraulic organ was so firmly established that builders were indifferent to the influence of such wind instruments as the SYRINX, the MAGREPHA or the BAGPIPE.

The most comprehensive recent surveys of archaeological and documentary evidence relating to classical and medieval organs are the studies by Jean Perrot (D(i)1965), K.-J. Sachs (C1970–80) and Peter Williams (D(i)1993).

1. Greek and Roman antiquity. 2. The Byzantine organ. 3. The organ of the Arabs. 4. Early church organs. 5. Medieval organ theorists. 6. The church organ, 1100–1450. 7. The 15th-century positive and portative.

1. GREEK AND ROMAN ANTIQUITY. No evidence, literary, iconographical, archaeological or even mythological, suggests that the pipe organ existed before the Hellenistic period or originated in any other than the



20. Free reed of an organ pipe

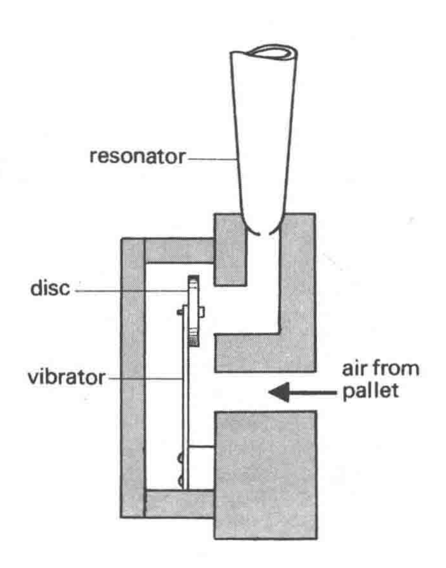
Hellenistic sphere of influence. Later texts such as Athenaeus's *The Sophists at Dinner* (*c*200 CE) and Vitruvius's *De a architectura* (1st century CE) accredit the invention of the HYDRAULIS to one man, Ctesibius, an Alexandrian engineer and practical theoretician of the 3rd century BCE. Curt Sachs's assessment (*SachsH*) of Ctesibius's achievement as uniting a mechanically raised and constant wind supply to a set of panpipes is not a totally unreasonable conjecture; but the surviving accounts of his work (written after his time) make it clear that he had also incorporated a wind-chest and even some kind of keyboard. Thus the hydraulis has the essential features of an organ. That Ctesibius was also said by Vitruvius to have invented a water clock offers an interesting parallel to the makers of organs and clocks in the medieval cathedrals of western Europe: such makers were, in effect, specialists in complex machinery. (*See also* WATER ORGAN.) The principle of the water-pump is shown in HYDRAULIS, fig.2. But forge bellows were known much earlier, and their power potential had already been described in the *Iliad*. Bellows could have provided wind either directly to a regulator-chest under a row of pipes, or indirectly via the cistern of a water organ. But there is no evidence that either of these was done before the 2nd century CE, and it is possible that the organ was indeed born as a kind of engineering model, demonstrating the efficiency of Ctesibius's wind-raising and wind-stabilizing equipment. Hero of Alexandria's account (in *On Pneumatics*) gives no details of the pipes (whether flue or reed, open or stopped) or what the material, size, compass, tuning, pitch or voicing were.

Vitruvius's musical interests are more obvious than Hero's. The ranks of his organ were made to play separately by means of a specially constructed chest in which a channel ran lengthways under each row of pipes, wind being admitted to the channel through a valve operated by an iron handle. The keys are returned to position by an iron spring. As the key was set immediately under its pipes, either the close-set pipes or (more likely) the keys may have been unequally spaced.

The oldest reference to organ playing is a century and a half after Ctesibius: the 'Delphic inscription' (90 BCE), full of implication about the organ's fame. Cicero, Lucretius, Petronius and other authors also wrote of its powers. By the 2nd century CE the Roman organ was heard in some of the more important theatres, games, amphitheatres, circuses, banquets and perhaps processions; a 3rd-century Greek inscription at Rhodes even suggests that it was played in Dionysian festivals. But the cylinder-pump water organ had so many disadvantages – requiring precision engineering and good metal, yet difficult to maintain, move and keep from corrosion – that it is easy to imagine bellows being applied over the years. Eventually, they replaced both pump and cistern, but it is not known when, where and how. Even in the later Roman Empire, however, organs were to be heard, and such poets as Claudian (*c*400) show organ playing to have accompanied celebrations attending accessions to a consulate, weddings and banquets during a period when 'the singer has thrust out the philosopher' (Ammianus Marcellinus, *c*350). Inscriptions found in several provinces far from Rome (Arles, Colchester, Budapest, Asia Minor) make it clear that organ playing was heard in gladiator contests (fig.22).

The few 5th- and 6th-century references include one or two by early Church Fathers, particularly those on the south and east coasts of the Mediterranean. But whether it was from personal experience that such writers as Boethius wrote of hydraulic organs, or Cassiodorus of a bellows-organ with wooden keys, is not certain; nor has 20th-century research shown what music the organ played, much less whether it played polyphony. Much can be tentatively conjectured from the iconographical evidence (*see* HYDRAULIS, §§2 and 3).

Parts of two Roman organs are said still to exist: fragments from Pompeii (now in the Museo Nazionale, Naples) and major remnants of a small organ found in Aquincum, Hungary (now in the Aquincum Museum, Budapest; fig.23). But the Pompeii fragments, which seem to belong to two different instruments, may not be parts of an organ, although their pipes are of cast metal, like those of an organ. The Aquincum organ has a plaque dated 228 CE; its 'reconstruction' in 1959 somewhat hampers more recent study of its parts. It has four rows of 13 cast bronze pipes, one open and three stopped, and a wooden wind-chest, lined inside and out with bronze.



21. Diaphone or valvular reed

22. Hydraulic organ, with tuba and two cornua, at a gladiator contest: Roman mosaic, 1st century CE, *from a villa at Dar Buk Ammera, near Zliten, Libya (Archaeological Museum, Tripoli)*

(a)

(b)

(c)

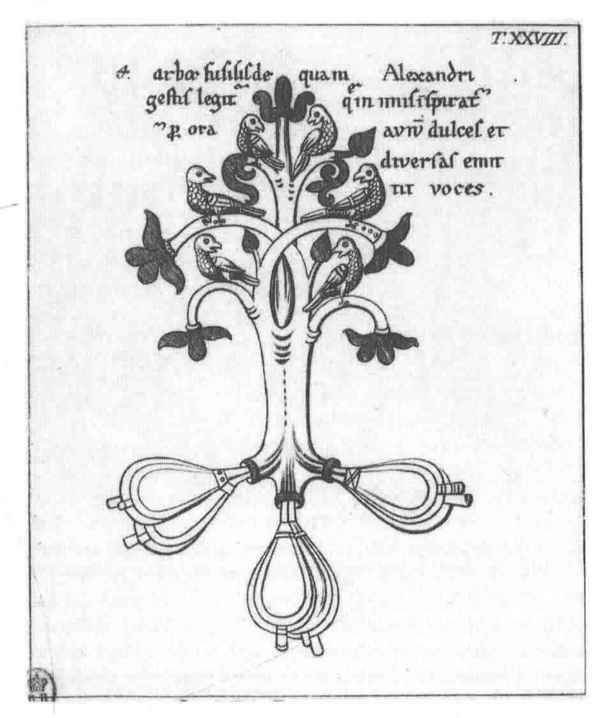
23. Remains of a Roman organ, 228 CE, *found at Aquincum (Aquincum Museum, Budapest): (a) pipes; (b) sliders; (c) sliders in position*

Wooden keys operate perforated sliders rather than pallets. E.L. Szonntagh's analysis (D(xvii)1981) appears to confirm that, although the wind-raising mechanism is missing, the Aquincum organ was a hydraulis, rather than a bellows-blown organ. Each set of pipes can be played separately from the others, and Walcker-Mayer (D(i)1970) theorizes that the four ranks of pipes were tuned according to four separate modes. Further research on this theory is necessary, but if the four registers of the Aquincum organ did in fact produce modal scales based on different pitches, the knowledge will have significant impact upon the understanding of the later development of modes, scales and keyboards.

Reconstructions of the hydraulis suggest that it might have had a wind pressure anywhere between 7·5 cm and 30 cm; also unknown is whether the pipework was always flue and, if so, whether the diameters were constant. While written sources give no firm evidence, iconography seems to suggest that: the pipes were usually flue; their diameter was constant; the tuning (in the more complete examples) was probably multiple, providing a choice of modes for rather less than an octave; and multi-rank chests may have provided different timbres with or without octave and 5th-sounding ranks. But none of these conclusions is reliable. The Aquincum organ supports the case for flue pipes, contradicts the suggestion that the diameter was constant, and leaves the tuning and timbre uncertain.

2. The Byzantine organ. By the end of the 5th century the new Roman Empire of the east, with its base at Constantinople, had achieved a character of its own, intellectually conservative and favouring a world of abstract thought far removed from the practical technology of ancient Alexandria and Rome. Although the old Greek treatises were preserved in Byzantine copies and hence known to the Arabs, engineering projects like organ making remained undeveloped for a millennium. But by the 8th century western Europe itself no longer knew such masterpieces of Roman engineering as the Vitruvian hydraulis. All the sources suggest that the European 9th- and 10th-century 'organ revival' came about because the instrument was reintroduced from Byzantium.

Despite some hints in the sources, the organ was certainly not used in the Byzantine Church itself (and indeed is still not except occasionally in churches in the USA). But at least two facts seem to be clear: that most references relate to bellows-organs, and that the instrument continued to be part of the secular, courtly pomp in the capital city. In the first connection, a 10th-century Arabic source suggests that three (or two) bellows fed air into a large reservoir below the pipe-chest; in the second, it was no doubt because of their use at banquets, chariot races, weddings, processions and the like that organs were decked out in gold and costly decoration. Both the 'blue' and 'green' factions at court had an organ, but the instrument otherwise remained a rarity. At his palace the emperor had both automata (the famous 'golden tree' with moving, whistling birds activated by bellows; fig.24) and true organs in which at least one emperor (Theophilus, 9th century) took an interest. Nothing is known of the pipework, sound, compass, precise function or repertory of the organ in the Great Reception Room, or indeed anywhere else, though one 9th-century source does refer to '60 copper pipes' in what appears to have been a large table-organ.

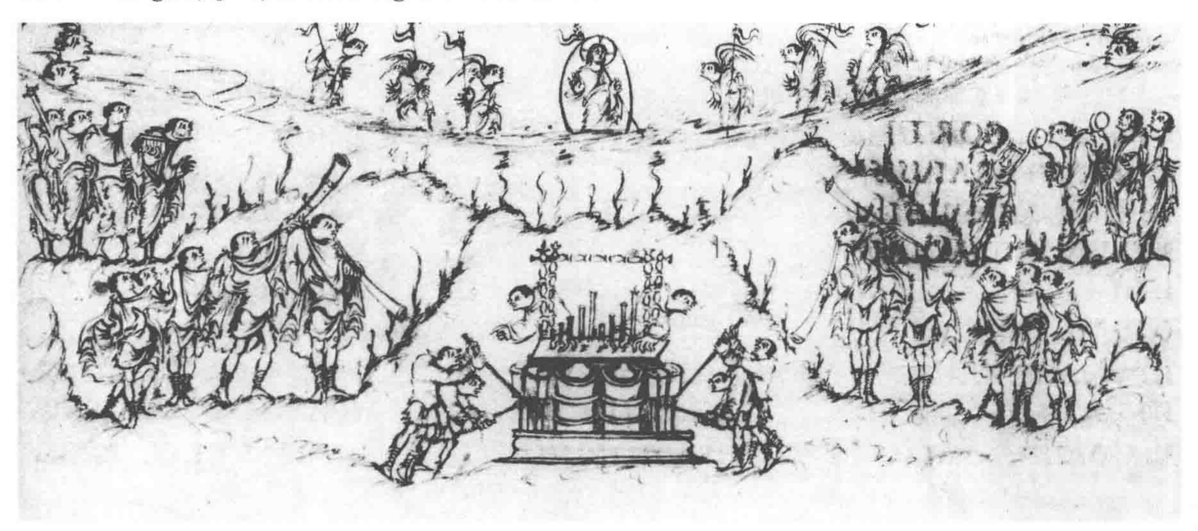


24. Byzantine automaton 'golden tree', with whistling birds activated by three pairs of bellows: drawing after a 12th-century MS from St Blasien, published by Gerbert in his 'De cantu' (1774)

Organs became objects of visual and aural show, eliciting wonder and respect as diplomatic gifts or signs of royal power. In 757 a famous diplomatic instrument was sent to the Frankish king Pepin at Compiègne. A monk of St Gallen (possibly Notker Balbulus) reported that the 'King of Constantinople' also sent an organ to Charlemagne in 812, with bronze pipes, 'bellows of bull leather' and three sound effects (rumbling thunder, trembling lyre, tinkling *cymbali*), possibly suggesting *pleno*, flutes and little bells; but the source is doubtful, the language being somewhat hyperbolic (or possibly psalmodic). In any case such instruments were not church organs but extravagant gifts, like the 13th-century organ of 90 pipes sent from one Arab court to the Emperor of China.

An event of evident importance in the 9th-century chronicles was the arrival at Aachen in 826 of Georgius, a Venetian priest who undertook to construct a hydraulis. According to a poem glorifying Charlemagne's son Louis, Georgius's organ was a kind of royal or national symbol of power: 'The organ, not seen in France before, a subject of pride for the Greeks, the only reason the people of Constantinople felt themselves your master: even the organ is now represented in Aachen'. Its intricate technology must have been the justification for such respect. The Aachen organ was used for occasions of pomp, not for chapel services; the Utrecht Psalter (compiled in France, perhaps near Reims) depicts, with little understanding, a hydraulis taking part in an ensemble illustrating Psalm cxlix (fig.25); this too has little to do with church services, being merely symbolic, or perhaps depicting some sort of 'signalling' organ.

3. The organ of the Arabs. The high level of Arabic and Islamic culture from the 8th century to the 10th gave theorists and craftsmen the opportunity to work on



25. Hydraulis (centre) with horns, cymbals, lyres, a psaltery and lute: drawing illustrating Psalm cxlix from the Utrecht Psalter, 816–34 (NL-Uu 32, f.83r); possibly after a model from 5th- or 6th-century Alexandria or Byzantium

bellows-organs; theorists in particular knew of such 'instruments' but seem rarely, if ever, to have seen one. A famous source, the Epistle to (or from) Muristus, describes two organs, one of which is a kind of siren or signal-organ; the sources containing Muristus's writings are also interesting in that two of them (in Beirut and in the British Library) show how a diagrammatic plan can become, under the scribe's hand, an unintelligible pattern of abstract design.

Nothing is known of Muristus, and the graphic similarity of his name in Arabic to Qatasibiyus (Ctesibius) was pointed out by Farmer (D(i)1931); Muristus appears to have been a Greek (or Byzantine), and in any case derived his descriptions of instruments directly from Ctesibius's *Commentaries*. But neither of them is a true organ. The first contains a chest of 12 pipes fed with wind from the lungs of four men blowing through tubes into a regulator; the weight of the pipes compresses the wind; the pipes themselves appear to be reeds, all of the same length but of varying diameter and requiring different volumes of wind; the wind is admitted to each pipe through a valve, presumably one worked by some kind of key. This seems to be the instrument of 'formidable power' referred to in the 'Letter to Dardanus' once attributed to St Jerome. The second or 'Great' organ is a signal-organ perhaps not unlike the (smaller) *magrepha* and containing a siren pipe or pipes blown at great pressure, used in battle by the Greeks, according to Muristus, or for similar purposes by other Middle Eastern peoples. The siren worked on the same principle as the hydraulis, four pumps or cylindrical bellows providing wind pressurized by water in a cistern.

There is no evidence that the organ became known again in western Europe through the cultural activities of the Arab caliphate of Córdoba in Spain. But the possibility that this might have been the case adds further importance to any work undertaken on this period in Iberian musical history, for links may perhaps be discovered between Spanish–Arab instrument making and 9th-century Benedictine musical life. In the eastern caliphates organs seem to have developed into mere ingenious automata; but even in that state the Eastern organ seems not to have survived the fall of Constantinople in 1453.

4. Early church organs. The gift organs of the 8th and 9th centuries were Byzantine organs, called 'organum' in the chronicles and still perhaps regarded as an 'engineering contrivance' rather than musical instruments. The fanciful clock given to Charlemagne in 807 by an envoy of the Persian king was Arabic; the Venetian priest Georgius, sent to Aachen in 826, was possibly trained in Byzantium. Several Western writers from the 8th century to the 13th knew of the Greco-Roman organ but in most cases from vague written sources from which even the more astute authors got the impression that the pipes were made to sound by water rather than by air – an idea sustained by the Jesuit amateur physicists of a later century. The well-known picture in the Utrecht Psalter (fig.25) of a hydraulic organ with two players and four alternating pump blowers is also based on a misunderstanding of the Mediterranean hydraulis. Many of the early church writers refer to organs in such hyperbolic or apparently unreal terms that their sources of 'information' must have been in most cases literary. It is even possible that such references to organs with 100 pipes, like that of St Aldhelm, were mistaken allusions to *hydra*, the 100-headed monster whose name is the same as a documented abbreviation for the hydraulis. All ecclesiastical references to organs before the 10th century are to be treated with caution, and even scepticism.

All these organs were secular. One of the great unsolved puzzles of music history is how and why the organ came to be almost exclusively a church instrument in western Europe from about 900 to about 1200. The early church was subject to two particular influences against any instrument in church, and especially in the liturgy: the liturgy's origins in the Jewish synagogue, and Patristic resistance to anything of profane or luxurious association. By the 9th century, however, the intellectual and liturgical style of the church had changed. Like sung organum, the instrument owed a great deal to Benedictine cultural centres, not only in their literacy and scholarship but also in the opportunities which their large churches gave to the advancement of music. The monastic revival in the late 10th century must itself have been a factor in the appearance of organs, which had become ingenious objects for the use of the clergy, not the people. The organ

was never officially approved or even acknowledged in any known papal or pontifical document despite the traditional legend that Pope Vitalian (657–72) introduced it. Nor, for one reason or another, are any of the references to organs placed or used in church before the 9th century at all reliable.

Organs, like tower bells later, were one of the irrelevances complained of by the new reformed order of the Cistercians, judging by remarks made by St Aelred, abbot of Rievaulx in 1166; his reference to the sound of the bellows, the tinkling of bells and the harmony of organ pipes is highly reminiscent of older reports. St Aelred also referred to the crowd of people watching this display as if in a theatre, 'not a place of worship', which suggests that organs were placed inside buildings, perhaps for example a large Benedictine church. But all this does not necessarily indicate that an organ was used during the service, nor even before or after the service. Perhaps it was rather an object of curiosity, like a cathedral almanac clock. Other 12th-century sources imply more clearly that an organ was used in some way during the services, perhaps for signalling purposes, like bells at the Elevation.

Whether organs were used liturgically is not clear from the many 9th- and 10th-century references to them. The notice describing the consecration in 972 of the Benedictine abbey of Bages, Spain, for example, makes it clear that an organ played near the entrance, 'praising and blessing the Lord'; but to surmise more is conjecture. Much the same could be said for the archiepiscopal coronation at Cologne Cathedral in 950. Pope John VIII (872–82) wrote of an organ required 'for the purpose of teaching the science of music', for which it remained useful to scribes writing about and teaching musical proportions, for example at Benedictine centres such as Fleury and St Gallen. The practical function of organs set up by, or in memory of, great abbots or landowners is unknown; reference to organs used on feast days (e.g. in the Life of St Oswald, 925–92) suggests if anything that they were extra-liturgical, a kind of church carnival object. The Benedictine abbot Gerbert (Archbishop of Reims, 991–5) was said by William of Malmesbury to have had a hydraulic organ put into the cathedral: an object of mechanical ingenuity, once again coupled with a clock in the written account. Gerbert may have learnt the principles of the hydraulic organ from the Arabs in Córdoba, where he lived for a time, since Benedictine manuscripts of the period do not suggest any practical familiarity with the writings of Hero or Vitruvius. Nothing is known of other 10th-century organs, such as that set up in Halberstadt Cathedral under its Benedictine bishop Hildeward; nor are contemporary references such as those of Notker Balbulus (*d* 912) helpful towards an understanding of the nature and purpose of organs. So many of these writers were merely indulging in metaphor.

One detail of the Bages consecration of 972 was that the organ music 'could be heard from afar', which may or may not imply that the organ was outside the church. But a large number of references, second-hand or glossed though many must be, suggest that the organ was a loud instrument by standards of the day. Is it possible to see the famous organ from the late 10th century in Winchester Cathedral as a signal-organ, used on feast days to summon the congregation or overawe them (perhaps before or after services)? This does not preclude its having keys and some musical potential; 'signal-organ' simply describes its loud tone. If the Winchester organ was placed near the west or south door (stone screens were not known until the next century, and at Winchester only the nave may have been capacious enough) its use could hardly have been liturgical. Nor is it easy to see how an organ could have been liturgical in a much partitioned church of the type known to the later Cistercians.

The Winchester organ was built by about 990, some decades after the Benedictines were fully established there and later than modern commentators have said. Details of it appear in a fanciful verse letter written shortly afterwards by the monk Wulfstan. Much quoted, much translated and much misunderstood, the poem speaks of 26 bellows and 400 pipes in ten ranks, with the 40 notes arranged as two sets of 20 keys played by 'two brethren of concordant spirit' (see *BicknellH* for an up-to-date interpretation). Each key was a perforated slider pushed in and probably pulled out – hence the need for two or more players. Clearly some kind of organ did exist; but there are good reasons for distrusting Wulfstan's account: despite the fanciful references by St Aldhelm to what appear to be 100- and 1000-pipe organs, there are no other firm details extant of such large organs, at Winchester or anywhere else; the numbers given for bellows, blowers (70), pipes, ranks and keys are not plausible, whatever the diameter of the pipes and however the wind was raised (even the number of players smacks of literary tradition or at least of the poorly drawn hydraulis in the Utrecht Psalter); the general style and character of Wulfstan's poem are those of an impressionable layman not concerned with technical accuracy (for further details see McKinnon, D(xii)1974).

Three 11th-century sources are rather more practical than many later medieval manuscripts (see §5 below). *De diversis artibus*, a large encyclopedia written in the first half of the century by the German monk Theophilus, describes techniques used in making church objects – glass blowing, painting, gilding, metal forging, bell casting and organ making. The sources of his treatise leave its authenticity uncertain, the last part of it probably being a later compilation. A second 11th-century treatise is the anonymous Berne Codex, a manuscript possibly originating at the Benedictine abbey of Fleury; a third is a note by Aribo on pipe making.

Theophilus's organ (see fig.1) could be mounted within a recess in an interior wall, presumably at gallery level, with only its chest and pipes visible from the church and these indeed covered by a cloth 'tent' when not in use. Later 13th-century screen organs would have been equally well placed, in some cases better placed, when they came to serve as *alternatim* instruments in the liturgy. Many details of Theophilus's organ are unclear, not least its function in the church. Theophilus first advised his reader to obtain a treatise on pipe measurement (*lectio mensurae*), which would presumably contain a table of concrete values or actual pipe-scales, rather than mere Pythagorean ratios. The copper for the pipes was first to be beaten very thin, then shaped around a gently conical mandrel, which suggests that foot and resonator would be all of one piece, having the shape of a modern Trumpet resonator; pipes of this shape are in fact depicted in some iconographic sources (figs.26 and 27). The Berne Codex seems to suggest a more familiar type of pipe-foot, and gives 'almost 4'' as the longest pipe, but does not indicate the length of the foot unit. Theophilus's pipes are equal



26. Organ with sliders and a conflatorium: drawing from the Bible of Stephen Harding, French, completed 1109–10 (F-Dm 14, f.13v)

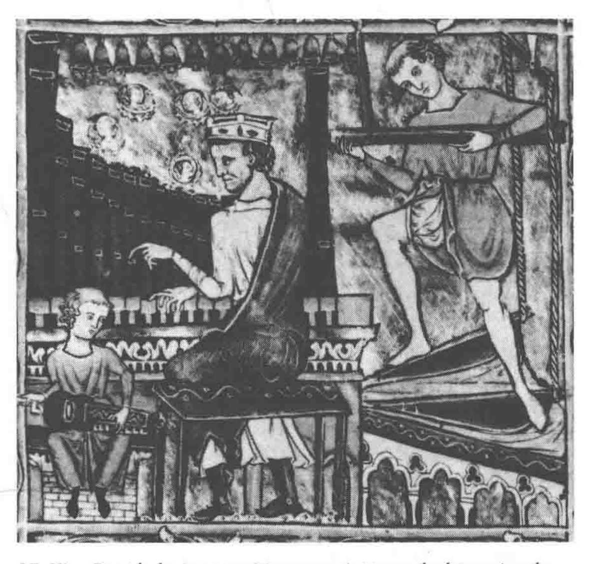
in diameter, which may not be unreasonable in an organ of less than two octaves. In the 1980s Louis Huivenaar and Jan de Bruijn constructed conical pipes of the kind described by Theophilus, placing them on a chest based on Zarlino's 1558 description of a chest from Grado, Venice, believed to date from the 11th century, having 15 keys, two ranks of pipes, and spade-shaped keys not unlike those in fig.27. This experiment suggests that the conical pipes had a strong and complex overtone content, producing an extraordinary vocal quality and seemingly well suited for playing a chant melody.

In his section on forging Theophilus described bellows, and from other sources of the period it seems that such bellows were large, capacious, and planned to compensate for leaks between feeder and pipe. The feeders direct wind into a *conflatorium* or receiver, shown in some 11th- or 12th-century miniatures such as the Harding Bible (fig.26) and Cambridge Psalter. In the Berne Codex the valve preventing the return of wind when the bellows are refilled is placed in the collector, while Theophilus's valve is in the head of each bellows. The main duct can be curved or straight (but perhaps not mitred) and is usually shown as generously proportioned. The keys of the Berne Codex organ closely resemble Hero's, consisting of a 'square' depressed at one end, pushing in a perforated slider (to which it is attached) at the other, and pulled back by a horn-spring to which it is tied. By the 13th century, according to a miniature in the Rutland Psalter (fig.27), organists were using their fingers separately (and rather elegantly) to depress the keys, which in this miniature were broader and more substantial than some reproductions of it suggest.

5. Medieval organ theorists. In the absence of any known organ remains between the 3rd-century organ of Aquincum and the (?) late 14th-century positives of Sweden (see §6 below), historians must turn to the body of 'medieval organ pipe theory', readings of which have led to some misleading ideas about medieval organs. The many sources have been seen as 'treatises on organ building' (Frotscher, D(i), 1968; Mahrenholz, C1938; Fellerer, D(i)1929) or 'treatises on pipe measurement' (Perrot, D(i)1965); but after 1966 researches into the now completely collated texts (see K.-J. Sachs, C1970–80) have led to a new assessment of their purposes.

The texts, in some cases only a few sentences in clerical Latin, fall into three main categories. The largest group (about 30 texts in 155 sources from the 10th century onwards) are those concerned with the length of organ pipes calculated by ratios from an 'initial' pipe, itself of no specified length; most of the length measurements take account of End correction which, in the case of a row of pipes of the same width and mouth shape, is constant. A smaller group of texts (11, in 11 sources) is concerned with the width or diameter of organ pipes, ignoring end correction in calculating the length; some of these discuss the relationship of mouth width, cut-up and foot-hole to the pipe diameter; none dates from before the 14th century. Neither of these two groups covers the whole subject, since in fact variable pipe-widths and quasi-Pythagorean demonstration of end correction are mutually exclusive. The third group of texts (three only, all 11th-century) deals with technical pipe making. These texts are Theophilus's *De diversis artibus* (bk 3, pp.81ff), *Cuprum purissimum* (the Berne Codex), and the section 'Sicut fistulae' on pipe making from Aribo's *De musica*. Some aspects of the organs described in this last group of sources have received attention in §4 above.

The 'pipe-length treatises' rarely offer concrete usable measurements, nor do they outline any pattern of values in which practical experience may have had a hand. Instead, the scalings concern proportional values corresponding to the Pythagorean ratios known from monochord theory. On the one hand, it is obviously possible to make an organ without determining the acoustical



27. King David playing a positive organ (apparently depressing the keys with separate fingers), with a symphonia (hurdy-gurdy) and cymbalum: miniature from the Rutland Psalter, English, c1250–60 (GB-Lbl Add.62925, f.97v)

phenomenon of pipes; on the other, no careful measuring of pipes leads to usable pitches without proper tuning. Many treatises so resemble the numerous scaling texts for the monochord and *cymbala* that the significance of their pipe-scalings should not be interpreted in isolation; for pipes, strings and bells might have been cited primarily as examples of Pythagorean ratios according to which a pipe approximately half as long as another will sound the octave above, one approximately two-thirds as long the 5th above, and so on. Comprehensive instruction treatises covering such matters include the works of Notker Labeo, Aribo, Engelbert of Admont, Hieronymus de Moravia, Walter Odington and Giorgio Anselmi; an important branch in the tradition was the widely known *Scolica enchiriadis* of the late 9th century. In no way were such sources recipes for making instruments; rather, they outlined the kind of number theory which theorists since Boethius had applied to music.

Both Theophilus and the writer of the Berne Codex were dependent on ancient accounts, namely those of Vitruvius and Hero. Aribo's account probably refers back to a manuscript tradition around the uncertain figure of Wilhelm of Hirsau, who seems indeed to have been concerned with actual pipe measurement. Most of the copies of a text ascribed to him are provided with drawings showing the scale of the first pipe (not unlike the measure line in Schlick's *Spiegel*, 1511). But in other writers, end correction, the very factor 'disturbing' the neat theory of Pythagorean ratios, was itself determined proportionally, calculated as a fraction of the diameter. For such calculation the diameter was assumed to be constant; hence the frequently repeated conclusion that the medieval organ builder made a rank of pipes all to the same diameter. Optimistically interpreted iconography has been seen to support this idea. But it should be remembered that the general medieval approach to making things (i.e. before print technology brought craftsmen gradually to depend on visual models) weighs against the practical significance of written-down treatises. Only two of the texts cover organ building as such, and they are partly derived or even (in the case of Theophilus) the result of a compilation. Moreover, practical details such as the remark in the Berne Codex that pipes follow the modern diatonic genus ('si ... sit diatonicum genus quo maxime decurrent moderne cantilene') do not necessarily indicate an actual organ such as might be used in liturgical music. The Sélestat manuscript (11th century) and the Berne Codex describe pipe-chests of seven notes, and the former seems to make it clear that its three ranks are unison, octave, unison; at the same time, an 11th- or 12th-century miniature, in the Harding Bible, shows a keyboard of C, D, E, F, G, A, B♭, B♮, a set of keys showing one each of the known notes (see fig.26). But it is not known whether these treatises and miniatures reflect more than certain literate, second-hand and even non-empirical traditions passed on, perhaps indirectly, to their scribal 'authors'.

6. The church organ, 1100–1450. Rarely in music history is conjecture taken more confidently as fact than in this area. Despite bold and apparently plausible modern assertions that playing in 4ths and 5ths was known by 9th-century clerical organists, that *alternatim* chants were known in the Mass during the 11th century, or that large organs played the *puncti organici* (and even the quicker upper parts or *voces organales*) in the Île-de-France organa of the 13th century, there is no irrefutable evidence to support them. It may be reasonable to assume that in the larger Benedictine abbeys (St Gallen, Metz, Benevento) polyphony, organ playing and troping of plainchant were all linked; but it is not known during which century the more cosmopolitan of the abbeys may have begun to use the organ more integrally during Mass than they were ever to use their other expensive mechanical equipment such as bells or clocks. Nor are technical matters concerning the structure of organs any more certain. There is no evidence that, between the 10th and the 12th centuries, octave- and 5th-speaking ranks were used in abundance, or that reed and stopped pipes were also known, as more than one modern writer has claimed. Much later still, basic assumptions are unreliable. Iconography by no means establishes that organists had to use all of each hand to thump the keys, at this or any point in organ history. Nor are archives less equivocal; church accounts do not prove that the 'little organs' sometimes mentioned from about 1390 onwards were second manuals of large organs or that, if so, such manuals were placed together or had the same pitch. The use of multiple organs in large churches is well documented from this period onward, and the 'little organs' usually prove to be separate instruments from the 'great organs'. Possibly the second keyboard, up until at least the time of the Innsbruck Hofkirche organ (1550; the oldest extant two-manual organ), should be seen rather as an extension to the compass of the first. Organ research from about 1960 has been directed towards a circumspect interpretation of the evidence, and a new period of re-examination concerning the evolution of the organ is inevitable.

Certainly the period 1100–1450 was one of great activity. During the 11th century more organs are known to have been in monastic churches throughout western Europe; they were played at ceremonies (probably outside the liturgy) and succumbed to the fires that frequently swept medieval cathedrals (Canterbury 1114, Freising 1158, Merseburg 1199) – which suggests perhaps that they were fixed in place. Some literary sources imply that the organ was played during Mass, for instance the *Roman de brut* (*c*1155, Normandy):

> Quant li messe fu commensie ...
> Mout oissiés orgues sonner
> Et clercs chanter et orguener

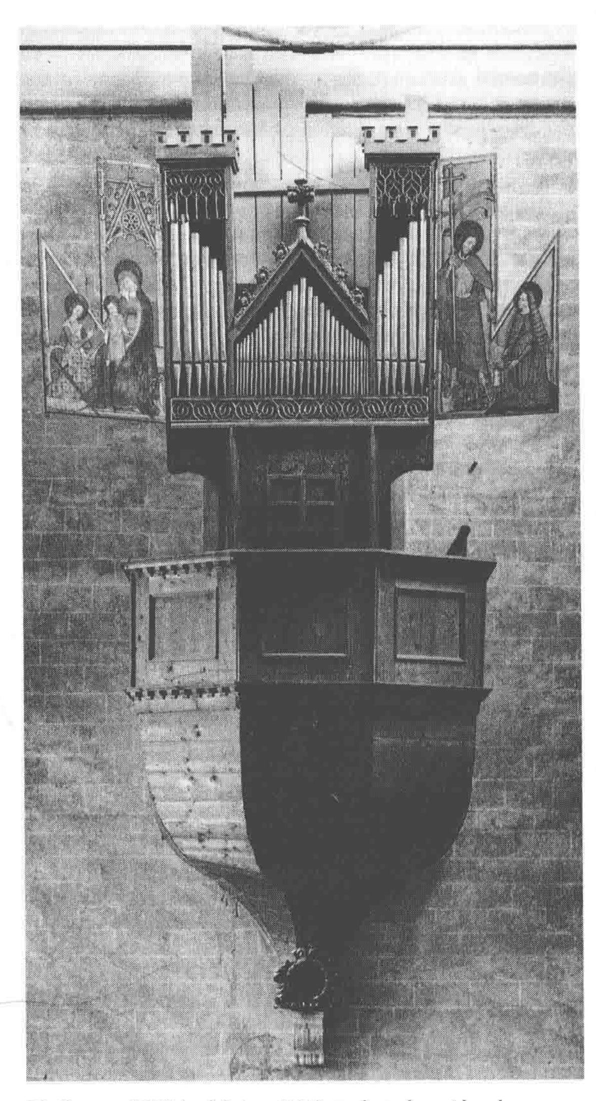
– but such references are vague and merely image-evoking; poets' sources were usually other poets. More authentic sources of the 9th and 10th centuries suggest, however, that sequences as well as the *Te Deum* were the most open to polyphonic vocal treatment, just as later they were the movements most closely associated with the organ. A small portative and a psaltery are shown in a 12th-century miniature but no ecclesiastical function is implied, any more than for the portatives illustrating psalms in earlier psalters (e.g. the small organs hanging on willow trees at Psalm cxxxvii in the Stuttgart Psalter, 10th century). But by the 13th century all instruments other than the organ were excluded from various churches in Spain, Italy and France. The phrase 'great organs' is found in church documents (e.g. Erfurt Peterskirche, 1291), and by 1296 one French bishop referred to the organ sounding five times in connection with the Sanctus – perhaps as a signal rather than for music as such. There is no evidence that it played the tenor in Sanctus movements or in any motet following at that point during

Mass. But by the end of the 13th century secular cathedrals from Exeter to Prague, Barcelona to Lübeck, were as likely to have organs as the larger abbey churches. Whether erected on screens (as in England) or hanging on an upper wall of nave or quire, the organs were usually located near the *cantores*, i.e. no longer near the west or south entrances nor specifically near the main altar. It is not known, however, when large organs were fixed in Theophilus's manner, and illustrations for psalm texts usually show much smaller organs in ensemble. The phenomenon of the smaller fixed organ attached to, associated with, and in some cases paid for by specially bequeathed chapels belongs to the 15th rather than the 13th century.

The large organ seems to have been an exclusively ecclesiastical instrument from the 9th-century Western Church to 17th-century Italy. Probably by the late 13th century the cathedral or abbey organ was occasionally used in *alternatim* music with the *cantores*, though presumably not with the congregation itself. Jovannes de Florentia referred (*c*1350) to performance 'partim organo partim modulatis per concentum vocibus'. Early 15th-century keyboard repertory extant in the Faenza Codex (*I-FZc* 117; *see* SOURCES OF KEYBOARD MUSIC TO 1660, §2(i)) complements such explicit references as the mid-15th-century Castilian rubric 'the organs played one verse and the clerics sang the other'. 14th-century documents usually suggest that whatever the organ played, it did so on traditional church or local feast days, for example at Halberstadt Cathedral on Christmas Day, for Easter Week, Sunday after Easter, *Kreuzerfindung*, Reliques of St Stephen, Ascension, St Peter and St Paul, Dispersal of the Apostles, Mary Magdalene, St Stephen and St Sixtus, Assumption, Patron, Nativity of Mary, St Michael, St Gall, All Saints and 12 other feast days including Trinity and Annunciation. For three centuries organs were used only on feast days. But by the end of the 13th century some churches had decreed against other instruments (Milan, 1287); by the 14th, *alternatim* performances took place, especially in the Office; by the early 15th, many areas, such as the Upper Rhineland, north-central Germany, some English and Italian cities, and the stretch from Rouen to Utrecht, had organs in most of their larger churches, and the future of the instrument was completely assured.

It is impossible to trace this history step by step, despite a certain amount of archival, musical and iconographical evidence. But certain general points can be made about the 14th and early 15th centuries. Organs became known in cathedrals less as an exception and more as a norm; by 1425 the large positive (with front pipes arranged from left to right) was usually distinct from the fixed church organ (with front pipes in mitre form with a set of larger pipes to each side, thus requiring a rollerboard). All the evidence suggests that only open metal flue pipes were known, though some commentators have seen such references as 'plom ... per las horguenas' (church of the Cordeliers, Avignon, 1372) as evidence that lead pipes were used for distinctive tone-colour; lead was in fact the most common pipe metal in all countries during this period. Larger organs in certain areas (Normandy and later the Netherlands, possibly England also) occasionally had Trompes during the period 1390–1450 (i.e. a set of ten or so large open metal Bourdon pipes, possibly played by a separate manual or pedal keyboard and placed to one side, or both sides, of the main organ). Presumably they also had a BLOCKWERK, although apart from the number of pipes in a few famous examples (e.g. 2000 at Amiens in 1429) little is known in this regard before 1450. Presumably the pitch of their compass, whether from (apparent) *B* or any other note, was roughly equivalent to men's voices, the total compass perhaps divided up and distributed over more than one keyboard. However, so many significant unknowns are raised by such summaries that describing the church organ before its more clearly defined types of 1450 is mostly a matter of citing facts about individual instruments.

The organ at Sion, Switzerland, is usually dated about 1380 (although it may in fact be later) and has been much rebuilt. Despite opinions expressed on its tone, and although some of the original pipework seems to be incorporated in the present organ, nothing is certain of its original sound, disposition, compass, pitch, voicing, pressure, bellows, position, purpose or provenance. Nevertheless, its case (fig.28) shows interesting elements:



28. Organ, c1380 (pedal pipes 1718), perhaps from Abondance Abbey (Savoy), now on the west wall of the collegiate church of Notre Dame de Valère, Sion

it has the typical shape for such instruments, with the central mitre lines (like Arnaut de Zwolle's organ at Salins); the castellated 'towers' to left and right overhang the sides; and the wings (painted and perhaps made about 1434–7) enclose the pipes completely. At Bartenstein in East Prussia parts of an organ dated about 1395 existed before World War II. The organ had a large chest for 27 keys (?*FGA–a′*) with three divisions for a large chorus of nine (bass) to 21 (treble) ranks, case-pipes of 16′, and Principals 8′ + 4′. An ingenious reconstruction of the chest was sketched by Karl Bormann (D(xv)1966) but little is certain, particularly the stop mechanism whereby wind was admitted to chorus and principals at will; perhaps the device was made not in 1395 but one or two centuries later. The organ at Norrlanda (*c*1380), now pipeless and in the State Historical Museum, Stockholm, is a large positive with a putative *Blockwerk* of three to six ranks. A set of 12 rollers conveys not only both pedal and manual key-travel to the larger pipes held in small side towers but also the action of certain pairs of keys (*C*♯/*c*♯, *D*♯/*d*♯, *F*♯/*f*♯, *G*♯/*g*♯) to a single pallet. This is so sophisticated an arrangement, not least in its resulting chromatic keyboard of nearly two octaves (*C–a* or *c–a′*; fig.29; for a close-up view of the keyboard, *see* KEYBOARD, fig.1), that doubts too must arise about the age of the organ – which in any case appears to have case-work constructed out of panels from some older choir stalls. An organ of surprisingly similar appearance is depicted in the mid-15th-century stained glass of the Beauchamp Chapel, St Mary's, Warwick.

Extant 12th- and 13th-century church accounts merely record the presence of an organ; about many areas of Europe, curiously little is known. Only during the 15th century were the great Gothic churches of some areas constructed (e.g. in the Netherlands), but many were immediately provided with an organ as part of the regular furniture. The first real details of church organs occur in such documents as builders' contracts from about 1390 onwards, when for reference purposes the anonymous scribe would distinguish the 'opus maius' from the 'parvum opus organum' (Utrecht Cathedral, suggesting either two separate organs or an organ with a *Rückpositiv*) or the 'principaulx' pipes from the Bourdons (Rouen Cathedral, suggesting Trompes and other major Fourniture ranks), or even by 1420 'cinch tirants', suggesting five separate stops in a large positive (Aragonese royal chapel). Otherwise it was enough for an organ to be entrusted to the craftsmen concerned, who had merely to see that it was 'decent, good and to the honour' of the church (S Giovanni Evangelista, Venice, 1430).

Henri Arnaut de Zwolle, writing in the 1440s, described several organs he knew, including those at Salins (*c*1400, *Blockwerk* of 6–15 ranks) and Dijon (*c*1350, 8–24 ranks); an account of his treatise is given below (§V, 1). The most famous 14th-century organ is that of Halberstadt Cathedral (*c*1361, rebuilt 1495), described in some detail by Praetorius (*Syntagma musicum*, 2/1619). The four keyboards were as follows: I, called *Diskant* by Praetorius, playing the *plenum* (case pipes + Hintersatz Mixture; *see* FULL ORGAN), *B–c′* (14 keys); II, also called *Diskant*, playing case pipes (Prinzipal) only, same compass; III, called *Bassklavier*, *B–a* (12 keys, long protruding levers perhaps worked by the knee, playing the 12 large bass pipes); IV, pedal keyboard, same compass as III, used with (perhaps pulling down the keys of) the top manual. The largest rank of pipes was at the equivalent of 32′ pitch, the total number about 1192, from 16 ranks at pedal *B* to 56 at top manual *a′*.

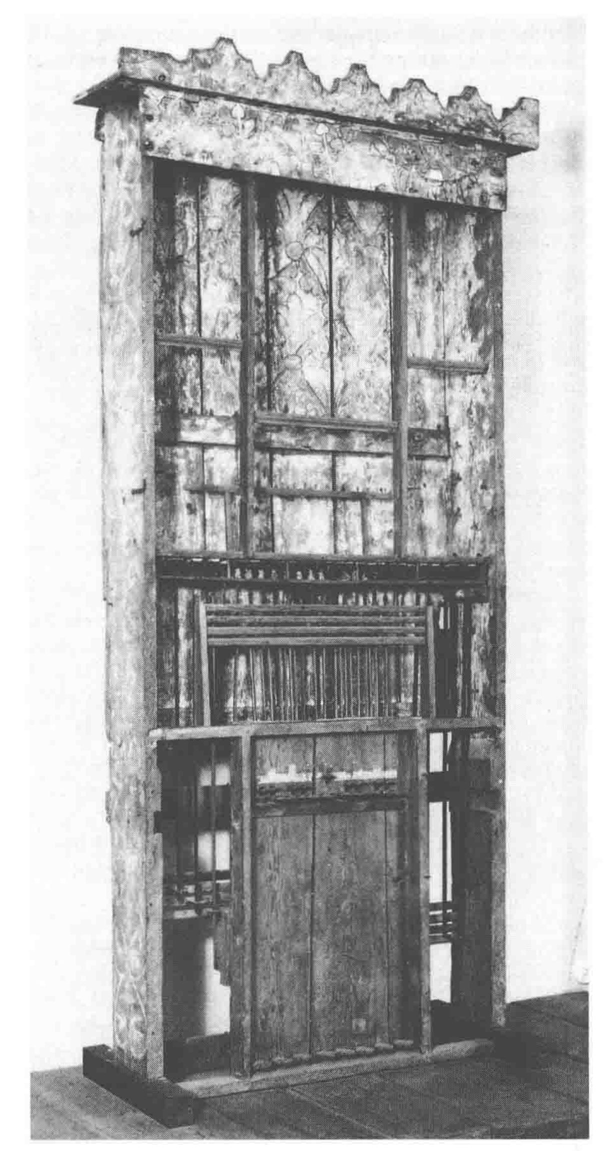
Praetorius by no means understood the historical nature of such old organs, nor is it clear from his report what in the Halberstadt organ dated from 1361, what from 1495. But it is probable from his account that the *Blockwerk* had multiple ranks of octaves and 5ths such that the manual disposition was approximately as follows:

B-e 16.16.8.8.8.5⅓.5⅓.5⅓.5⅓.4.4.4.4.4.2⅔.2⅔.2⅔.2⅔.2⅔.2⅔.
2.2.2.2.2.2.1.1.1.1.1.1
f-c′ 16.16.8.8.8.8.5⅓.5⅓.5⅓.5⅓.5⅓.4.4.4.4.4.4.2⅔.2⅔.2⅔.2⅔
2⅔.2⅔.2⅔.2.2.2.2.2.2.2.1.1.1.1.1.1.1.1.1
d′-a′ 16.16.8.8.8.8.8.5⅓.5⅓.5⅓.5⅓.5⅓.4.4.4.4.4.4.4.
2⅔.2⅔.2⅔.2⅔.2⅔.2⅔.2⅔.2⅔.2.2.2.2.2.2.2.2.
2.2.2.1.1.1.1.1.1.1.1.1.1.1.1.1

From the details given, the pitch level seems to have been *a′* = *c*505. Praetorius also described the sound of this *Blockwerk* (*see* BLOCKWERK). 20 bellows supplied the wind, all presumably needing to be operated for the *plenum*, though his drawing shows only two operators (*see* KEYBOARD, fig.2).

Praetorius gave other details about organs he described as old, and his suggestions could be the starting-point for organ historians. For example, he guessed that semitones appeared in keyboard compass from about 1200 and pedals from about 1220, that by 1450 only open pipes were known, but that spring-chests had been built by about 1400 and separate stops by about 1250. The first date is late by two centuries if it is a question of B♭ only, perhaps a reasonable guess if intended to refer to the first *ficta* semitone (i.e. other than B♭), but early by at least one century if all five semitones were meant. The date for pedals must be about a century too early. The date for open pipes is probably correct, and that for spring-chests could be correct but is probably a little early. The date for separate stops seems early by at least two centuries if it refers to a full-size church *Orgelwerk*. Other details given by Praetorius are more certain, for example that some keys were as broad as about 60 mm, that some keyboards had a compass of *B–f′* or *c–a′* (diatonic only) and the curious-seeming statement that some early pedals played only the bass notes. Obvious though the last may appear, the large Bourdons or 'teneurs' (Notre Dame, Rouen, 1382) may in fact often have been operated by a keyboard played by the hands or even by the knees. The term 'teneur' is evocative, but what it signifies is uncertain; perhaps the keys played the long notes of a vocal composition or an *Intavolierung*; perhaps 'teneurs' meant merely large pipes as distinct from small ('menus' at Rouen, 1382, 'Diskant' in Praetorius). Certainly the playing of a cantus firmus *en taille* on the pedals is a later speciality of the 16th century. But whatever 'teneurs' was meant to imply, builders of the period knew well how to fashion pipes of various sizes and scale, according to Praetorius.

At the end of the 14th century, then, a large organ within the area Rouen–Utrecht–Magdeburg–Orvieto might be presumed to have had a *Blockwerk* of anything up to 80 or more ranks with open cylindrical pipes of metal, played by a broad-keyed manual of 16 to 22 notes, possibly with a further keyboard playing Trompes with or without their own chorus mixture, and exceptionally with a second smaller organ in some way connected with the first. Smaller but independent organs may have had, by custom, a longer compass, smaller keys, and a



29. Positive organ, c1380, from Norrlanda (Statens Historiska Museum, Stockholm); now pipeless

Blockwerk of fewer ranks. Not enough is yet known for generalizations to be made about the organ of about 1390 outside the region specified above.

7. THE 15TH-CENTURY POSITIVE AND PORTATIVE. Although the POSITIVE and the PORTATIVE each form virtually separate subjects, they offer a useful gloss on organ history at this point because each demonstrates a striking uniformity unknown to the larger fixed organ, and each demonstrates the limitations of iconographical evidence. Portatives were small portable organs blown by bellows (often single but sometimes a pair) operated by one of the player's hands (usually the left), and played by his other hand on a keyboard of up to two octaves, composed often of touch-buttons; the instrument would have one rank of pipes arranged in one or two (very rarely three) apparent rows. Such are the highly detailed and prettily finished portatives depicted by such painters as Memling (three examples, that at Bruges being the clearest: for illustration *see* PORTATIVE) and the Master of St Barthélemy (two examples). Positives were blown by a pair of larger bellows operated by a second person (fig.30), and were played by both of the organist's hands on a more or less chromatic keyboard exceeding two octaves (usually beginning at *B*) and composed of short finger-keys; two rows of pipes would form one complete rank, often with Bourdon (or drone) pipes pitched in the bass, perhaps an octave below. Some portatives also had (shorter) Bourdon pipes. In all known cases the pipes were open and of metal; the scaling is progressive and the diameters diminish, at least in the better depictions; cut-ups often appear low and the scale narrow; unless chords of more than two notes were played, the wind supplied by the hand bellows must have been quite adequate, though presumably low in pressure.

That paintings always leave problems of interpretation may be demonstrated by one of the best-known of all organ paintings, the Van Eyck altarpiece at Ghent (1432). Despite the beauty and apparent precision of the picture, the pertinent section of which is reproduced in fig.31, there are several puzzles. The front pipes, though painted well, are not placed naturally; the tips of the feet rest right at the front of the chest top-board, while each pipe corpus, whatever its diameter, passes behind the supporting brace, itself, however, of constant thickness. The feet of the inner row of pipes are placed almost without depth of perspective, all exactly in the middle of those of the first row – despite the latter's perspective. Unless the keyboard ran no higher than appears (blocked by the player's hand and arm) the two rows of pipes must produce only one



30. Positive organ: engraving of an organist and his wife by Israhel van Meckenem (ii), late 15th century



31. Angel musicians with positive organ, harp and fiddle: panel from the Ghent Altarpiece by Hubert and Jan van Eyck, c1423–32 (St Baaf Cathedral, Ghent)

rank; yet if the keyboard continued up symmetrically (as far to the right as the bass goes to the left) the organ would have at least 35 keys, implying a unique pipework of two non-chromatic ranks. The line made by the pipe-tops corresponds neither quite to a diatonic nor to a chromatic tuning, and the pipes in the bass seem unnaturally narrow in scale. Apart from these problems of depiction, the painting gives no information at all on certain points, such as the purpose of the latch-key on the lower left; if it is for a Tremulant, one might expect other evidence of the period for such stops; if it is a stop mechanism operating a valve to the rear chest, one must assume that there are other pipes not seen but making up the second rank; if it is a key to operate Bourdon or drone pipes, the pipes should be in evidence. Such questions can be answered plausibly enough, but only by conjecture, for comparisons with other instruments are too distant to be useful.

V. The organ, 1450–1800

While much research remains to be done for the beginning of this period, especially on developments in German organs of the area Mainz–Nuremberg–Innsbruck–Basle, a provisional historical sketch can be derived from Henri Arnaut's treatise and from certain documents relating to church contracts concerning organs of about 1450. From the 17th century onwards much more complete documentation is available.

1. The treatise of Henri Arnaut de Zwolle. Although concerned primarily with small organs, Arnaut's treatise (*F-Pn* lat.7295; ed. and facs. in Le Cerf and Labande, B1932) throws much light on the potential which organs were seen to have by 1450. The treatise was written in Dijon between 1436 and 1454, partly by Arnaut, a Dutch polymath at the Burgundian court of Philip the Good, and partly by two other authors or scribes. It reflects a lively cultural exchange between Burgundy, Paris and the Low Countries. Arnaut's remarks are more practical than those of any treatise since the 11th century. His description of an organ pipe is empirical and systematic; details suggest a scale some ten semitones narrower than *Normalmensur* at bass *B* but some seven semitones wider than *Normalmensur* at a hypothetical treble *b″*. The mouth width is about a quarter of the circumference ($\frac{2}{7}$ for bigger-toned pipes), the cut-up a quarter of the mouth width; the foot-hole diameter of a quarter of the pipe width was large, though easily reducible. From the measurements it is unclear whether Arnaut was working from two pitches of *a′* = c395 and *a′* = c435 or from a mean *tonus cori* of *a′* = c415. Two portative or positive chests ('ciste portivorum') are drawn and described. In one, a single rank of pipes for the compass *b*–*g‴a‴* is arranged 'ad modum mitre episcopalis' (i.e. like a bishop's mitre, tallest pipes in the middle); in the other, a rank for the compass *b*–*f‴* is arranged in the chromatic manner, tallest to left, shortest to right ('ciste communis' or 'the usual chest'). Arnaut also drew the front of a standard larger organ of the Sion type, probably the instrument at Salins (Salin, formerly in Burgundy), whose 4′ *Blockwerk* he later specified as *B* (6 ranks)–*f″* (21 ranks).

On f.127 of Arnaut's manuscript occurs the first incontrovertible reference in organ building to reed stops. On a page of scarcely 20 words (and ten figures) apropos the 'scales ... of the pipes in the church of the Dei custodientes' occurs the phrase 'l'anche de F', which apparently refers to the reed and block of a reed pipe. Arnaut seems to be saying that a rank of such pipes from

B to *b′* needs eight different sizes of block but gives no other details.

Of the organ of about 1350 in Notre Dame, Dijon, Arnaut noted that the pipes (*B–a″*) are already old and corroded; the pipe mouths were generally about half an octave too narrow, in his opinion. The Fourniture is mentioned, apparently the only separable part of the *plenum*. The total number of pipes in the organ was 768; the leather bellows (?*c*1350, ?*c*1440) had three folds and measured *c*160 cm by *c*70 cm. Arnaut also gave in tabular form the disposition of four different *Blockwerke*, one of *F* (8 ranks)–*e‴* (21 ranks), two of *B′–f″* (6 to 21 and 6 to 15 ranks respectively) and one of *B′*(10 ranks)–*a′b′* (26 ranks). The first has three categories (Principal, Cymbale, Fourniture), suggesting 'stops' made to play separately by two manuals or perhaps by some mechanical device (possibly a divided chest operated by a *Sperrventil*). The Principal 8′ has four ranks at the top and the Fourniture 14 (making 8.8.8.$5\frac{1}{3}$.$5\frac{1}{3}$.4.4.4.4.4.4.4.4.4); the Cymbale is nothing less than a three-rank *Terzzimbel*, indeed the first documented mixture containing a Tierce rank. The Cymbale repeats (i.e. breaks back to lower pitches), 29.31.33 at *B*, 8.10.15 at *e‴*.

One of the other three organs was apparently that at Salins, which had a long-compass 4′ *Blockwerk* of:

B′–E	8.8.15.15.19.22
F–B♭	8.8.15.15.19.19.22.22
B–e	8.8.12.12.15.15.19.19.22.22
f–b♭	8.8.12.12.15.15.19.19.19.22.22.22
b–e′	8.8.8.12.12.15.15.15.19.19.19.22.22.22
f′–b♭′	8.8.8.12.12.15.15.15.19.19.19.22.22.22.22
b′–f″	8.8.8.12.12.15.15.15.19.19.19.22.22.22.22

Even more important, perhaps, is that Arnaut's Fourniture is not an accumulative *Blockwerk* but a Mixture that breaks back to lower pitches in the upper octaves.

Arnaut referred also to the 12 'fistula[e] tenoris' at St Cyr (probably Nevers Cathedral), i.e. 12 Trompes or bass pipes, half as long again as the lowest ranks of the chorus. Unlike the other Principal pipes, these pipes had no accompanying Fourniture pipes of their own, and were thus presumably played from a separate keyboard and chests. At the church of the Cordeliers (?Dijon), the ten 'subdupla tenoris' pipes had a separate keyboard which could couple with that of the chorus, thus affording three effects: the usual chorus, the chorus + *tenor* or Bourdon pipes, or *tenor* pipes played by the left hand while the right hand played the chorus or *discantus*. It is unclear what Arnaut meant by 'double Principals' ('duplicia principalia'); did this mean that only the 8′ stop was doubled (two open ranks, or one open and one stopped rank), or that all ranks of the principal chorus were doubled? The reference to 'double principals' in the 1519 contract at All Hallows, Barking-by-the-Tower, London, is similarly obscure, although the recent discovery of two early 16th-century English soundboard fragments (analysed in *BicknellH*), strongly suggests the latter. If this is so, then 'Principal' in this context simply meant chorus or *plenum* – a hold-over from the earlier period when it referred to the *Blockwerk* (as at St Sebaldus, Nuremberg) – but with the exception of the 'bassys or diapasons' (corresponding to Arnaut's *tenor*, or the Flemish Trompes). The 'simplicia principalia' of the Dijon court chapel organ was described by Arnaut as 'in duo divisa', which may mean either one halved rank (with treble and bass stops) or the usual paired Principals separated off, perhaps by a slider. Two quints and an octave gave the organ a total of five registers, possibly with five push–pull slider-ends.

Further light is thrown on Chair organs ('tergali positivo'). Arnaut described one with 195 pipes, *FG–f″* at 4′ pitch and a four- to seven-rank *Blockwerk* of octave ranks only. The front pipes were of tin, the others of lead; the measurements of neither the mouths nor the foot-holes were systematic or regular in the particular Chair organ Arnaut was referring to, and he was puzzled as to why it nevertheless sounded well.

Though never completed, and although it appears to be more indebted to earlier writings than was previously thought, Arnaut's draft treatise stands as something unique in organ building, not least in its description of certain *Blockwerk* or *plein jeu* choruses. During the whole of the next century no source was to describe in such detail how an organ builder could plan his chorus. Contemporary documents, like modern histories, prefer to dwell on the new colour stops and other, essentially secondary, effects.

2. Developments, 1450–1500. Not only do Arnaut's remarks give a partial picture of the organ at this period, but contracts and other documents from other areas of Europe give corroborating details. Thus the organ at St Sebaldus, Nuremberg (by Heinrich Traxdorf, 1440–41), had Principal, Fourniture and Cymbale, perhaps of the type described by Arnaut. Such a division of the chorus became a kind of norm, not only at Nuremberg but also at the Florinskirche, Coblenz (1467), St Georges, Haguenau (1491), Weimar (1492), St Peter, Basle (1496), Leuven (1522) and in organs farther west. Yet it seems that the instrument of 1474–83 in S Petronio, Bologna, already had a large-scale, 50-note complement of nine single-rank stops (smaller in all respects than the organ as it now is), thus presenting a quite different tradition of organ building in the south.

Clearly the crucial questions are: how were stops separated, giving the organ different colours or effects, and why did builders of some areas give an organ several manuals while those in others concentrated on one manual? As to the second question, it can only be conjectured that southern builders learnt earlier than northern how to obtain musical variety from an organ with one keyboard, separate ranks and a long compass (e.g. the 53 or 54 notes at S Martino, Lucca, in 1473); and that northern builders, requiring only a few different effects (Diapasons alone, or the *plenum*), found that two or even three shorter or unequal keyboards with one or two registrations each were more useful and probably more powerful. Division of an organ into several chests was practical from the point of view of wind supply. As to the first question of how stops were separated, the situation is clearer. Several documents from the mid-15th century onwards refer to the varieties of sound achieved by a particular organ: Arnaut used 'registra'; references in church archives include 'registros' (Treviso, 1436), 'tirans' (Aragon, 1420; Barcelona, 1480), 'division de veus' (Perpignan, 1516), 'dreen gelueden' ('three sounds', Grote Kerk, Zwolle, 1447) and even 'a la moderna cum registri sei' ('with six stops in the modern manner', Catarro, 1488). How were these varieties achieved? 'Registers' and 'tirants' (even five 'registres sive tirans' at Avignon in 1539) certainly suggest slider-chests (see fig.3*b*). After all, the Roman organ of Aquincum had latitudinal sliders, and its keys admitted wind to the pipes

by these means. Longitudinal sliders running the whole length of a rank of pipes were different only in application, not in principle. However, when and where stop-sliders were first made is not known; no doubt they first appeared on small organs. A further system, the spring-chest (seefig.3*c*), was reintroduced in the Netherlands about 1520 to give greater reliability in larger organs, but was already known in Italy during the previous century: Orvieto Cathedral is said to have had an organ in 1480 with two spring-stops and two slider-stops. The most common 15th-century arrangement, particularly in the area from Rouen to Zwolle, was the 'double chest', useful especially for Chair organs. In such a chest the channels were divided into two parts, front (case pipes) and back (Mixture or Hintersatz), each with its wind box, the back one of which was provided with a shut-off valve allowing the Mixture to be taken off. Evidence for such chests is fairly clear from several Dutch contracts of the period (Zwolle, 1447; The Hague, 1487).

Much less clear is the origin of stopped pipes, although it is thought that the 'double Principal' of late 15th-century organs could imply an inner rank of stopped pipes sounding with the open case pipes, as well as multiple doubled ranks. 'Coppel' was a name used at first probably for case pipes (Limburg, 1471), later for stopped unison pipes (Bienne, Switzerland, 1517). Much the same may be said about the term 'Flotwerck' (Bassevelde, 1481). The 'lead pipes' for inner ranks referred to in contracts of many languages and areas have also often been assumed to be stopped pipes, but both documentary evidence and surviving Gothic pipework suggest that in many organs all interior pipework, including open pipes, was of lead. The Quintadena is a stopped metal rank sometimes referred to as *Schallpfeifen* early in the next century; it is possible that the emphasis on new organ colours at this later period was responsible for stopped pipes in general. Thus the stopped wooden Holpyp is authenticated from about 1500, but hardly before. Schlick (B1511) was still ambiguous about stopped pipes; even Flute stops at that period (e.g. Bordeaux, 1510) were open, as indeed they remained in Italian organs of a later century.

To sum up, in 1500 the average organ in northern Italy or southern France could be expected to have a chorus of ten or so separate stops, probably achieved with a spring-chest if the organ was somewhat large, with sliders if smaller; the upper ranks may have been duplicated here and there. Spain, at least in cities influenced by Flemish or 'German' builders (Barcelona, Valencia), followed more the transalpine organ. The bigger instruments of the Netherlands and Rhineland had two or even three manual departments, in most cases each with its own keyboard but all at the same (or octave) pitch. The English organ, judging by the All Hallows document of 1519–20 (see §8 below), was of the smaller Flemish kind: although it is possible that in secular or aristocratic circles Italian organs were known, all evidence points to the major influence in England being Flemish.

Some examples of organ schemes at their best before the turn of the century are shown in Tables 1, 2 and3. That such schemes were distinctly regional can be seen in a 1000-pipe instrument built by the German Bernhard Dilmano at Milan in 1464–6, probably a large northern organ of Principal, Mixture, Zimbel etc. The instrument was updated in 1487 but still had only eight separate

TABLE 1

Netherlands (Oude Kerk, Delft)
Adriaan Pieterszoon, 1458 (rebuild)

Grote werk: *Blockwerk* of 38 keys (*FGA–g″ a″*), 16′, ranks from about 6 to 32 (total *c*750 pipes)

Rugpositief: Double chest of 28 keys (*f–g″a″*), with two 'sounds', *een doef* (2-rank Principal 4′ or 8′) and *positief* (Mixture)

TABLE 2

Rhineland (St Georges, Haguenau)
F. Krebs, 1491

Manual
'driifach fleiten' (3-rank Principal 8′, 8′, ?4′)
'das werk' (Mixture)
'ein zymmet' (Zimbel)

Positif
'zwifach' (2-rank Principal or perhaps 'chest with two stops')

Pedal
'fleiten' (Principal)
'klein tenor' (?Principal octave above)
'zymmet' (Zymbel)

TABLE 3

Italy (S Giustina, Padua)
Leonhard of Salzburg, 1493

One manual of 38 keys (*FGA–g″a″*)

Tenori	8	Decimanona	$1\frac{1}{3}$
Ottava	4	Vigesimaseconda	1
Decimaquinta	2	Flauto	8

stop-levers in 1508. However, it is not known how many ranks of a native Italian organ of 1475 would be separate (as in later Italian organs). As to the sound of such organs, only conjectures can be made, even when much of the original material still exists, as it does at S Petronio, Bologna (conservatively restored in 1982). Although some contracts make it clear that specific sweetness or strength of tone was often required, much – perhaps too much – can be read into the use of words like 'lieblich' or 'süss' in early documentation.

3. ARNOLT SCHLICK'S 'SPIEGEL DER ORGELMACHER'. Against the background of the special effects demanded of new organs and promised to their clients by the builders, for example the Schwiegel, Waldhorn, Quintadena (*Scheelpipen*), Trumpets, Shawms, Zinks, Rauschpipe, Drums and 'other unusual stops' promised by Hans Suys at Antwerp Cathedral in 1509, Arnolt Schlick wrote a splendid, forthright little book on organs, publishing it in 1511 under imperial auspices and indeed apparently intending it as a kind of standard code of practice for organ builders in Maximilian's empire. Schlick lived in the central Palatinate court town of Heidelberg, and no doubt his influence was wide. The organ described in his *Spiegel* contained about 15 stops, 'not too many of the same type', as shown in Table 4. Schlick said that, in addition, the *Hauptwerk* might contain a Krummhorn and the pedal a Klein Octaff and Zymmel, but that the latter two do not belong there. All stops should be playable separately so that the pedal if required could take the cantus firmus. The Hintersatz should not contain the very low ranks of the 'large Mixture' (by which he may have meant the old *Blockwerk*), nor the 'low-pitched 3rds and 5ths' sometimes met with. There is little point in making separate $5\frac{1}{3}'$ stops, while the addition of various

TABLE 4

Hauptwerk
- 'die Principaln' (2- or more rank Principal)
- 'ein Oktaff einer langen mess' ('long Octave', or *doppel* if a large organ was required)
- 'Gemsserhörner ... kurtz weit moss' ('wide Gemshorn', an octave above the Principals)
- 'ein Zymmel' (Zimbel)
- 'Hindersatz' (large chorus mixture)
- 'die rauss Pfeifen' (Rauschpfeife imitating a shawm, ? i.e. a reed stop)
- 'hültze Glechter' (an unusual stop 'whose sound resembles that of small boys hitting a pot with a spoon', ? i.e. Quintadena)
- 'der Zinck' (Zink or Cornett, either a reed or Tierce-holding flue Mixture)
- 'Schwiegeln' (Flageolet, ? of 2′)
- 'Registar... gleich eim Positiff ein Regall oder ein Superregal' (another stop ... 'like a Positive, Regal or Octave-regal', ? i.e. a Regal stop)

Rückpositiv
- 'die Principaln' (Principal, 'either of wood or of tin voiced like wood')
- 'Gemsslein' (small Gemshorn)
- 'Hindersetzlein' (small Mixture)
- 'guts rheins Zymmelein' ('good clean Zimbel', ? i.e. without Tierce)

Pedal
- 'Principaln ym Pedal' (Principal, ? transmitted from the *Hauptwerk*)
- 'Octaff'
- 'Hindersats' (Octave and Mixture, ? also transmitted)
- 'Trommetten oder Busaun' (Trompete or Posaune)

little chests such as *Brustwerke* merely increases cost and produces 'much sauce for little fish'. Reeds are not unreliable if properly made, and Schlick thought a competent organist could soon learn how to make the necessary minor adjustments to them. Stop-levers (preferably not push-pull) should be conveniently placed, not too long or too heavy to work from the keyboards.

Thus Schlick knew an organ of Principals, Mixtures, flutes and reeds; two manuals and pedal; probably a manual coupler; different open metal pipe scalings (circumference to length 1:5, 1:6 or 1:7); and conical metal pipes, but not, evidently, stopped pipes or wooden ones. He recommended a compass of *F–a″* and a pitch level about a tone lower than that of today (his *a′* = *c*374–92, depending on the diameter of the pipe). The pipe metal was pure (or mostly pure) tin and the Principal was doubled (two open metal ranks of different scale). While recommending an irregular tuning with an A♭ that could also serve (if ornamented) as G♯ in a cadence on A, Schlick recognized that some preferred a regular meantone temperament (with major 3rds slightly larger than pure), but saw little use for split sharps as a means of dealing with problems of temperament.

Some of Schlick's general attitudes to organs are informative. He felt that eight or nine stops in the Great were all that were needed; they should be clearly different in tone; and the second manual was to be regarded as a kind of small positive, in no sense a match for the Great. The organ was used in connection with the liturgy, he observed; the priest at the altar was given notes for most mass movements from the Gloria onwards. And since the organ had a particular part to play in such music as sequences, it was placed near the choir for convenience. The pedal may have been transmitted from the Great; certainly it should have stops of the same pitch as the main manual. The pedal must have separable stops like the Great; it should not be made up only of suboctave stops, as it then inverts the harmony. (This must presumably be a double reference to organs with extra large pedal pipes always sounded by the pedal keyboard, and to the practice, then probably rather new, of using the pedals to play inner tenor or cantus firmus lines.) Reed stops can be made well (some are mentioned that sounded new though nine years old). As to Mixtures, neither those consisting of 5ths and octaves nor those of 3rds and 5ths should contain low-pitched ranks. The full chorus should be able to play chords (that is, the 5th ranks in Mixtures should not produce too dissonant a sound when the 5th C–G or the 3rd C–E is played); at the same time, the precise number of ranks in a Mixture depends on the size of the church. Manual keys should not be too long or short, too wide or narrow, nor spaced too far or too near; the given measurements suggest relatively stubby keys with an octave span about the same as on modern instruments.

Some of Schlick's own music in *Tabulaturen etlicher Lobgesang* (1512) is contrapuntal in a way that closely anticipates later organ chorales which use the theme imitatively in three or four parts; in such pieces the pedal took the tune when it appeared in the bass. Schlick also knew pedal playing in two, three and even four parts, as well as pedal runs; for none of these functions would the old Trompes have been useful. The inner-voice cantus firmus technique, however, apparently requiring pedals for music from the Buxheim Organbook onwards, should not necessarily be taken at face value: such organ 'scores' must often have been open to various interpretations or playing methods, and what appear to be third-staff pedal parts in the Buxheim Organbook may (at least in some instances) simply be an easy way of avoiding part-crossing problems.

The largest chapters of the *Spiegel* are concerned with tuning (*see* TEMPERAMENTS, §3), the making of chests, and the bellows. Schlick's advice is always very practical; for example, the wind must be generous (presumably for homophonic textures on full organ), the organ constantly played (even during Advent and Lent), and only the best and most experienced builders trusted. The little book thus surveys the whole field of organ activity – building, playing, composing – and even the long chapters on chests and tuning are full of good, pithy advice. For its size and single purpose, the *Spiegel* has never been bettered.

4. THE NEW POTENTIAL OF THE 16TH CENTURY. Soon after 1500 organs could produce a greater variety of colour and tonal effects than ever before because they had separate stops or several keyboards, or both. Many new stops (above all flutes and reeds) were invented, and one or two extant documents of the period indicate how they were used. About 1510 in both the Rhineland (Worms) and southern France (Bordeaux), such documents contained advice (perhaps from the builder) about registration. *Plena* were mentioned, of course, but more interesting in view of Baroque registration were the two- or three-stop combinations; the list in Table 5 can be inferred from the *instruction pour le jeu d'orgue* appended to the contract for an organ built by Loys Gaudet for St

TABLE 5

16+8	16+8+4+1⅓
16+1⅓	8+4+2⅔ +2 +1⅓ +1
16+8+4	etc

Michel, Bordeaux. This organ was a southern-style instrument of nine separate single-rank stops, and within a small spectrum such ranks would yield many combinations. More instructive still are the German registrations (St Andreas, Worms; Table 6), since they concern an organ with pedal and multi-rank stops. Schlick too wanted stops drawn in different combinations, and registrations changed.

Particularly important in the documents concerning such new organs as that of Daniel Van der Distelen in Antwerp Cathedral (1505) was the implied distribution of sounds into distinct groups: principals, flutes, reeds and mixtures. From then on, such families were to be paramount. Single-rank mutations, whether scaled as principals or flutes, belonged more to southern organs at that period; but at Antwerp there were at least four reeds, all for specific colour imitations (Cornett, Bagpipe-Regal, Trumpet and Krummhorn/Dulzian). Such imitations became so important during the 16th century that both reed pipes and combinations of flue stops were used to give the desired effects; often it is not clear from a document which of the two a certain Zink, Cornet, Nachthorn or Rauschpipe was. Trumpets and Krummhorns, however, were always imitated by reed stops. It is also unclear from the documents of about 1510 whether the many kinds of flute pipes mentioned were open or stopped. In most cases it could well be that they were open and that stopped pipes were reserved for special colour stops like the Quintadena or perhaps for the second ranks backing the Open Diapasons of the case front. In 1518 Sager promised in his contract with St Mary Magdalene, Basle, that 'the stopped pipes shall be bold and sweet [*tapferer und liblich*] so that they are not too puerile [*nit zu kindlich*] but audible throughout the church'.

During the period from 1500 to 1550 Flemish, north German, north French and Spanish organs had much in common. The Netherlanders in particular developed a mature organ of archaic features, described in Vente's *Die Brabanter Orgel* (D(xxi)1958). In 1510, however, the organ of the Upper Rhineland may have been the most advanced of Europe, having (in addition to principal and mixture stops) wide flutes, narrow stopped pipes, several reeds and smaller *Brustwerk* chests as at Bozen (1495). As so often, very little real connection between this type of organ and the music supposedly written for it can be demonstrated; it is even difficult to understand the relation between Schlick's own music and the organ he prescribed. The connections seen by many modern writers between a south German organ of about 1520 and the group of south German tablature sources of the same period are only speculative. In fact there was in about 1510 so much international activity between builders that national types are difficult to distinguish. Flemish builders in particular could be found working throughout Europe during the 16th century.

The early 16th-century organ was full of colour: manual reeds, regals in the Positive departments (*Rückpositiv*, *Brustwerk*), pedal reeds; Gedackt, Quintadena, Rohrflöte stops (Alkmaar, Laurenskerk, small organ, 1511); Gemshorn and Hohlflöte; Sifflöte, Schwegel 1⅓' and other flute mutations. The last are very significant, often uncertain in documents but usually associated with some special colour effect and even special etymology ('Nasard', 'Larigot'). Tremulants, toy stops (drums, bird calls, bells) and moving statuary were known by the end of the 15th century. The structural developments were very important, particularly the Netherlands builders' division of the Great organ into two departments (each often with its own manual): Principal chorus and trumpets on the HAUPTWERK, or main manual, and flutes, Gedackts and mutations on the OBERWERK, or upper chest. This separation ensured good wind supply, greater freedom of registration, safer chest construction and better acoustical dispersal from shallower cases. The *Oberwerk* was to influence, even create, the special potential in the next century of the north German WERKPRINZIP organ, in which each 'department', or *Werk* (i.e. a keyboard with its chest or chests), had a separate structure. Some examples typifying the schemes of about 1550 at their best, organs to which the previous developments were leading, are given in Tables 7, 8, 9 and 10.

TABLE 6

Germany (St Andreas, Worms)
*c*1510

Principals 4′ or 2′ alone
Hohlflöte 8′ + Principal 4′ or Hohlflöte 4′
Principals 4′ + 2′
Principal 4′ + Hohlflöte 4′
Hohlflöten 8′ + 4′ + Quinte 1⅓′
Regal 8′ + Hohlflöte 8′ + Quinte 1⅓′ make an imitation Zink
Regal 8′ + Hohlflöte 8′ make an imitation Krummhorn
Zimbel best with the two Hohlflöten
Manual and Pedal mixtures only in the *plenum*
Drum stop bad outside the key of C
Tremulant not to be used with the Regal
Posaune not to be used alone 'on account of the force of the wind'

TABLE 7

The Netherlands (Oude Kerk, Amsterdam)
Hendrik and Herman Niehoff, with Hans Suys 'von Köln', 1539–42

Das Prinzipal (Hauptwerk)		*Oberwerk*	
Probably *FGA–g″a″*		*C–a″*(? no *g*♯″)	
Prinzipal	16	Two chests	
Oktave	8+4	Prinzipal	8
Mixtur		Holpijp	8
Scharf		Offenflöte	4
		Quintadena	8 or 4
Rückpositiv		Gemshorn	2
F–a″ (?no *g*♯″)		Sifflöte	1 or 1⅓
Two chests		Terzzimbel (?)	
Prinzipal	8	Trompete	8
Oktave	4	Zinck	(? 8 treble)
Mixtur			
Scharf			
(these four to make the Prinzipal)		*Pedal*	
		F–d′ could be coupled to *F′* of the *Hauptwerk*	
Quintadena	8	*C–d′* for own stops	
Holpijp	4	Nachthorn	2
Krummhorn (?)	8	Trompete	8
Regal	8		
Baarpijp (regal)	8		
Schalmei	4		

Pedal stops placed on *Hauptwerk* chest
Keyboards not aligned: *Oberwerk* above *Rückpositiv*, *Hauptwerk* probably a 4th to the left or 5th to the right
Six bellows (probably single-fold)
Wind pressure: *c*90mm
Couplers: ? *Rückpositiv* to *Hauptwerk*; *Rückpositiv* to *Oberwerk*
Tremulant (? in the main trunk)
All chests probably spring-chests
Alterations in 1544: *Hauptwerk* made 'stronger'; *Oberwerk* Quintadena replaced by a Nasard; *Rückpositive* Krummhorn replaced by Sifflöte 1⅓′
Holpijp stops were probably Chimney Flutes.

TABLE 8

Central Europe (Hofkirche, Innsbruck)
G. Ebert, 1555–61

Hauptwerk		*Rückpositiv*	
CDEFGA–g''a''		*FGA–g''a''*	
Prinzipal	8	Prinzipal	4
Gedackt	8	Gedackt	4
Oktave	4	Mixtur	
Quinte	$2\frac{2}{3}$	Hörnlein	
Superoktave	2	Zimbel	
Hörnlein	II	Tremulant	
Hintersatz	X		
Zimbel	II		
Trompete	8		
Regal			

Pedal
(activating second row of pallets in *Hauptwerk* chest; ? 16th century)

Seven or eight bellows in original organ
Pitch: *a'* = 445
Rückpositiv chest under organ stool
Suspended action (keys hanging from trackers)
Tremulant undulations decrease as larger pipes played
Rückpositiv rollerboard original (*Hauptwerk* new)

TABLE 9

Italy (S Giuseppe, Brescia)
Graziadio Antegnati, 1581

One manual (*C'D'F'G'A'–g''a''*, 53 notes)

Stop	Pitch
Principale	8 (halved) (16' from C)
Ottava	4 (8' from C)
Quintadecima	2 (etc)
Decimanona	$1\frac{1}{3}$
Vigesimaseconda	1
Vigesimasesta	$\frac{2}{3}$
Vigesimanona	$\frac{1}{2}$
Trigesimaterza	$\frac{1}{3}$
Trigesimasesta	$\frac{1}{4}$
Flauto in ottava	4
Flauto in duodecima	$2\frac{2}{3}$
Flauto in quintadecima	2
Fiffaro	8 (treble)

Pedal pulldowns, original compass uncertain
Originally spring-chest
Wind pressure: *c*42 mm
Pitch: about one semitone above *a'* = 440

In the Iberian Peninsula, organs were generally built by Italians (e.g. Évora Cathedral, 1562) or Netherlanders (El Escorial, *c*1580); there were scarcely distinct Iberian characteristics. Yet Évora had more Mixtures than an Italian organ, and El Escorial had its secondary manual in the form of an internal Positive (*Cadireta interior*) rather than a Dutch-Flemish *Rückpositiv*. In England organs appear to have remained single-manual instruments until the late 16th or early 17th century, although some of these, particularly in large monastic foundations, may have reached a fairly good size before the Reformation. While early 17th-century English organs had the southern characteristic of single, individually available ranks at unison and quint pitches, early 16th-century organs were more Flemish in style and appear to have had the partly divided *Blockwerk* scheme of north-west continental organs of about 1500. Wooden pipes, and even organs with wooden pipes only, were known in the 16th century, but there is no evidence of reed pipes having been incorporated into large church organs until the late 17th century, although small regals containing both reed (short-length) and flue pipes were much in evidence and are described in some detail in an inventory of Henry VIII's household furnishings (see §8 below). Early in the 16th century the English organ acquired a slightly larger key compass than the organs of northern Europe, a characteristic maintained into the 18th century. The double organ with Great and Chair (*Rückpositiv*) division is documented from the beginning of the 17th century, and inspired the writing of a type of voluntary in which solo passages were played by the left hand on the Great against an accompaniment on the Chair, both hands usually going to the Great in the final section – the so-called 'double voluntary'.

As the 16th-century Italian organs in Innsbruck and Brescia still exist, various subjective descriptions of their tone have been made. At Brescia (see Table 9) the average to narrow scalings (apparently untransposed) and the low pressure give a mild tone, round, rich and singing. Low pressure may also explain the absence of reed stops in such organs, or vice versa. The downward compass of Italian organs varied with the size of the church: the larger the church, the lower the compass. The top note was almost always *a''*, the bottom *c*, *G* or *F* (positives), *C*, *G'*, *F'* or even *C'* (full-size organs). The 15th-century organ at S Petronio, Bologna, went to *F'* or *G'* at 16' pitch (i.e. into the 32' octave). When pedal-boards were added later to such organs, they were thought of as mechanical conveniences for pulling down the bass keys; pedal parts (beyond pedal points and cadential chord roots) do not appear in Italian or Iberian music until the 19th century. As for the pipework, only open metal pipes were included. The ranks of the separated high stops break back no higher than the pipe sounding *c*♯''''; that is the top treble of the compass has an accumulation of ranks usually no higher than Principale 2', resulting in a kind of circumscribed, if fully divided, *Blockwerk*. The lower ranks are sometimes

TABLE 10

France (St Gervais and St Protais, Gisors)
N. Barbier, 1580

Grand orgue		*Positif*	
Montre (tin)*	16	Bourdon (lowest octave of wood)	8
Montre (lead)*	8	?Prestant (lead)	4
Bourdon (lead)*	8	?Doublette (lead)	2
Prestant (tin)*	4	Petite Quinte (tin)	$1\frac{1}{3}$
Flûte (lead)*	4	Cymbale (tin)	II
Nasard (lead)*	II	Cromorne	8
Doublette (tin)*	2		
Sifflet (lead)	1	*Pédale*	
Fourniture (tin)*	IV	Jeu de pédale (wood)	8
Cymbale (tin)*	III	Sacqueboutes (tin)**	8 (from *F'*)
Quinte-flûte (lead)	?$1\frac{1}{3}$		
Cornet (from *c'*)	V		
Trompette	8		
Clairon	4		
Voix humaine			

Compass C–c''' (48 notes)
Positif inside main case (the 4' rank may have been a stopped 4' Bourdon)
Tremulant (? in main trunk)
Coupler: *Positif* to *Grand orgue*
Pedal reed on two chests either side of the *Grand orgue*
Grand orgue spring-chest
Four bellows (5' x 2', Flemish foot)
Grand orgue Quinte-flûte *à biberon*, i.e. Chimney Flute with domed cap
1618: Chair organ added by C. Carlier
Principals and reeds, tin bodies with lead feet

**servant pour le Plein jeu*
**possibly 16'

divided between *b* and *c*′. Musically, such organs had a distinct function and character. Costanzo Antegnati's rules for registration (1608) show timbre, musical style and liturgical function to have been intimately connected; for example, the *ripieno* or *tutti* was drawn for sustained music of the *durezze e ligature* style, which was itself applied to such pieces as toccatas at the end of the 'Deo gratias'. Flute stops of all pitches were *da concerto* (i.e. 'for solo use'), not for accompanying motets or filling out the ripieno. The undulating Fiffaro (or Voce umana), a principal-toned rank, was drawn with the Principale alone and played slow music 'as smoothly and legato as possible', often with melodic snatches in the right hand (as in Frescobaldi's toccatas), and is frequently recommended for playing in the Elevation. Some useful combinations were those shown in Table 11. At the same time, as Diruta showed, some keys (i.e. ecclesiastical tones) were associated with particular moods and hence particular registrations. He recommended 16′ with Flauto 8′ for the mournfulness of E minor (Phrygian); but for D minor (Dorian, full and grave) he added as alternative suggestions 16.8 and 16.16. For F major (Lydian, moderately gay) he recommended 8.4 with Flauto 4; but for G major (Mixolydian, mild and lively), 8.4.2. Equally important is that three is the largest number of stops drawn in many such lists of registrations, apart from the various big *ripieni* used only once or twice in a service. It is never certain how far or wide such rules apply, but much Italian music of about 1620 can be seen in terms of the older Antegnati organ, more modest though the organs of Rome, Naples and elsewhere seem to have been. The greatest developments in Italian organ building between 1475 and 1575 were rather in the design of the cases (Gothic to Renaissance; fig.32) than in the technical or musical sphere, where there is an unusual conformity.

The 1551–61 Ebert organ at Innsbruck (see Table 8 and fig.33) is very strong in tone, neither manual proving useful for accompanying a choir. The cases are shallow (*Rückpositiv* less than 50 cm), the chests spacious, the organs contained in resonant wooden boxes. Since all the Chair organ (*Rückpositiv*) stops have close equivalents in the Great organ (*Hauptwerk*), yet at only 4′ pitch (as so often during the 16th century and the late 15th), the two manuals can be regarded partly as extensions of each other in different directions. Indeed, the Innsbruck organ puts in a new light the perennial question of the purpose of second manuals (a question rarely admitting of any obvious answer, despite common assumptions). The stopped pipes at Innsbruck are very strong in tone, with a big mouth and a tone-colour ranging from wide, vague flute sound in the bass to strong, breathy treble colour. The two Hörnli stops are very keen, repeating Terzzimbeln. Throughout the organ there is a distinct change of tone-quality from bass to treble, enabling the *Hauptwerk* bass keys to produce a different quality of sound from right-hand solo lines in the treble.

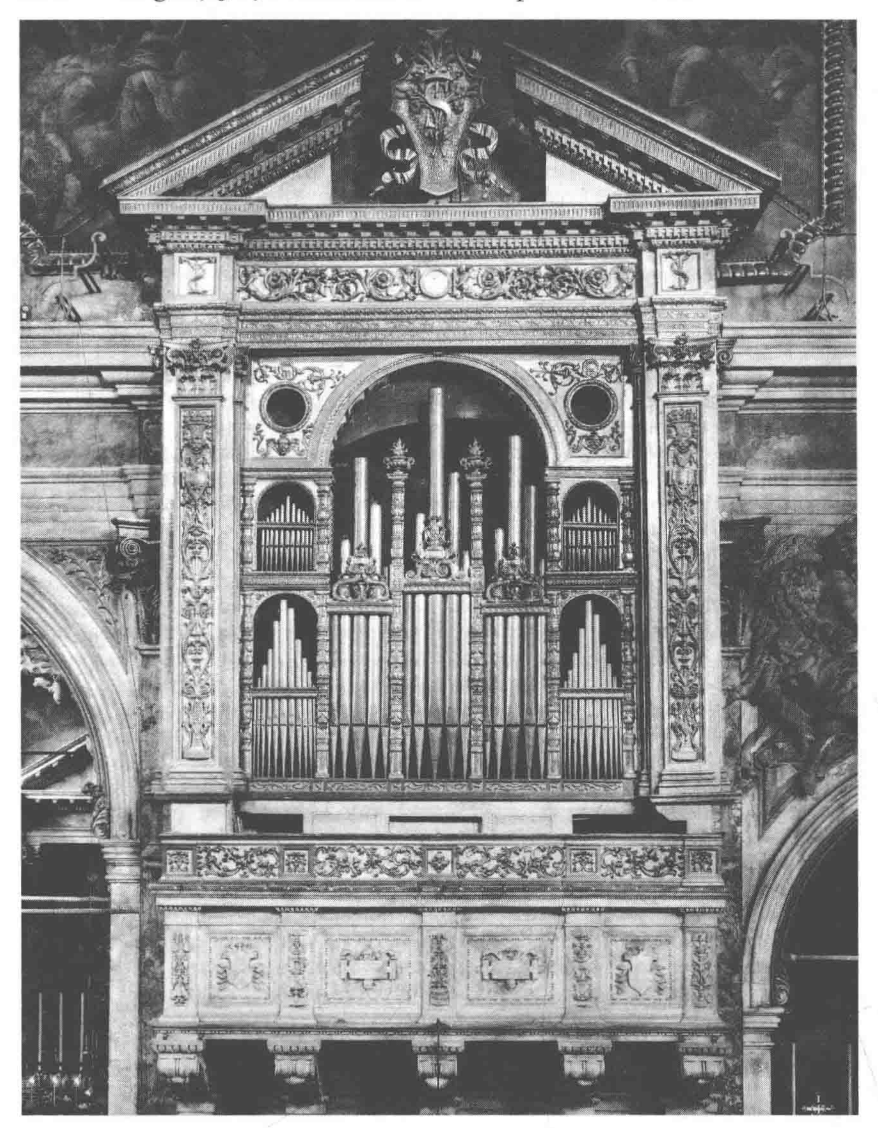
TABLE 11

Ottava 8′ + Flauto 8′, good for quick passages and canzonas
Principles + Flauto in duodecima, good for quick passages and canzonas
Principale + Flauto in quintadecima, good for quick passages
Pedal pipes, good for occasional long note in a toccata
Ripieno: 16.8.4.2$\frac{2}{3}$.2.1$\frac{1}{3}$.1.$\frac{2}{3}$
Mezzo ripieno: 8.4.1.$\frac{2}{3}$ with Flauto in ottava
or 8.4 with Flauto in ottava
or 8.4 with Flauto in duodcima
Use half-stops 'per far dialoghi'

The organ of the Oude Kerk, Amsterdam (see Table 7) was that known to Sweelinck and shows the 'Brabant organ' at its most characteristic: big Principal chorus, large flute stops on an *Oberwerk* chest, smaller stops but yet greater variety in the *Rückpositiv*, and the pedals playing the *Hauptwerk* chorus for *plenum* registrations and also having a pair of high-pitched, strong-toned solo stops for (presumably) cantus firmus music. The sheer variety in the manuals would alone have encouraged variations on psalm tunes and folk melodies over the next century or so, even had there been no tradition for weekday organ recitals occasioned by the prohibition of the use of the organ in the Reformed liturgy until after the middle of the 17th century. From surviving examples of Niehoff pipework, it seems that the inner parts were of thick, hammered lead of good quality; the principals were narrow in the bass, wider in the treble; and the whole had a mild-voiced, singing quality quite different from the organ of the later Baroque period. Flutes were wide to very wide; reeds penetrating, particularly in the bass. The spring-chests were considered an advance on the slider-chests already known for smaller organs (Alkmaar small organ, extant slider-chest of 1511) or for the Chair organs of larger instruments; and in some areas (north Italy, Westphalia) spring-chests of different types remained popular for well-spaced, large-scaled organs after they had fallen out of fashion in the north. The Amsterdam organ was evidently of a very high class, and its concept and musical repertory were known in Brabant, the Netherlands, Cologne, Würzburg, Lüneburg and much further east. Some examples had big Pedal divisions, resulting during the period 1575–1600 in an organ type known from Groningen to Danzig, Frederiksborg to Prague, and passed on by a group of composers directly or indirectly under Sweelinck's influence.

The musical position of the 1580 Barbier organ at Gisors (see Table 10) is less certain, as indeed is that of all French organs before about 1660. The French organ of 1520–75 often had a wide array of colour, whether of the Bordeaux-Italian type in the south, or the southern Flemish variety of reeds and compound stops in the north. Reeds of 16′, 8′ and 4′ could be expected in a larger organ of about 1575; so could one or more Quint mutations; 8′, 4′ and possibly 16′ ranks of stopped (often wooden) pipes; a few 'obsolescent' stops like the 1′ Principal; and even a mounted Cornet, often called 'Flemish horn' (*see* ORGAN STOP, under 'Cornet'). In many respects the Gisors organ was Flemish: the *Positiv* construction (in French instruments the Chair organ had become temporarily uncommon), the spring-chests, the *CD–c‴* compass, the Quint flutes of 1$\frac{1}{3}$′, the 8′ pedal stops, and the *grand ravalement* for the pedal reed. In sound, no doubt the instrument was nearer to the Netherlands organs of Niehoff than to the late classical French organs of F.-H. Clicquot.

5. STRUCTURAL DEVELOPMENTS *c*1600. From the many enormous and apparently amorphous organ specifications given by Praetorius it could be reasonably thought that many central German builders of the late 16th century did not have clear control of the organs that their technology enabled them to build. The number of stops and stop types listed by Praetorius is evidence of his attempt to give order to a somewhat embarrassing luxury

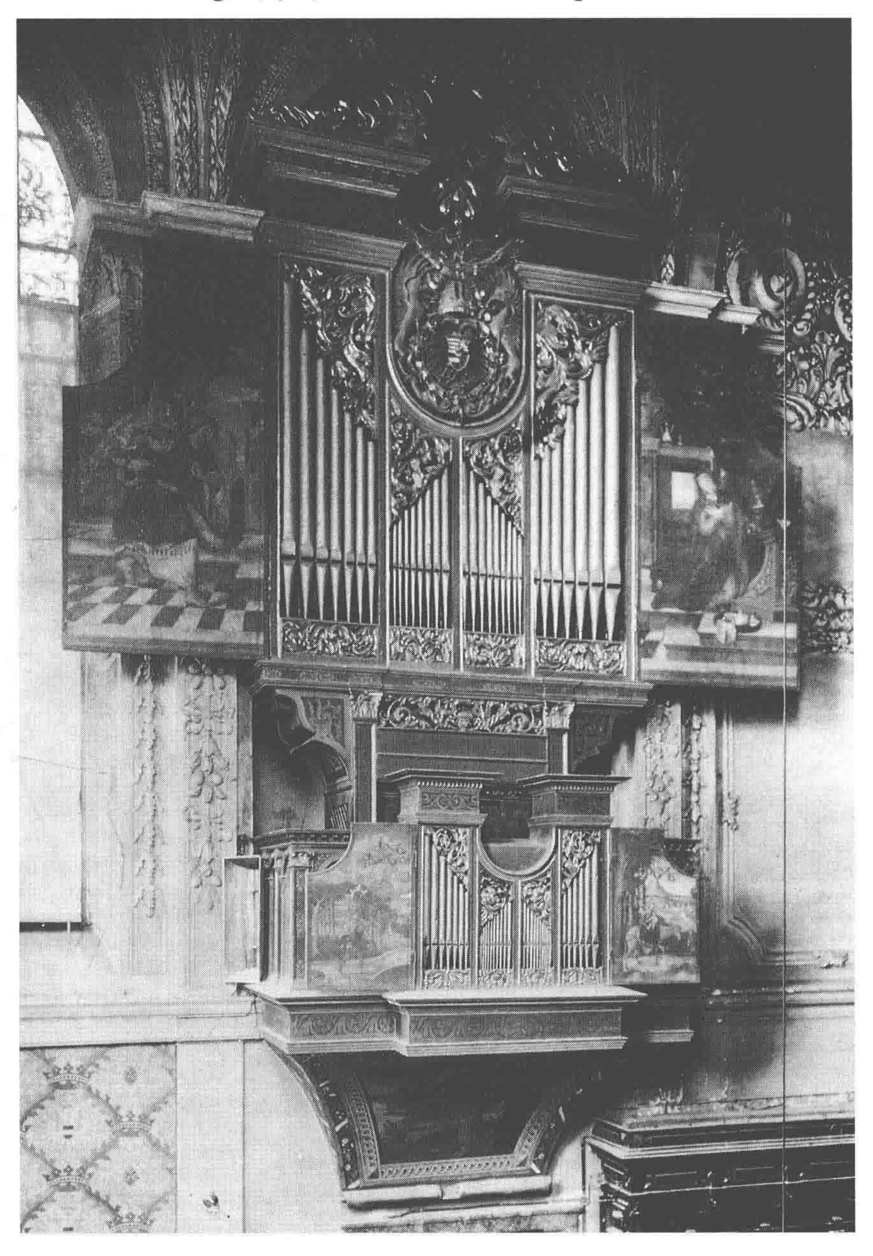


32. SS Annunziata, Florence, showing the southern organ of a pair built in 1523 and facing each other across the east end of the nave

of choice. The number of 4′ solo Flutes alone, for instance – narrow, wide, open, stopped, chimney, spindle, narrow-stopped, narrow-conical and overblowing–narrow-stopped – contrasts strongly with the 17th-and 18th-century systematized French organ of average size, where there was probably only one plain Bourdon 8′ or Flûte 4′, and that with a very specific function. Some of the biggest organs, such as those in Prague and Danzig, are scarcely credible: the Týn Church in Prague appears to have had a four-manual, 70-stop organ built between 1556 and 1588, but it is possible that it was a conglomerate instrument, finished in part, but perhaps never all playable or ready at once.

More important was the potential opened up by new mechanical skill in disposing multiple chests – giving the Pedal, for example, a pair of back or side chests for the large pipes, using front chests for middle Principals and a *Brustwerk* chest or two for smaller-scaled solo stops. Each pedal key then connected with two or even three pallets. The first such 'multiple action' may have been built earlier in the century in the central Netherlands (Antwerp Cathedral, 1505; St Zwysen, Diest, 1523), but the evidence is inconclusive. By the end of the century extravagant court chapel organs were built with some of the richest mechanical layouts ever known before pneumatic action, allowing an immense array of stop combinations. If the simple organ of 1563 for the Dresden court chapel allowed 77 manual combinations with its 13 stops and Tremulant, as stated in a contemporary document, then hundreds were no doubt possible on the famous Groningen court chapel organ of 1592–6 (Table 12). Whether there was enough fish for all this sauce might have been doubted by Schlick.

Clearly the Groningen organ offered many colourful effects, particularly those of two or three stops only; indeed, the number of stops normally drawn at once by organists of that time cannot be assumed from modern practices. With the exception of three Principal choruses of four or five stops, the registrations at Dresden (referred to above) were all of three stops or less. Quite apart from what this fact might imply about the state of contemporary wind-raising techniques, it suggests that organs of the period were geared towards subtle colour and musical variety. As to the 'multiple chests' themselves, a very



33. Organ by G. Ebert (1551–61) in the Hofkirche, Innsbruck; the Annunciation scene on the shutters was typical of 16th-century Venetian organs, while the flat Rückpositiv, designed as a small version of the main case, was unfamiliar outside southern Germany

plausible attempt to describe their complex action, double pallets, transmission and extension system has been made by Bunjes (D(xv)1966). The most useful arrangement was the most traditional and long-lived, namely the multiple pedal division in which the biggest bass pipes would take one or two chests, and the cantus firmus and other high stops another chest. Wind could be prevented by a *Sperrventil* from entering any chest not immediately needed; and a low pressure could be the better sustained if no chest was above a certain size.

A circumspect reading of Praetorius reveals three main types of complex layout, two of them multiple action: (i) the double action enabling two or more chests to be played by one keyboard (e.g. *Brustwerk* and *Oberwerk* from *Oberwerk* keys only); (ii) the transmission chest (with two pallets), enabling one or more ranks of pipes to be played by two keyboards (usually the bigger stops of the *Oberwerk* played by pedal keys); (iii) octave and even quint transmission or 'extension', that is, a chest construction enabling a rank of pipes to be played at unison, quint or octave pitches. The third was very rare, but important in view of later developments. Since couplers were also much to the fore in organs using complex action, and since the *Sperrventil* increased the registration possibilities (by making drawn stops inoperative until required), it can be seen that an important musical aim was maximum variety for a given number of ranks. But such aids had the potentially bad effect of overemphasizing the main *Oberwerk* chest to the detriment of true secondary manuals, weakening the independence of the pedal, and encouraging the cultivation of intricate workmanship as an end in itself. But the Chair organ remained an independent department in the major organs, and as such helped to provide the right conditions for most idiomatic

TABLE 12

Groningen court chapel organ
Details from M. Praetorius: *Syntagma musicum*, ii (Wolfenbüttel, 1618, 2/1619/*R*1958), 188f
Case extant (since 1770 in Halberstadt Martinskirche)
David Beck, 1596

Im Oberwerck Manual	
Principal	8
Zimbeldoppelt	
Gross Querflöit	8
Mixtur	(?)8
Nachthorn	4
Holflöiten	8
Klein Querflöite	4
Quinta	$5\frac{1}{3}$
Octava	4
Grobgedact	8
Gemsshorn	8
Gross Quintadehna	16

Im Pedal auff der Oberlade (Pedal stops on upper chest)	
Untersatz	16
Octaven Bass	8
Quintadeen Bass	16
Klein Octaven Bass	4
Klein Quintadeen Bass	4
Rauschquinten Bass	
Holföiten Bass	2
Holquinten Bass	
Nachthorn Bass	4
Mixtur	

Formen in der Brust zum Manual (*Brustwerk* keyboard)	
Klein Gedact	2
Klein Octava	1
Klein Mixtur	2
Zimbeldoppelt	
Rancket	8
Regal	8
Zimbel Regal	2

Im Rückpositiff	
Principal	4
Gemsshorn	4
Quintadehn	8
Spitzflöite	2
Gedact	4
Octava	2
Quinta	$1\frac{1}{3}$
Subflöite	1
Mixtur	(?)4
Zimbel	$2\frac{2}{3}$
Sordunen	16
Trommet	8
Krumbhorn	8
Klein Regal	4

In den beyden Seit Thörmen zum Pedal (Pedal stops in the large side towers)	
Gross Principal Bass	16
Gross Gemsshorn Bass	16
Gross Querflöiten Bass	8
Gemsshorn Bass	8
Kleingedact Bass	4
Quintflöiten Bass	$5\frac{1}{3}$
Sordunen Bass	16
Posaunen Bass	16
Trommeten Bass	8
Schallmeyen Bass	4

In der Brust auff beyden Seiten zum Pedal (Pedal stops on small *Brustwerk* side-chests)	
Quintflöiten Bass	$10\frac{2}{3}$(sic)
Bawrflöiten Bass	4
Zimbel Bass	$2\frac{2}{3}$
Rancket Bass	8
Krumbhorn Bass	8
Klein Regal Bass	4

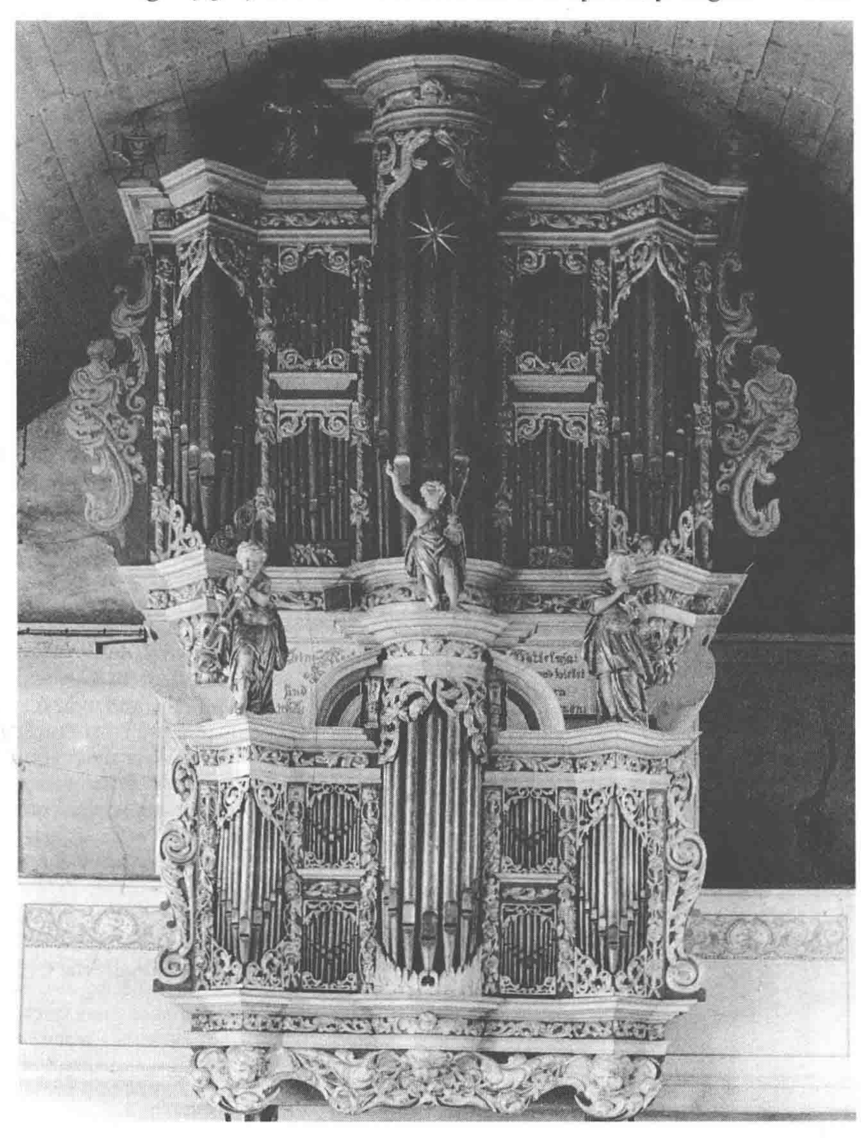
organ music of 17th-century Germany, as it also did in France, the Netherlands, Scandinavia and England.

6. THE WERKPRINZIP ORGAN. The Chair organ was indeed the manual that supplied the true balanced chorus to the Great; but in areas or periods in which second manuals were required for simple echo effects or soft background colours (Spain and Italy during the whole period, France during the 16th century, England after 1700) or in smaller churches where expense had to be avoided, the Chair organ was dispensed with and smaller chests were incorporated in the main case.

The visual characteristics of the WERKPRINZIP organ (the term is a modern one, coined by the 20th-century reformers) – the single main case, the Chair organ, the separate pedal towers – were all known by the 15th century. But by the time of Praetorius, owing to the range of available organ colour and the widespread mechanical skill in making good actions, builders were able to develop a type of instrument using such features put to new, unified purpose. Scheidt's remarks in his *Tabulatura nova* (1624) imply a sophisticated and codified practice for organs and their music, and show the instrument to have developed well along the lines laid down by Schlick and beyond recognition of those laid down by Arnaut. Indeed, it is a mistake to relate the *Werkprinzip* Chair organ and (even more so) its pedal towers to the organ of Arnaut's period. It is often very uncertain whether in about 1450 the Chair organ of a large instrument had the same pitch as the Great organ or its keys aligned with it; nor was two-manual playing necessarily known outside Schlick's area and period. Similarly, although side towers or *trompes* held bass pipes, they were not necessarily played by pedal keys; in any case, a vital function of *Werkprinzip* pedal towers is that they hold cantus firmus solo stops near the Protestant congregation in or below the gallery. No doubt the larger instruments of about 1550 might have had pedal towers combining both characteristics; but the *Werkprinzip* organ flourished many hundreds of kilometres north-east of the areas knowing the old *trompes*, and did not become fully developed until after the Reformation.

One of the attractions of the *Werkprinzip* was that an organ could be altered and its potential enlarged simply by adding a new department to the old. While the Totentanz organ of the Marienkirche, Lübeck (destroyed in 1942), is much less understood than modern references to it suggest, it is certain that its four departments expressed the ideals of four quite different periods: the *Hauptwerk*, the late 15th century; the *Rückpositiv*, the mid-16th century; the *Brustwerk*, the early 17th; and the completed Pedal organ, the early 18th. Many famous organs of this type in northern Europe (e.g. Jakobikirche, Lübeck; Johanniskirche, Lüneburg) are in fact composite instruments (quite apart from modern rebuilds), accumulations of *Werke* constantly altered in compass, specification, tuning and no doubt voicing by builder after builder. The smaller Jakobikirche organ, restored in the 1980s to the form given it in 1636 by Stellwagen, still contains part of its late 15th-century Principal chorus, the pipes made of nearly pure lead. The big organs of the Niehoffs, the Scherers, and the Compenius and Fritzsche families were like living organisms; except for the large chamber organ in the chapel of Frederiksborg Castle, Denmark, none remains in anything like its original state.

Organ historians are often tempted to trace the organ's evolution in terms of the best-known builders. Frequently, however, contributions are attributed to a builder on the basis of mere conjecture or even fable. Probably not a single item in the list of innovations commonly attributed to Gottfried Fritzsche, for instance, is specifically his: inclusion of a fourth manual; more systematic use of 32′ and 16′ reeds to written C; introduction to north Germany of rare stops, both flue (Viol, Schwiegel, imitative flutes) and reed (Sordun, Ranket); contrast between narrow 'male' and wide 'female' stops (e.g. Nasat $2\frac{2}{3}'$ and Quinte $2\frac{2}{3}'$ on the same manual); reduction of the big Brabant Scharf Mixture to a high repeating two-rank Zimbel; greater use of tin in the pipe metal, and also of wooden pipes (reeds, flues, stopped, open); and systematic adherence to C compass, sometimes with split keys (*d*♯/*e*♭ etc.). But they certainly belong to his period. Such a list, taken with the provincialisms running through Praetorius's *Syntagma musicum*, ii (2/1619), does lead to a distinct kind of organ. The chief musical characteristics of the *Werkprinzip* thus emerging in a purer form in the north were: the contrast between a full, round *Hauptwerk* and a thin, piercing, more variable *Rückpositiv*; the versatile pedal; and the clarity of the whole in average parish churches with little reverberation. In most cases it was the



34. Organ by Arp Schnitger, 1695, originally in the Johanniskirche, Hamburg, now in the west gallery of the village church at Cappel

Rückpositiv that was understood to be the 'solo manual', and as such it performed an important function in the chorale-based literature of the 17th century. The idiom was clearly defined for organists, who seem to have been in little need of registration hints either from composers or from builders. (Balanced contrast could easily be achieved between two manuals if the same number of stops was drawn in each.) Explicit and firm registration rules have been formulated only in areas and at periods in which organs were more uniform (e.g. in northern Italy *c*1600, France *c*1700 and England *c*1750).

The Hamburg *Werkprinzip* organ reached maturity and indeed satiation in the work of Arp Schnitger, famous in his day far and wide, the possessor of many privileges, and, with Gottfried Silbermann (whose organs were quite different in many ways), the inspiration for the German Organ Reform (*Orgelbewegung*) of the 1920s. Despite work in progress, surprisingly little is certain about Schnitger – how responsible he was for his individual instruments (his workshop was large and active), what his scaling policy was (scales vary hugely, depending on the church, the pitch, the value of the old pipework he re-used, etc.), what his pitch and temperament were, why he usually changed small multifold bellows to large single-fold bellows in his rebuilds, why he dropped the *Rückpositiv* in his late work around Berlin, who designed his cases (fig.34). Research has established that his wind pressures varied between about 94 mm or higher (the large organs in Hamburg) and about 67 mm, an average being about 85 mm (Nikolaikirche, Flensburg).Table 13 gives the stop list of his first four-manual organ, in the Nikolaikirche, Hamburg (destroyed in 1842). Such very large organs give a kind of highest common factor of instruments known to such composers as Buxtehude, Lübeck and Bruhns and on which toccatas and chorales of the older composers (Scheidemann, Weckmann, Tunder and others) were still played. In some areas of the Netherlands, north Germany and Scandinavia, such an organ remained the model until 1850 or so, and the *Werkprinzip* can be recognized behind later organs very different in sound and appearance from the Hamburg Nikolaikirche.

TABLE 13

Nikolaikirche, Hamburg
Arp Schnitger, 1682–7

Hauptwerk		*Oberwerk*	
Prinzipal	16 (case)	Weitpfeife	8
Quintadena	16	Hohlflöte	8
Rohrflöte	16	Rohrnflöte	8
Oktave	8	Quintatön	8
Spitzflöte	8	Oktave	4
Salizional	8	Spitzflöte	4
Quinte (? open)	$5\frac{1}{3}$	Nasat	$2\frac{2}{3}$
Oktave	4	Gemshorn	2
Oktave	2	Scharf	VI–IX
Flachflöte	2	Zimbel	III
Rauschpfeife	III	Trompete	8
Mixtur	VI–X	Krummhorn	8
Scharf	III	Vox humana	8
Trompete	16	Trompete	4
Rückpositiv		*Brustwerk*	
Bourdon	16	Blockflöte	8
Prinzipal	8 (case)	Prinzipal	4
Gedackt	8	Rohrflöte	4
Quintatön	8	Quinte	$2\frac{2}{3}$
Oktave	4	Waldflöte	2
Blockflöte	4	Nasat	$1\frac{1}{3}$
Querflöte	2	Terzian	II
Sifflöte	$1\frac{1}{3}$	Scharf	IV–VI
Sesquialtera	II	Dulzian	8
Scharf	VI–IX	Bärpfeife	8
Dulzian	16		
Trichterregal	8	*Pedal*	
Schalmei	4	Prinzipal	32 (case)
		Oktave	16
Compass: ? *CD–d′–c‴*		Sub-Bass	16
Three Tremulants		Oktave	8
Ventil to each chest		Quinte	$5\frac{1}{3}$
Wind pressure: *c*71 mm		Oktave	4
Pitch: about $\frac{3}{4}$ tone above		Nachthorn	4
a′ = 440		Rauschpfeife	III
Couplers unkown		Mixtur	X
		Posaune	32
		Posaune	16
		Dulzian	16
		Trompete	8
		Krummhorn	8
		Trompete	4
		Cornett	2

7. THE FRENCH CLASSICAL ORGAN. In northern Italy the 'classical Brescian organ' of the late 16th century remained a norm to which the occasional 17th-century two-manual organ was an exception (and probably built by a foreign builder); it was only in the mid-17th century that the French organ achieved its classical form, intimately bound up with music of a distinct and well-characterized idiom. The very number of *livres d'orgue* published following the publication of the *Caeremoniale parisiense* (1662; *see* ORGAN MASS) suggests a remarkably unified 'organ school'. Every stop in a French organ of about 1700 came to have an appointed purpose, and the *livres d'orgue* from Nivers (1665) to Marchand (*c*1715) and beyond, several of which contain registration tables, give the impression that late 17th-century Paris had shaken off outside influences past and present.

But Flemish influence had originally been paramount in northern France as Italian and Spanish had been in parts of southern France. Titelouze's *plenum* was much the same as that of a Dutch composer. Even the Cornet was Netherlandish, from the time of the organ in Antwerp (1565) onwards. Yet while many details in Mersenne's *Harmonie universelle* (1636–7) may point to northern influences like Praetorius, important moves towards the organ of the *livres d'orgue* were made at this period, above all in Paris. Narrow- and wide-scaled Tierces soon became common (narrow at St Nicolas-des-Champs, 1618; wide at St Jacques-de-la-Boucherie, 1631) and with them a general change towards mutation colour (e.g. more $1\frac{3}{5}'$ ranks, fewer 1′). Mersenne knew Tierces as ranks used both in the *plein jeu* and for solo combinations. More important still were the new short-compass keyboards of solo or quasi-solo character: the 25-note Cornet manual (i.e. a *Récit*) at St Séverin, Paris (1610), set a new fashion, though intended at first only as a little keyboard giving the raised Cornet chest a second row of keys. Were the little extra chest to be placed below the *Grand orgue* it would be called *Echo* and probably have a shorter keyboard and more ranks. By 1660 a large organ could be expected to have four manuals (including two treble halves): two supplying classical Great–Chair organ contrast (*Grand orgue* and *Positiv*) and two right-hand solo manuals (*Echo* and *Récit*) for music influenced by the monodic *récit dramatique* of the *ballet de cour*.

The organ played by Nicolas Lebègue (Table 14), one of the organists to Louis XIV, shows the French scheme of the period at its best. Rarely can an organ have been so closely related to the music of its period as such an instrument to the works of Lebègue, Raison, Grigny, Couperin and others. Standardization was one of the chief aims. To obtain the PLEIN JEU for those movements in the Mass that required it, for example, the organist drew the Principals 16′, 8′, 4′, 2′, then added the Fourniture, whose composition was probably something like:

C–e	15.19.22.26.29
f–e′	8.12.15.19.22
f′–c‴	1.5.8.12.15

and then finally the Cymbale:

C–B	29.33.36
c–e	26.29.33
f–b	22.26.29
c′–e′	19.22.26
f′–b′	15.19.22
c″–e″	12.15.19
f″–c‴	8.12.15

which, if it was a large four-rank Cymbale, included the 26th as well. Such schemes were recorded by Bédos de Celles (B1766–78) at the end of the great period but can be taken as typical; thus, for instance, his specification of 1766 (for the case design, see fig.35) is almost indistinguishable from that of the 1674 organ at Le Petit Andely. Important points about the French chorus (which also, through his brother Johann Andreas in Alsace, influenced Gottfried Silbermann in Saxony) are that the Cymbale broke back more often than the Fourniture but generally duplicated the Fourniture in the treble; no rank is higher than 2′ at *c‴* (i.e. 28 mm long); and doubled ranks did not occur in either Mixture. The *plein jeu* was rarely brilliant, never shrill; it was rather a further 'colour' of the organ.

Pitch, at least from about 1680, was about a semitone below *a′* = 440. Pipe metal was hammered, including the lead pipes for flute stops. The keyboards were always pivoted at the end, and the mechanism suspended from the chests above, trackers passing straight from the *Grand orgue* keyboard to the pallet box ranged vertically above

TABLE 14

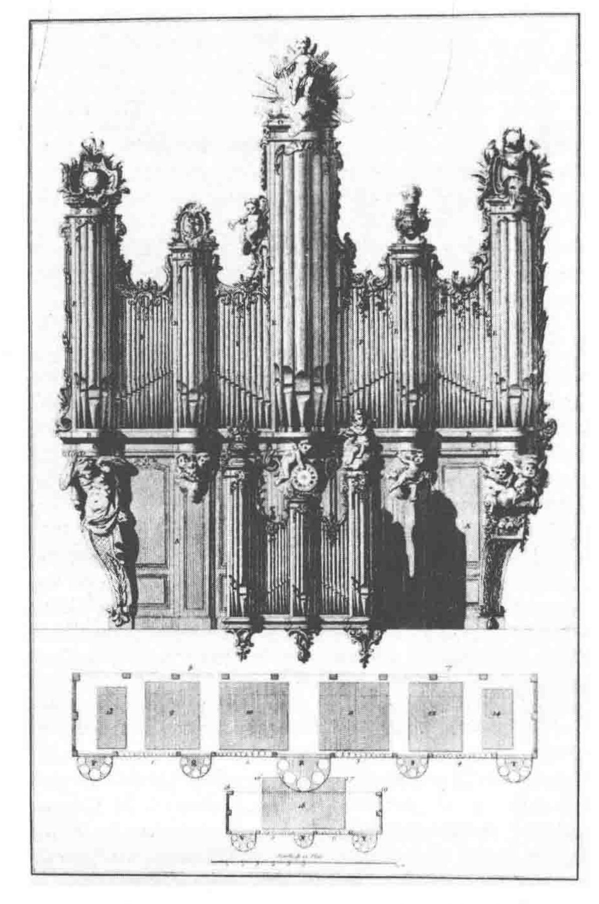
St Louis-des-Invalides, Paris
Alexandre Thierry, 1679–87

Grand orgue		*Positif*	
CD–c‴		CD–c‴	
Montre	16	Montre	8
Bourdon	16	Bourdon	8
Montre	8	Prestant	4
Bourdon	8	Flûte	4
Prestant	4	Nasard	2⅔
Flûte	4	Doublette	2
Gross Tierce	3⅕	Tierce	1⅗
Nasard	2⅔	Larigot	1⅓
Doublette	2	Fourniture	III
Quarte de Nasard	2	Cymbale	II
Tierce	1⅗	Cromorne	8
Fourniture	V	Voix humaine	8
Cymbale	IV		
Cornet	V	*Pédale*	
Trompette	8	A′–f (20 notes)	
Clairon	4	Flûte	8
Voix humaine	8	Trompette	8
Echo		*Récit*	
c–c‴		c′–c‴	
Bourdon	8	Cornet	V
Flûte	4	Trompette	8
Nasard	2⅔		
Quarte	2	Tremulants	
Tierce	1⅗	Coupler: *Positif* to	
Cymbale	II	*Grand orgue*	
Cromorne	8		

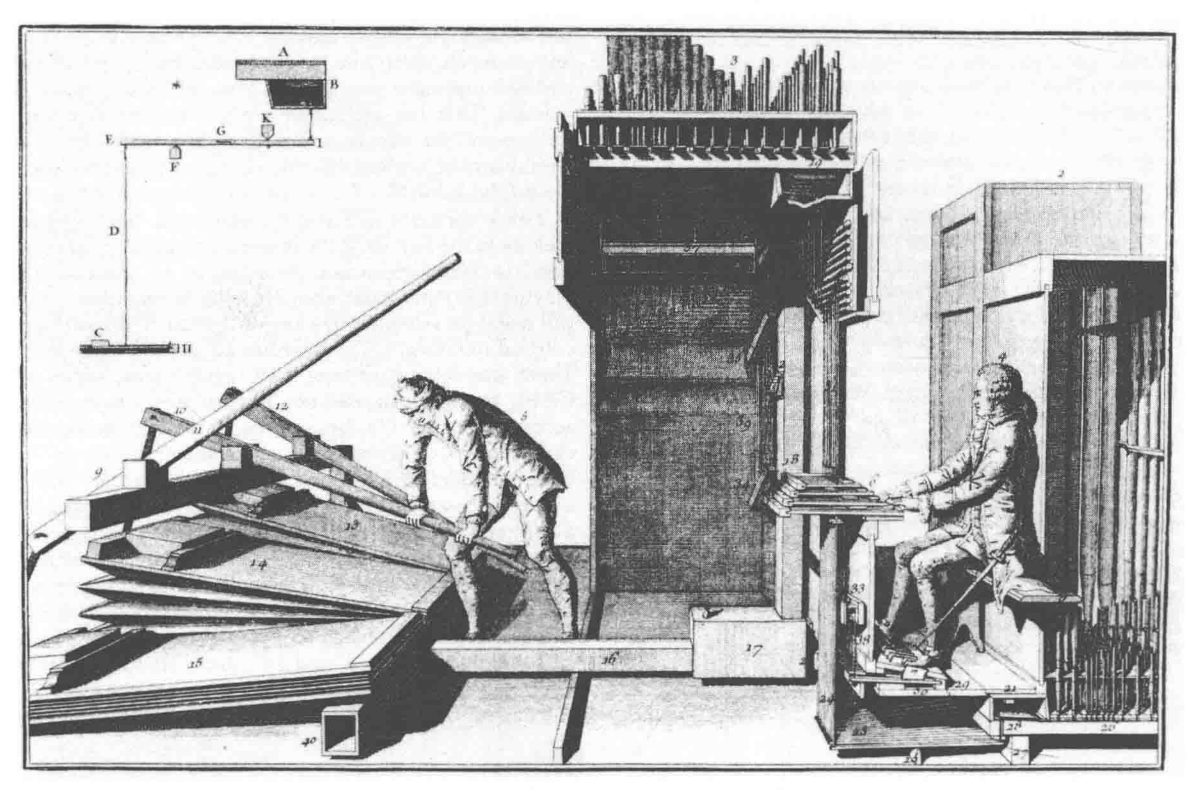
the keys (fig.36). The *Positif* stickers connect with a lever which raises the pallet placed above the channel-end. Such systems were simple and logical, providing the player with a very sensitive action facilitating, among other things, the playing of ornaments.

To obtain the GRAND JEU, the organist drew a varying combination of reeds, Cornet, Principals 8′ and 4′ and Tierces, but no mixtures. The reeds supplied volume and brilliance; the Cornet boosted the thin reed trebles; the Tierces encouraged the overtone level that gave prominence; and the Principal 4′ strengthened the basic tone. Fugues were often played on such registrations, and other fugal colours, such as Tierce combinations with Tremulant, give an impression quite different from that of Italian or German fugues of the period 1650–1750. On larger organs, a pair of Trompettes on the *Grand orgue* after about 1750 gave a timbre peculiar to the bass depth and brilliance of French reeds. Late in the period a Trompette was also put on the *Positif*, and following the organ at Notre Dame, Paris (Thierry, 1730–33), *Bombarde* manuals were also very occasionally included – keyboards coupled to the *Grand orgue* and playing the large-scaled Bombarde 16′, perhaps with other large reeds; at Notre Dame the Bombarde division could also be played from the Pedal. The chief purpose of this was to give the ranks their own chest and wind supply, which was often experimentally high by the end of the classical period. Similarly, it was the treble 'boosting' supplied by the Cornet that led eventually to higher pressures and double-length harmonic resonators during the next century. The reed basses, however, remained the chief glory, encouraging composers to write special *basse de trompette* music from about 1650 onwards. *De grosse taille* ('of large scale') is a phrase often applied in 17th-century contracts to the Trompette.

Even in *plein jeu* registrations (in which the mixtures replaced the reeds for brilliance), the French organ was not overdrawn. Only a handful of stops was involved in any of the characteristic French registrations, and all the codified ingenuity was geared towards clearly marked colours. Thus the texture of a piece marked *Tierce en taille*, one of the most beautiful effects known to organists, would consist of the following elements: (i) left hand on *Positif*, Bourdon 8′ + Prestant 4′ + Doublette 2′ + Nasard + Tierce (perhaps + Larigot), playing a free, singing melody in the middle of the texture, gamba-like; (ii) right hand on *Grand orgue*, Bourdons 16′ + 8′ + 4′ (*jeux doux*), playing accompaniment above or around the melody; and (iii) pedal playing the bass line on a Flûte 8′ (or perhaps coupled to *Grand orgue* Bourdon 16′ in later examples). There was some variety in such registrations: Bédos de Celles, for instance, did not like 16′ manual stops in accompaniments. On the other hand, the Tierces were so characteristic of French organs that many combinations were possible: a right-hand Cornet line on the *Grand orgue*, for instance, could be accompanied in dialogue by a left hand *Jeu de tierce* registration on the *Positif*. From D'Anglebert (1689) onwards, Quatuors and Trios had been played using three different colours including pedal: indeed, the chief purpose of the pedal was 'pour pouvoir jouer les trios' (according to Joyeuse's contract at Auch in 1688) and to play 8′ and 16′ cantus firmus in pieces built on a plainchant. The biggest drain on wind supply and narrow channels must have been the slower, sustained



35. Design for a grand organ case: engraving from 'L'art du facteur d'orgues' (1766–78) by Bédos de Celles



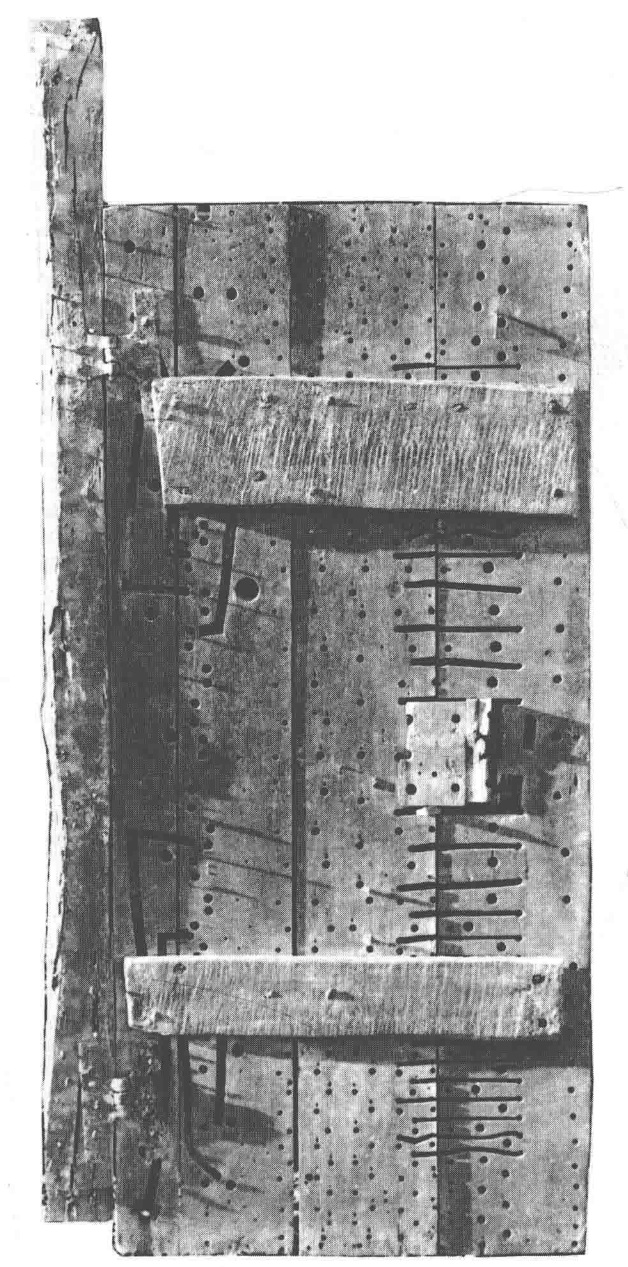
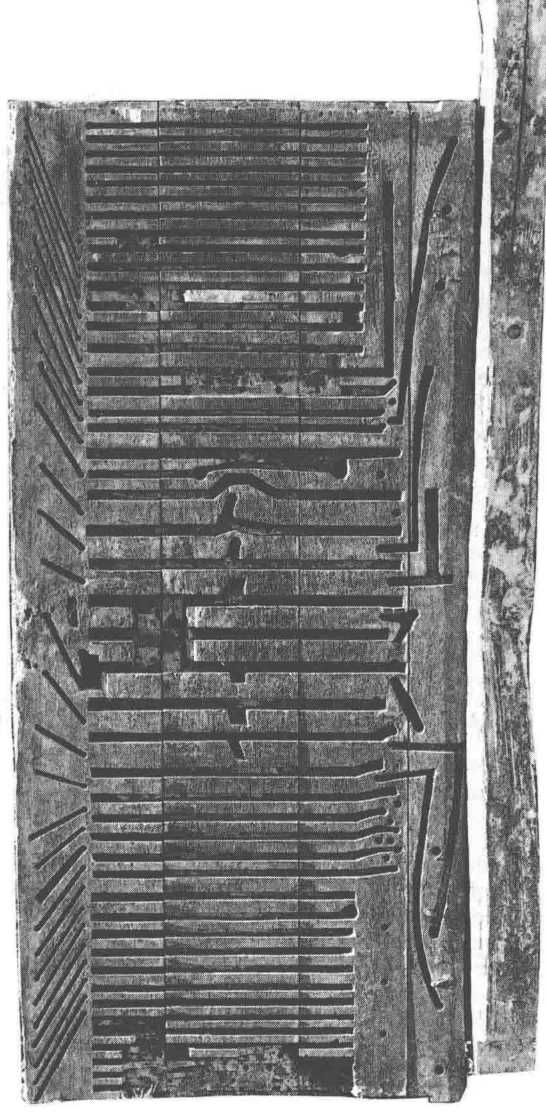
36. Cross-section through an 18th-century French organ, showing among other details the multifold bellows, narrow wind-trunk, trackers and rollerboard, pallets for the Grand orgue side-chest for pedals, and Positif (behind the player): engraving from 'L'art du facteur d'orgues' (1766–78) by Bédos de Celles

music written for *concert de flûtes* and *fonds d'orgue* registrations, comprising all available Montres, Prestants, open Flûtes and Bourdons. Such sounds became fashionable around the middle of the 18th century; but whatever the combination, no organist in the provinces need have been in doubt about how the Parisian composers expected their pieces to sound.

The splendid French organ at the eve of the Revolution (1789) may well have been far superior to the music written for it, as were the Dutch organ of 1700 and the English organ of 1850; but it is the very decadence of the music that best draws out the extravagant contrasts, brilliant reeds, round flutes, echoes, big choruses and immense colour potential available on such extant late instruments as those at St Maximin-en-Var (J.-E. Isnard, 1773) and Poitiers Cathedral (F.-H. Clicquot, 1787–90). The French organ received a serious setback when the Revolution disrupted life in the cities. It was ripe for development at the very moment when Clicquot's sons became soldiers; but not until Cavaillé-Coll's organ for St Denis, completed in 1841, did Poitiers have a worthy successor.

8. THE ENGLISH ORGAN. Evidence for the late medieval organ in the British Isles is extremely sketchy, partly because of the protracted period of religious and political instability that lasted from the Dissolution of the Monasteries in 1536 until the Glorious Revolution of 1688, which wiped out a huge mass of material, and partly because the small instruments that were characteristic of this period warranted little in the way of extravagant description or fame. There is some evidence of connections with the European mainland. Despite Henry VIII's leanings towards Italian culture, those connections (at least in organ building) seem to exist in greatest number and importance with Flanders. Most significant were the appearances in England of Flemish organ builders such as Michiel Langhedul at Salisbury Cathedral in 1530 and Jasper Blancart in London (1566–82), both from families of craftsmen well known on the Continent.

The nature of the organs associated with the great age of Tudor church music remained completely obscure until the late 20th century, when a number of significant finds were made. There may have been isolated large organs in Britain, such as the one built by Laurence Playssher for Exeter Cathedral in 1513 (for which bills survive), but all the remaining evidence suggests that the standard instrument used to accompany the choral liturgy was small. This evidence consists of large numbers of inventory records made after the Dissolution, a couple of early contracts, and, since 1995, two fragmentary remains of early 16th-century instruments preserved by chance. The most important of these, the 'Wetheringsett fragment' (an entire organ soundboard of about 1520 preserved as a door in a farm building in Suffolk fig.37), indicates the type of instrument typical of the school (Table 15), its size and scope directly confirmed by contemporary contracts at All Hallows, Barking-by-the-Tower, London (Antony Duddyngton, 1519–20), and Holy Trinity, Coventry (John Howe and John Clynmowe, 1526). In large buildings instruments of this type seem usually to have been multiplied in number, but not in size. At Durham Cathedral before the Dissolution, according to one

37. Two views of the Wetheringsett fragment found used as a door at Meadow Farm, Wetheringsett: (left) upper face of the soundboard (back of the door, showing the added 17th-century hinges, door brace, loose square section for the door lock and (centre right) keyhole); (right) underside of the soundboard

account, there were five organs in various parts of the building, of which at least one had pipes of wood, each with its specific role in the liturgy and in the cycle of the church year. The largest instruments of this period may have been based on a full-compass Diapason of 10′ pitch, though the Principal 5′ was still regarded as the unison. The use of a long chromatic keyboard is characteristic of English instruments; the provision of the low accidentals, at a time when mean-tone tuning was probably universal, may be explained by the English love of ornamentation in keyboard music.

From around 1570 there is widespread evidence from all parts of the British Isles that, as a result of Puritan opposition, organs were removed and destroyed. With the revival of a High Church party in the early 17th century, led by William Laud, organs were returned to the cathedrals and collegiate churches, but not, it seems, to the parishes. The great majority of these new instruments, like the Worcester Cathedral organ of 1613 (Table 16), were built by members of the DALLAM family. Many were 'double organs', i.e. of two manuals, for which the genre of organ music that became known as 'double VOLUNTARY' was developed.

The Civil War of 1642 onwards brought an end to this activity, and organs across the land were again dismantled. The Catholic Dallam family sought refuge in Brittany,

TABLE 15

Wetheringsett fragment
Anon., *c*1520 (dated within 5 years either way by tree-ring dating tests)

Speculative reconstruction of original stop-list from evidence of grid, table, slides and pipe holes

One manual of 46 notes, *C–a″*, fully chromatic

Diapason (?open wood)	10 (lowest 17 notes only)
Principal	5
Principal	5
(Unison, ?open wood)	5
Octave	2½
Octave	2½
Superoctave	1¼
Superoctave	1¼

Compass of pipes: *F–d‴* (i.e. transposing up a 4th)

The pitch standard of five feet, referring to the dead cut length of the pipe body, gives an F (played by keyboard C) roughly equivalent to G or G♯ at modern pitch of *a′* = 440

TABLE 16

Worcester Cathedral
Thomas Dallam 1613, for the organist Thomas Tomkins, situated on the choir screen

Great Organ		*Chaire organ*	
Open Diapason	10	Diapason (stopped wood)	10
Open Diapason	10	Principal	5
Principal	5	Flute (wood)	5
Principal	5	Small Principal or Fifteenth	2½
Recorder (stopped)	5	Two and Twentieth	1¼
Twelfth	3⅓		
Small Principal or Fifteenth	2½		
Small Principal or Fifteenth	2½		

Key-compass: *C–d‴*, fully chromatic, 51 notes

Compass of pipes: *F–g‴* (i.e. transposing up a 4th)

where they continued to ply their trade, adapting completely to the local style. After the Restoration in 1660, organs were restored or newly built at first on exactly the same pattern as before the war. However, new foreign influences soon promoted the arrival of a new style, and a further wave of rebuilding and new commissions. The post-Restoration English organ was partly the result of rivalry between two organ-building factions. In the aftermath of the Fire of London in 1666 the city was opened to all craftsmen in order to speed the rebuilding. One who came was Bernard Smith (*c*1630–1708), an organ builder then resident in the Netherlands (although probably German in origin), later to become known in affectionate recognition as 'Father' Smith. He established himself and gained a royal connection in the early 1670s, much to the chagrin of his rivals, the remaining members of the Dallam family and their in-laws the Harrises. Smith and Renatus Harris (*c*1652–1724) made a public exhibition of their rivalry in 1683–8, both building new organs for the Temple Church in London, a contest that became known as the 'Battle of the Organs'. Smith's instrument (Table 17) was judged the better; Harris's organ was removed.

Smith went on to build the organ for Wren's new St Paul's Cathedral, completed in 1697. This also had three manuals, the Great organ descending to low *C′*, 16′ pitch. Pull-down pedals to the Great organ were added in 1720. The split keys, used by Smith at the Temple and at Durham Cathedral (1686), allowed for some remoter keys to be used without any compromise to the meantone tuning.

Despite Smith's success, Harris was ultimately just as busy. His own instruments (e.g. that for St Bride's, Fleet Street; Table 18) showed some influence from the Dallam-Harris clan's period of exile in France, and, given the continental background of these rival builders, the question might be asked as to why they did not introduce the conventional European C-compass or even independent Pedal organs. In fact Smith was working in the Netherlands at a time when the independent Pedal was only just becoming a feature of the largest new organs, and the depth of Harris's debt to France was surely tempered by the fact that he was only eight years old when the family returned to England in 1660.

In the end it was the Harris style that succeeded into the 18th century, through the work of Renatus's son John Harris and associated craftsmen such as Richard Bridge and John Byfield (i) and (ii). The standard three-manual instrument of the period, with its long-compass Great organ and (now) Choir organ (disposed as a Chair in some cathedral and collegiate instruments, but otherwise normally placed behind the Great), was enlivened by the conversion of the old short-compass Echo (where the pipes were entombed in a box of some kind) into an expressive Swell organ by fitting a movable front (operated by a pedal at the console) on to the box enclosing the pipes. The first example of this was introduced by the two Abraham Jordans, father and son, in their instrument at

TABLE 17

Temple Church, London
Bernard Smith, 1683

Great Organ	
Prestand	12 (8′ at C)
Holflute (wood and metal)	12 (8)
Principall	6 (4)
Gedackt (wood)	6 (4)
Quinta	4 (2⅔)
Super octavo	3 (2)
Sesquialtera	III
Mixture	III–IV
Trumpet	12 (8)
Cornet (from *c*♯′)	IV
Chaire organ (disposed inside the main case, on the same soundboard as the Great Organ)	
Gedackt (wood)	12 (8)
Sadt [Gemshorn]	6 (4)
Holflute (metal)	6 (4)
Spitts Flute	3 (2)
Violl & Violin [Krummhorn]	12 (8)
Voice Humaine	12 (8)
Ecchos (probably disposed below the Great organ, behind the music desk)	
Gedackt (wood, from *c′*)	12 (8)
Gedackt (wood, from C)	6 (4)
Flute (metal, from *c′*)	6 (4)
Super octavo (from C)	3 (2)
Sesquialtera (?*F′–b′*)	III
Cornett (?*c′–c‴*)	III
Trumpet (from *c′*)	12 (8)

Key compass: *F′G′A′–c‴*, with split keys in the upper three octaves for D♯/E♭ and G♯/A♭; 61 notes in all

Compass of pipes: same as keys (i.e. non-transposing)

TABLE 18

St Bride's Church, Fleet Street, London
Renatus Harris, 1696

Great organ	
Open Diapason	(8)
Stop'd Diapason (wood bass)	(8)
Principall	(4)
Great Twelfth	(2⅔)
Fifeenth	(2)
Cart [Quarte de nazard]	(2)
Tierce	(1⅗)
Sesquialter	V
Furniture	III
Trumpet	(8)
Chaire organ	
Stop'd Diapason (wood bass)	(8)
Principal	(4)
Flute	(4)
Stop'd Twelfth [Nazard]	(2⅔)
Fifteenth	(2)
Tierce	(1⅗)
Vox humane	(8)
Echo (position uncertain)	
Open Diapason	(8)
Stop'd Diapason	(8)
Principall or flute	(4)
Great Twelfth	(2⅔)
Cart or Fifteenth	(2)
Tierce	(1⅗)
Trumpet	(8)

Key compass: *G'A'CD–c'''* (50 notes) for the Great and Chaire, *c'–c'''* (25 notes) for the Echo

Compass of pipes: same as keys (i.e. not transposing)

St Magnus the Martyr, London Bridge, in 1712 (and may have been derived by them from earlier Iberian examples). Even the most fully developed large instruments followed this established pattern, simply supplying stops of familiar name and type in more extravagant numbers. In the instruments of Bridge (Table 19 and fig.38) and the Byfields a superficial resemblance to the French type remains, right down to the occasional use of wide principal scales for the mutation stops. However, it is clear that English national taste exercised itself vigorously in excluding any blatant sounds or gross pitches, the emphasis being rather on sweetness, delicacy, and the accuracy of the imitative registers (Trumpet, Hautboy, French Horn, Bassoon, Vox humana and Flute). The extempore players of the 18th century, performing voluntaries perhaps slightly more complex than those which survive in printed form for the large semi-amateur market, would have exploited these imitative effects to the full. The Swell divisions, originally fitted with sliding sash fronts, but by 1800 with 'Venetian' shutters after the pattern of the familiar window blind, enhanced the expressivity of these effects.

Registration followed conventional patterns. Solo stops (the reeds, Cornet and Flute) might be heard on their own. Otherwise the combinations referred to most frequently are 'Diapasons' (Open Diapason plus Stopped Diapason, used for slow introductory movements) and 'Full Organ' (all Great organ stops except the Cornet). The latter combination would be given an agreeable nasal twang by the Trumpets and Clarions, and by the provision of third-sounding Tierce ranks in the mixtures in addition to the usual unisons and Quints. During the 18th century organs such as this became universal in cathedrals, collegiate churches, and the parish churches of wealthier towns. In the cathedrals and colleges they accompanied the choir; in the parish churches they accompanied the congregation in singing metrical versions of the psalms and were used for extempore voluntaries before, during and after the service.

The market for new organs in the 18th century was vigorous and competitive, encouraging indigenous and immigrant craftsmen, including the Swiss-born John Snetzler (1710–85), who settled in London around 1740 and adapted completely to the local style. Considerable demand was also developing for small instruments for secular use. There had been a tradition of chamber organs in England since early times (*see* CHAMBER ORGAN and POSITIVE), and several examples of small organs, often with pipes entirely of wood, survive from the second half of the 17th century. There was a considerable revival of interest in the second half of the 18th century contemporary with (and perhaps because of) the great popularity of Handel, who seems regularly to have used small or

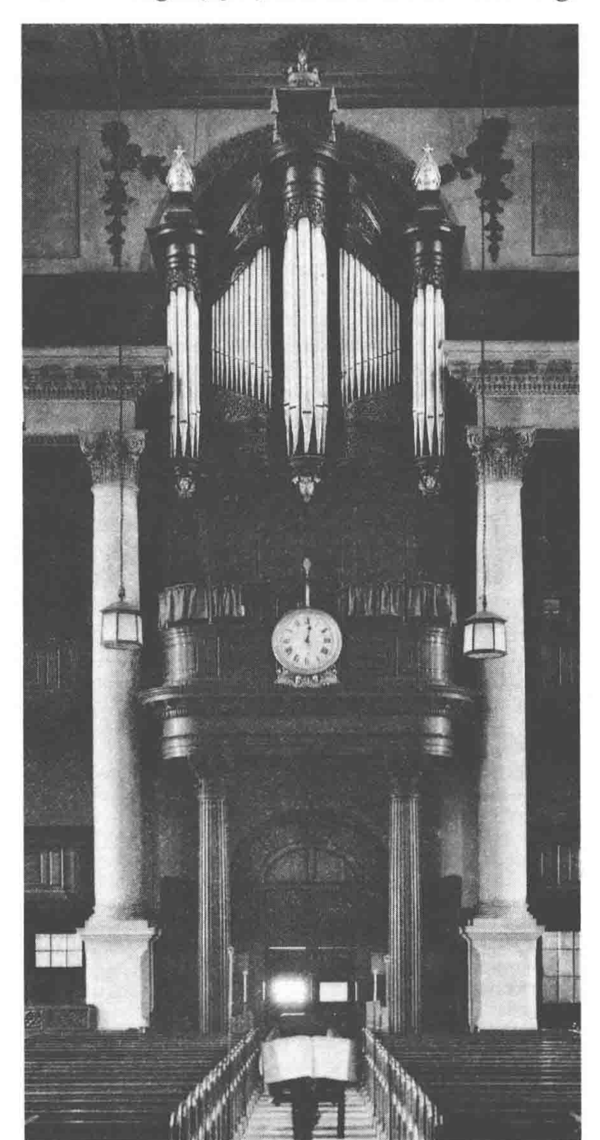
TABLE 19

Christ Church, Spitalfields, London
Richard Bridge, 1735

Great Organ	
Open Diapason	(8)
Open Diapason	(8)
Stop'd Diapason	(8)
Principal	(4)
Principal	(4)
Twelfth	(2⅔)
Fifteenth	(2)
Tierce	(1⅗)
Larigot	(1⅓)
Sesquialtera	V
Furniture	III
Trumpet	(8)
Trumpet	(8)
Bassoon	(8)
Clarion	(4)
Cornet (?from *c'*)	V
Choir organ (disposed inside the main case, behind the Great organ)	
Stop'd Diapason	(8)
Flute (from C)	(8)
Principal	(4)
Flute	(4)
Fifteenth	(2)
Mixture	III
Cremona	(8)
Vox humane	(8)
French Horn (from *d*)	(8)
Swell organ (trebles only from *g*, positioned above the Choir organ)	
Open Diapason	(8)
Stop'd Diapason	(8)
Principal	(4)
German Flute	(4)
Cornet	III
Trumpet	(8)
Hautboy	(8)
Clarion	(4)

Key compass: *G'–d'''* (56 notes)

Drum pedal (pedal operating four pipes at once, tuned slightly apart from each other, to give a 'beating' effect)



38. *Organ by Richard Bridge, 1735, in Christ Church, Spitalfields, London*

TABLE 20

Salisbury Cathedral
Samuel Green, 1792; situated on the choir screen

Great organ	
Open Diapason	(8)
Open Diapason	(8)
Principal	(4)
Twelfth	($2\frac{2}{3}$)
Fifteenth	(2)
Sesquialtera	III
Furniture	II
Trumpet (divided treble and bass)	(8)
Cornet (from *c'*)	IV
Choir organ (Chair organ)	
Stopped Diapason	(8)
Dulciana (from *g*)	(8)
Principal	(4)
Flute	(4)
Fifteenth	(2)
Bassoon	(8)
Swell organ (treble only, from *f*)	
Open Diapason	(8)
Stopped Diapason	(8)
Dulciana	(8)
Principal	(4)
Cornet	III
Trumpet	(8)
Hautboy	(8)

Key compass: *F'G'–e'''* (59 notes)

Pull-down pedals to the Great organ, *F'G'–c*) (19 notes)

even portable organs when playing continuo and for the performance of organ concertos as interludes to larger works.

Later 18th-century builders, notably members of the England family and Samuel Green, continued to refine the basic recipe, adding only the Dulciana (a delicate string-toned stop first used in Britain by Snetzler) to the range of available voices, and never exceeding the size of instrument established by their immediate forebears. The only expansion in range came in the occasional provision of pull-down pedals to the Great organ, in larger and later examples operating a single rank of unison Pedal pipes also.

The national taste for subtlety and delicacy meant that English organs gradually became softer and prettier in sound as the century progressed. The importance of the art of voicing had been demonstrated by the rivalry of Smith and Harris. The Englands and Samuel Green became obsessed with tonal beauty. When Green built a new organ for Salisbury Cathedral in 1792 (Table 20), the building was closed to visitors for two weeks so that he could attend to the tuning and voicing in near silence. Green also provided an organ for the Handel Commemoration festival of 1784, an enormous event held at the west end of Westminster Abbey. Hoping to address such new demands, Green's successors attempted to build much larger organs in the years immediately following 1800, but still adhered to the insular recipe of the English classical organ type, until at last abandoning it in the 1840s in favour of the 'German system' of uniform C-compass keyboards and independent pedal organ.

9. The Baroque organ in the Iberian Peninsula and Latin America. The organ of the Iberian peninsula has many special characteristics. Yet Baroque organs of Spain and Portugal differ in detail from area to area, and while the visual parts of such instruments were indigenous and individual, their musical characteristics are founded in common European traditions. In 1500 Spanish organs stood at much the same point as those of northern France, the Netherlands and northern Germany, having separable stops of varying colours and pitches, though being more likely to have but a single keyboard. The influences were Flemish rather than Italian – a Pedro Flamench ('Peter the Fleming') was at work in Barcelona in 1540 – and even the term 'Fleutes' for Principals (a later term was Flautado) was Flemish. Principals and Mixtures (Mixtura, Forniment, Simbalet) were the stop-changes or *mutaciones* available on the new big organs of 1550, as they had been earlier in the north, although positives were already showing an array of slider-stops, including regals, reeds and wooden flues. Evidently Flemish builders brought Chimney Flutes and Quintadenas with them, and by the

1550s new large organs of splendid proportions could be expected to have large-scaled reed stops. Often these reeds had colourful names: Trompetas naturals a la tudesca ('German or Dutch trumpet stops with natural-length resonators'), Clarins de mar ('trumpets of the sea', as used for naval signals) or Clarins de galera, molt sonoroses ('gallery trumpets, very sonorous') at Lérida in 1554. Although none of these was horizontal, the terms are evocative and probably played their part in the later evolution of the remarkable Iberian reed stops.

Just as Flemish singers were called to Felipe II's court chapel in Madrid, so Flemish organ builders were commissioned (notably members of the Brebos family), putting into practice their up-to-date ideas at El Escorial. The Brebos organ had a large *Hoofdwerk* of two chests and big flue and reed choruses, as well as flute mutations; the pedal was similarly a large modern department. But the only other manual was a *Brustwerk* (though one of 12 stops), and indeed Chair organs were never to become important in Spanish organ building, although the *Cadireta* (both interior and exterior) was later to become a common secondary division. Barcelona seems to have been a centre for northern European builders, but registrations left at the monastery of Sant Joan de les Abadesses in 1613 show the stops to have been used in a traditional or old-fashioned way, and during the 17th century emphasis shifted south and west.

Regals may have been the first reed stops to be placed horizontally in Iberian organs (in the manner later known by the French term EN CHAMADE), but in 1659 the builder

TABLE 21

Granada Cathedral
Organ on Epistle side, case dated 1747

Organo grande (left-hand stops)		(right-hand stops)	
Flautado	16	Flautado	16
Flautado	8	Flautado	8
Flautado	8	Flautado	8
Flautado violón	8	Flautado violón	8
'Quintatön'	8	'Quintatön'	8
Octava	4	Flauta traversa	8
Lleno		Octavo	4
Nasardos	IV	Lleno	
Bombardos	16	Corneta	V
Trompeta	8	Bombardos	16
Trompeta*	8	Trompeta	8
Orlos*	8	Trompeta*	8
Viola* (regal)	8 (wood)	Orlos*	8
Clarín*	4	Oboe*	8
Clarín*	4	Regalia*	8
Clarín de atras* (facing side-aisle)	4	Clarín de atras*	8 (?16)
		Clarín*	4
Violetta* (regal)	2	Trompeta magna*	16

Cadireta (Chair organ) (left-hand stops)		(right-hand stops)	
Flautado violón	8	Flautado violón	8
Octava	4	Octava	4
Tapadillo	4	Tapadillo	4
Nasardo	$2\frac{2}{3}$	Flauta	4
Nasardo	2	Lleno	III
Nasardo	$1\frac{1}{3}$	Corneta	III
Lleno	III	Trompeta magna (full-length)	8
Trompeta recordata (short)	8	Viejos	8
		Clarín (en chamade)	8

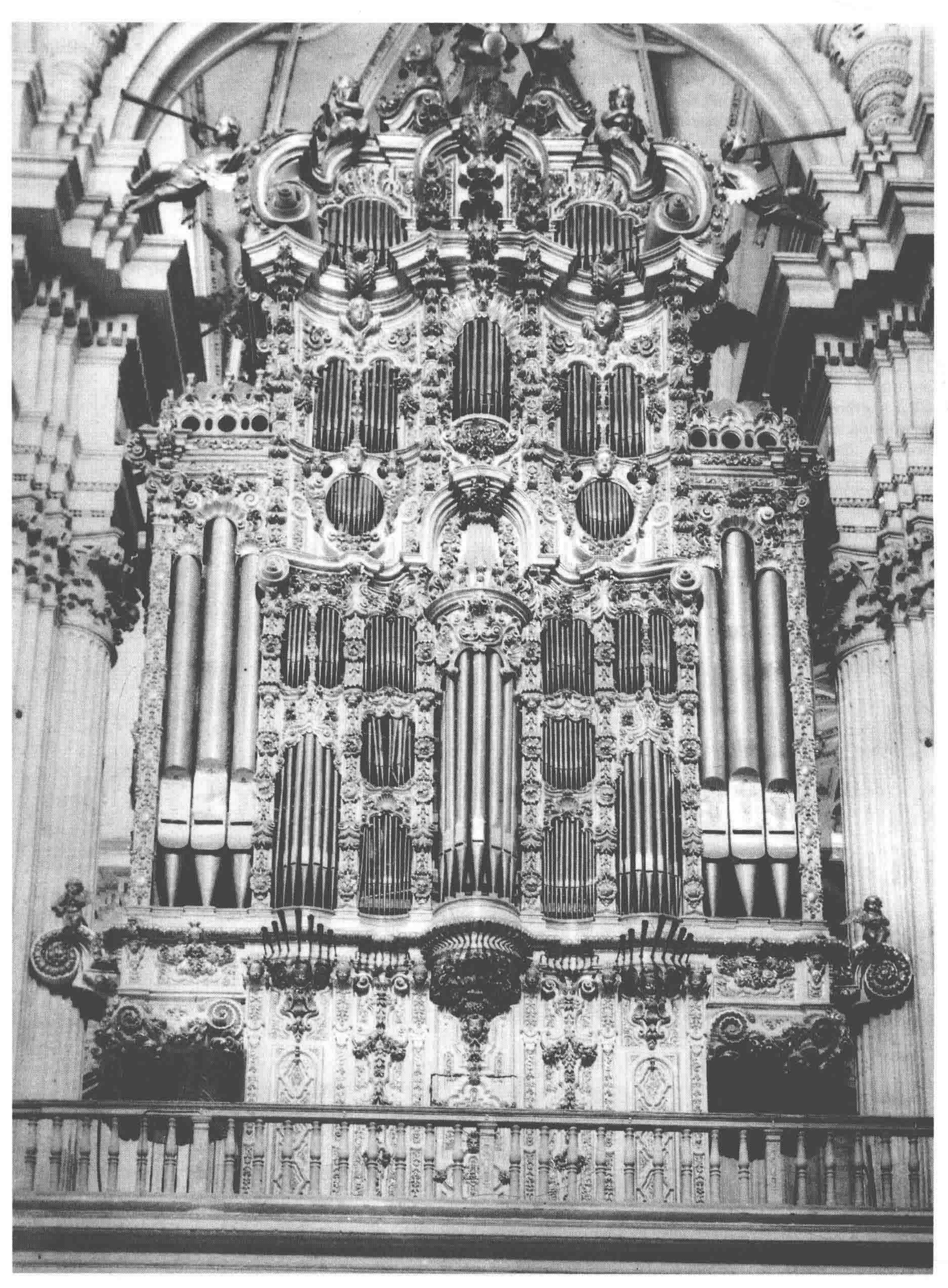
Organo expresivo (Swell)		*Pedal*	
Flautado violón	8	Flautado	16
Flauta armonica	8	Flautado	8
Trompeta	8		
Oboe	8		
Voz humana	8		

Compass: now *C′–b–c‴*, complete
Some Swell stops and stop names of doubtful origin
* = horizontal



39. Organ with reeds placed horizontally in the convent of S Maria, Arouca, Portugal

Echevarría placed a full-length Trumpet (Clarin) horizontally in the façade of his organ in Alcalá de Henares, boasting that he was the first to do this. Placing reeds horizontally in the case front was convenient for sound (penetrating in big churches where the organ did not face the congregation), accessibility (for quick tuning), reliability (gathering little dust), economy (replacing cathedral trumpeters) and appearance (fig.39). But the documents Trarely specify whether reeds were horizontal or not, just as documents before the end of the 18th century rarely specify whether or not 'Eco' chests or interior Trumpets and Cornets were placed in a box. Reeds were plentiful: in addition to the Clarins ('mounted like cannons' in the cornice), Echevarría's organ contained Trompetas reales ('of which there can be three kinds'), Dulzainas, Orlos (resembling 'the guitar and harpsichord' (*zitara y clavicordio*)), Trompeta mayor ('a stop found in few other organs'), Bajoncillos ('also newly invented'), Vozhumanas and *Angeles o Serafines* (angel statues blowing trumpets). By 1750 a large organ would have a huge battery of reeds, vertical and horizontal, many kinds of chorus, large Swell



40. Rear façade of the Epistle organ of Granada Cathedral, 1745–7, with tiers of dummy pipes or flats, and a single rank of reeds en chamade (8′ treble, 4′ bass); note the low cut-up of the mouths of the large pipes to right and left

departments and even a pedal rank or two. The well-known organ of Granada (fig.40) can be taken as an example; its stop-list is given in Table 21. No large Spanish organ can be called fully 'typical'. As in Italy during the next century, the larger the organ, the greater the variety of solo stops; the large organ of Toledo (1796), however, shows no advance on the concept of smaller organs built nearly a century earlier.

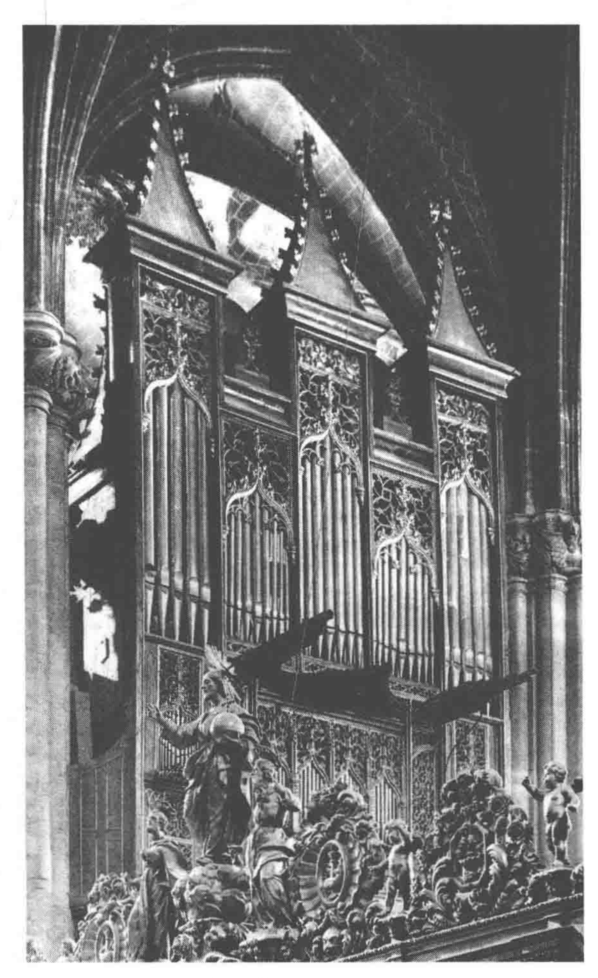
A few registration guides for Spanish Baroque organs have been found. One, for an instrument made at Segovia Cathedral about 1770, suggests the few staple requirements organists made of these extravagant creations. They comprise French-style 'dialogues' (two-part pieces with mutation stops or reeds in each hand), regal solos (e.g. Dulzaina in either hand), half-stops for each hand on the same manual, echo effects and manual contrasts for two- or three-part music, flutes contrasted with reeds (perhaps for use in homophonic music), inner vertical reeds with outer horizontal trumpets, cornets and reeds 8′, 4′ or 8′, 2′ combined. Because organs of this period contained many halved stops (*medio registro*), the right hand could produce a line lower than that of the left hand, or one very much higher, and this feature characterizes much of the music of the time. The Echo box is also mentioned, not for swelling but to mute the effect of certain registrations. Pedals are ignored.

Over the whole period, the bellows of the Iberian organ were usually multifold and operated by hand. Wind pressure was low (*c*50–60 mm), though up to 90 mm on larger instruments. The chests were always slider-chests, usually divided into bass and treble, either between *B* and C (usual in the south) or C and C♯ (usual in the north). As in French organs, the pallets are directly above the keys (suspended action). The chest layout is often very complicated, each group of stops set on channelled-off subsidiary chests, terraced at different heights, easy to tune and reach, and often some way removed from the pallet. Neither bellows nor trunks and channels allow the families of stops to be combined, but the rigidity of registration enabled builders to include helpful accessories like knee-operated 'shifting movements' to aid stop-changes. Secondary divisions are often placed on the floor of the main case (*Cadireta interior*) and operated by a sticker action; if there is a Chair organ (*Cadireta exterior*), the pallets are below and directly in line with the lower keyboard, and the channels pass below the closely placed organist's seat. A middle manual may operate pallets of a pair of chests placed in the rear case-front of the organ, facing the side aisle. There are no manual couplers. Pedal keys are short, sometimes mushroom-shaped, usually encompassing eight or ten notes, as in Italian organs; there may be a rank of wooden pipes but most pedals are pulldowns, presumably for organ points and cadences. The hinged lid of the Echo box – known to contain a Cornet by about 1675 but including reeds by about 1710 – was raised by a pulley and rope operated by a pedal-lever that needed to be kept down if the lid was to remain open.

The scaling of the Principal is often narrow, the tone restrained; flutes are gentle, and Cornets expansive but thinner than the French. The quiet flutes contrast greatly with the reeds, which were designed to fill the spaces of a large Spanish church outside the immediate intimacy of the quire or *coro* over which the organ looms. Reeds and regals, and divided stops in general, encouraged solo music, and Correa de Arauxo's *Libro de tientos y discursos* (1626) shows a matured technique of left- or right-hand solos, a technique similar in effect to other 17th-century dialogue music such as the English double voluntary and certain French pieces (*Basse de trompette*). The reeds also played chords, not only for the celebrated *batallas* (battle-pieces) but also for imposing intradas on feast days.

At Zaragoza (extant case dated 1443; fig.41) organs were already placed between the pillars of the quire of the church. It was probably this position that encouraged large flat façades bearing little resemblance to the inner construction of the organ itself, indeed often giving it the appearance of having more chest levels than it has. The amount of empty space within a Spanish organ absorbs strong partials in the *plenum* and helps to produce the mild quality of the flue choruses.

No account of the Iberian type of organ would be complete without some mention of its manifestations in the New World. Imported organs, at first small, are recorded in Mexico not long after the Conquest, before the midpoint of the 16th century; by the end of the 17th century there are numerous records of organs being both built and played by native Mexicans who had been taught by Spanish priests. In 1624 it was recorded that 'no Augustinian church lacked an organ', and that promising



41. Organ in the cathedral of La Seo, Zaragoza, 1443; the reeds en chamade were added possibly in the 18th century

youths from each village were being sent to Mexico City at community expense to study music and organ playing. From this period to the late 19th century virtually all organs in Mexico were locally built. One notable exception is the large Epistle organ in Mexico City Cathedral, built in 1693 by Jorge de Sesma of Spain and first used in 1695. Its main manual has over 30 divided stops, with smaller *Cadereta* and *Positivo* divisions playable from the secondary manual. In 1734 José Nassarre, a Mexican who had already constructed a sizable organ in Guadalajara Cathedral, enlarged the *Cadereta*, and the following year he completed an organ of similar size on the Gospel side of the quire, which had an additional 27-note *Recitativo* enclosed in an expression box. Both organs have survived neglect and fire, and were restored in 1978 by the Flentrop firm. Many Mexican builders of the 17th century are anonymous, but in 1738 the first of several generations of Castros established a workshop in Puebla, and significant work of this family survives in the area. In 1786 Manuel Dávila was advertising that he built organs tuned in equal temperament, and in the early 19th century José Antonio Sanchez and Manuel Suárez were active in the Taxco area. Even at the end of the 19th century, Mexican-built organs were conservative in nature, generally following the 18th-century Iberian pattern of a single-manual instrument with treble and bass stops, housed in ornate casework often of considerable artistic distinction. The late 19th and early 20th centuries saw the decline of the Mexican organ-building school and increased importation of German, Italian and, to a lesser extent, American and French instruments. Many native Mexican organs were allowed to go to ruin, but since the restoration of the Mexico City Cathedral organs funds have been made available through the Patrimonio and private foundations to make possible the restoration of a number of significant instruments. Although Mexican organs became well documented and studied in the final decades of the 20th century, little is still known about those elsewhere in Latin America other than that significant numbers of older organs have been reported, especially in Peru.

10. THE 18TH-CENTURY ITALIAN ORGAN. The essentials of the Brescian classical organ were established by 1575 at the latest: large, shallow cases (somewhat altar-like in shape, open-spaced above the pipes), with one chest at the level of the case pipes (spring-chest, mortised with well-spaced channels often of equal size), and multifold bellows and low wind pressure. The compass would rise to a'' or c''', with all but case pipes of metal with a high lead content (thick-walled, principals relatively narrow in the bass, flutes wider with smaller mouths) and completely separate ranks (the upper of which break back an octave at regular intervals). The tuning would be some form of mean-tone temperament, but the general pitch level would vary from organ to organ ('come si vuole', as Antegnati remarked), as indeed it did throughout Europe. Sometimes there was an octave or so of pedal pulldowns (short keys sloping up slightly; 'pedali a leggio'), and occasionally after about 1600 with thin-walled wooden Pedal Principals. Registration was standardized, and each combination suggested to the player a certain modal style to be played at a certain moment of the Mass (e.g. 'Voce umana' for the Elevation), as set forth by Banchieri (*L'organo suonarino*, 1605) and others.

Italian builders and organists remained faithful to these ideas, modifying them gradually but leaving them recognizable even in the large organs of the 1850s. Yet it could be that historians have overemphasized the Brescian organ, for each city or region had its own version of the general plan. The Flemish builder Vincenzo Quemar had already introduced stopped pipes (Flute $2\frac{2}{3}'$), Chimney Flute (2′), conical flute ($1\frac{3}{5}'$), reeds (Tromboni 8′) and regals (Voce umana 4′) at Orvieto Cathedral by 1600, as well as a Tremulant and an aviary of toy stops. Less than a century later, another German (the Silesian Eugen Casparini) was introducing Mixtures and even Cornets in organs of the Tyrol, as well as confirming the trend towards the German-French C–c''' compass, and the Fleming Willem Hermans had a strong influence in Tuscany. But indirect Italian influences appear to have been strong elsewhere early in the 17th century, notably in Provence and Jesuit Poland (conventual churches). Second manuals remained the exception, and the one made by the Dalmatian builder PIETRO NACCHINI for S Antonio, Padua, in 1743–9 presented a character little different from that of S Maria in Aracoeli, Rome, in 1587: I Ripieno, Voce umana, two flutes, Tierce, regal; II Ripieno, Voce umana, one flute, Tierce, regal; Pedal 16′. As builders began collecting the upper Ripieno ranks on to one slider, a Mixture resulted that was not so different from a French *Fourniture cymbalisée*. A particular taste grew during the 18th century for Tierce or (as they were called) Cornetto ranks, but these had already been included in some two-manual registrations written down in Rome in 1666. Moreover, during the 18th century large, experimental organs were built on special commission, spreading new ideas from Bergamo to Sicily. Toy stops remained an important element in Italian organs. Although rivalry with the fine organs 'at Marseilles, Trent and Hamburg' may have been the motive behind the five-manual organ at S Stefano dei Cavalieri, Pisa (Azzolino Bernardino Della Ciaia, 1733–7), and elsewhere, the result was peculiarly unlike any of them. The 1730s may have seen a parting of the ways when builders throughout Europe were developing techniques beyond musical requirements; but the five-manual, three-console, 55-stop organ at Catania, Sicily (Duomo del Piano, 1755), though admired and even copied in the next century, was little more than an accumulation of several classical Italian organs, collected together, and it was decidedly atypical. The effect of Spanish rule on the Kingdom of Naples has yet to be explored from the point of view of organ building, but it seems doubtful whether Spanish influences ever went further east than the Balearics.

A characteristic and influential organ type of the later 18th century was the Venetian, brought to fruition by Nacchini and his pupil and successor Gaetano Callido. The Callido firm built hundreds of single-manual organs and many with two manuals (the pipes of the second being enclosed in an expression box from about 1785), all of excellent workmanship and summing up many of the 17th- and 18th-century trends, discarding the more extravagant elements, giving their organs a velvety, vocal tone far removed from Antegnati; indeed, in their wide-scaled Principals they influenced many a so-called *Italienisch Prinzipal* in modern German organs. The stop-list of an instrument by Callido is given in Table 22; for ease of tuning, the regal (Tromboncini) stops were placed in front, standing vertically before the Principale (as they

TABLE 22

S Maria Assunta, Candide de Comelico
Gaetano Callido, 1797–9 (opus 367)

Primo organo FFF–f‴	
Principale bassi/soprani	8′ (12′)
Ottava	4′
Quintadecima	2′
Decimanona	1⅓′
Vigesimaseconda	1′
Vigesimasesta	⅔′
Vigesimanona	½′
Trigesimaterza	⅓′
Trigesimasesta	¼′
Voce umana	8′ (soprani)
Flauto in ottava bassi/soprani	4′
Flauto in duodecima	2⅔′
Cornetta in XVII	1⅗′ (soprani)
Violetta bassi/soprani	4′

Secondo organo CC–f‴	
Principale bassi/soprani	8′
Ottava bassi/soprani	4′
Quintadecima	2′
Decimanona	1⅓′
Vigesimaseconda	1′
Voce umana	8′ (soprani)
Flauto in ottava bassi/soprani	4′
Flauto in duodecima	2⅔′
Cornetta in XVII	1⅗′ (soprani)
Violoncello bassi/soprani	8′
Tromboncini bassi/soprani	8′

Pedale
CDEFGAA♯B-b♭: 20 keys, 17 pipes, the lowest 3 keys playing the corresponding pipes of the octave above

Contrabassi	16′
Ottava di Contrabassi	8′
Ottava di Contrabassi	4′
Tromboni	8′

Accessory stops
Tamburo (drum)
Manual 'shove' coupler (II–I)
Primo organo to Pedale coupler (possibly a later addition)

did in other Italian organs of the period). Registrations provided by Callido elsewhere show orchestral imitations to have been important to organists of the period; there is no subtle play of two manuals, and in general swell shutters seem to have been used either quite open or quite closed, rather than expressively.

Research by Umberto Pineschi during the last two decades of the 20th century into the important Tuscan school and the influence of Willem Hermans thereon, together with the work of the state-sponsored restoration workshops at the Palazzo Pitti in Florence, has added to the knowledge of the Italian organ and to the preservation of its heritage.

11. THE ORGAN OF J.S. BACH. In many ways the organs of Bach's main area of activity, Thuringia, Weimar and Leipzig, showed the same kind of influences as his music: a basic German traditionalism tempered with French colour and Italian fluency. Neither the organ nor the music was as local in origin or as independent of other regional ideas as was usually the case elsewhere, even in the mid-18th century. Bach himself is known to have been well acquainted with organ music of many countries and periods, as were such contemporaries as J.G. Walther; later colleagues, however, seem in some respects to have had less wide knowledge. C.P.E. Bach's remark that his father registered stops 'in his own manner', 'astounding' other organists, might conceivably refer to either a French or a 17th-century north German approach to stop-combination, one not known to players of the younger generation, who thought that 'the art died with him'; however, one must be careful not to read too much into this remark. On the other hand, J.S. Bach is said to have complained that Gottfried Silbermann's mixtures were 'over-weak', with 'not enough sharp penetration', which might suggest that he did not appreciate that Silbermann's French *plein jeu* was different in function from a north German *organo pleno*, being one of the many colours rather than a total chorus. Moreover, the period in which Bach worked was one of a changing aesthetic for organs, when the large west-end organ became increasingly associated with congregational hymn singing, requiring big chests, large bellows capacity, many 8′ stops (including those of string tone), a powerful 16′ pedal tone for 'gravity' and a range of sound characterized more by extremes of loud and soft than by a full array of equal, piquant colours.

Apart from the qualities of his music, then, the position of Bach in organ history is important, and can serve to show some of the currents affecting the flow of German organ music. In the course of two centuries, the area between Hanover and Breslau produced great builders (the Fritzsche and Compenius families, Casparini, Silbermann, Joachim Wagner, Engler, Hildebrandt, Trost and Schulze) and some even more influential theorists (Praetorius, Werckmeister, Adlung, Agricola, Marpurg, Sorge, Knecht, Seidel and Töpfer). Its composers included many who travelled to hear and see great organ traditions elsewhere (for example Bach, who went to Lübeck to hear Buxtehude and to Hamburg to prove his ability on a Schnitger organ) or who settled down in another part of Germany and formed schools of keyboard playing around them (Froberger, Pachelbel, C.P.E. Bach). Many details of the stop-lists of J.S. Bach's organs at Arnstadt (1703–7), Mühlhausen (1707–8) and Weimar (1708–17) remain unclear, as do larger matters of registration and tonal effect; but fine restorations during the 20th century of organs by Trost and other builders contemporary with Bach, along with the increased accessibility of Thuringia and Saxony since 1989, has helped considerably in the understanding of these matters and in the dispelling of many *Orgelbewegung* misconceptions. The Arnstadt organ (Table 23) can be taken as typical, one known by the Pachelbel school as well as Bach's family. The particular kind of second manual on this instrument, the pedal department, and the range of 8′ manual colours had long been traditional in this part of Germany, and in style the Weimar court chapel organ followed much the same patterns.

Larger church organs began to allow for new attitudes towards the *plenum*. When Bach was a student in Lüneburg in 1700 or visited Lübeck in 1706 organists there would not have 'mixed the families' of organ stops by drawing more than one rank of any given pitch even on the larger organs. As Werckmeister had written in 1698, organists should not draw two stops of the same pitch, because wind-supply and tuning problems would prevent them from being fully in tune together; but by 1721, shortly after Bach's visit to Hamburg, Mattheson was suggesting an *organo pleno* of all stops except reeds – Principals, Bourdons, Salicionals, Flutes, Quintatöne, Octaves, Fifths, Mixtures, Tierce, Sesquialteras etc. The significance of any remark made by Mattheson, or its precise meaning, is often a matter of conjecture, but after the midpoint of the century Adlung and Agricola both seem to have supported the idea of mixed stops. Adlung thought that good modern bellows ought to allow an

TABLE 23

Bonifaciuskirche, Arnstadt
J.F. Wender, 1703

Hauptwerk (*Oberwerk*)	
Quintadena*	?16
Prinzipal	8
Viola da gamba	8
Gemshorn*	8
Grobgedackt	8
Quinte* (open)	$5\frac{1}{3}$
Oktave	4
Oktave	2
Mixtur	IV
Zimbel	III
Trompete	8

Brustwerk	
Stillgedackt	8
Hohlflöte** (*g-d‴*)	8
Prinzipal	4
Nachthorn	4
Quinte	$2\frac{2}{3}$
Spitzflöte	2
Sesquialtera	?II
Mixtur	IV

Pedal	
Sub-Bass	16
Violon Bass	16
Prinzipal Bass	8
Posaune	16

Compass: *CDE-d′-d‴*
Couplers: *Hauptwerk* to Pedal; (? *Brustwerk* to Pedal, *Brustwerk* to *Hauptwerk*); (? *Hauptwerk* to Pedal coupler stop later addition)
Two tuned Zimbelsterne (*Glockenaccord*, ?1703)
Tremulant (*Hauptwerk*)

* pitch length uncertain
** compass and manual uncertain

organist to draw Manual Prinzipal 8′ + Gedackt 8′ + Gemshorn 8′ + Rohrflöte 8′ with Pedal Contrabass 32′ + Posaune 32′ + Sub-Bass 16′ + Violon 16′ + Posaune 16′ + Oktave 8′ + Gedackt 8′; and composers such as Gronau drew Prinzipal 8′ + Flute 8′ + Oktave 4′ + Flute 4′ + Salicet 4′ + Trompete 8′ + Oboe 8′ to bring out the melody of an organ chorale. Thus, during Bach's lifetime, ideas about what constituted Full organ were in the process of changing, as were ideas about the number, kind and use of solo stops and combinations, as illustrated in Kauffmann's *Harmonische Seelenlust* of 1733–6.

In Lüneburg, Lübeck and Hamburg Bach would have heard organs with *Rückpositive*, but after about 1710 such divisions were rare in new instruments of his own area and further south; some cities had not known them since about 1650. The *Rückpositiv* at Mühlhausen already had a stop-list (8.8.4.4.2.2.$1\frac{1}{3}$.?II.III) quite different from the bright, colourful manual of Dutch and French organs, and, where gallery space was sufficient, builders preferred to hold such second-manual chests within the Great case, usually above the Great. The resulting *Oberwerk* was thus different in origin from that of Niehoff and Schnitger. At the same time pedals became progressively less able to provide solo colour for cantus firmus music, itself a dying genre; and organs took on a stereotyped character that varied only if the builder was sensitive to different voicing and scalings demanded by different church acoustics.

The privileged organ builder to the court of Saxony was Gottfried Silbermann, a native of Saxony who was apprenticed to his elder brother Andreas in Alsace and returned to make the friendship of such composers as Kuhnau and Bach. Silbermann's early organ in Freiberg Cathedral, Lower Saxony (1710–14; now restored), already demonstrated many of these developments (Table 24). Here was not a mass of clumsy auxiliary stops but a unique blend of Saxon and Alsatian-French elements, full of well-thought-out balance between the three manuals, and implying a mode of registration needing to be learnt carefully by the organist. Silbermann's voicing is strong, particularly of the Principals; his smaller village organs have great power and energy. Wind pressure (as in Joachim Wagner's organs) was *c*94 mm (manuals) and *c*104 mm (pedals) in later organs, about 10 mm higher than that of good large organs of about 1700.

There is little direct connection between any of Bach's organ music and such instruments as that at Freiberg; but were the Trio Sonatas, for instance, known to the organist of such a church, he may well have drawn for lively movements the combination of stops noted by the local priest as having been recommended for Silbermann's Fraureuth organ (1739–42) for *jeu de tierce en dialogue* (called *Tertien-Zug zweystimmig*): right hand Prinzipal 8′ + Rohrflöte 8′ + Oktave 4′ + Quinte $2\frac{2}{3}$′ + Prinzipal 2′ + Tierce $1\frac{3}{5}$′; left hand Gedackt 8′ + Rohrflöte 4′ + Nasard $2\frac{2}{3}$′ + Oktave 2′ + Quinte $1\frac{1}{3}$′ + Sifflöte 1′; and Pedal Sub-Bass 16′ + Posaune 16′. Given a free choice, as he may have been in the design for Hildebrandt's large organ at St Wenzel, Naumburg (1743–6; restored in the 1990s), Bach might well have chosen to combine the features of several organ types: three manuals including *Rückpositiv*, 53 stops including Cornet and solo pedal stops, and each manual designed as an entity with its own auxiliary stops (Viola, Fugara, Gamba, Unda maris, Weitpfeife, Spillflöte etc.). As in all organs frequently played by Bach, Naumburg had several string-toned stops, either narrow

TABLE 24

Freiberg Cathedral, Lower Saxony
Gottfried Silbermann, 1710–14

Hauptwerk	
Bourdon (lead)	16
Prinzipal (tin)	8
Rohrflöte (lead)	8
Viola da gamba (tin)	8
Oktave (tin)	4
Quinte (tin)	$2\frac{2}{3}$
Superoktave (tin)	2
Tierce (lead)	$1\frac{3}{5}$
Mixtur (tin)	IV
Zimbel (tin)	III
Cornet (lead) (mounted)	V
Trompete	8
Clarin	4

Oberwerk	
Quintadena (tin)	16
Prinzipal (tin)	8
Gedackt (lead)	8
Quintadena (tin)	8
Oktave (tin)	4
Spitzflöte (tin)	4
Superoktave (tin)	2
Flachflöte (tin)	
Mixtur (tin)	III
Zimbel (tin)	II
Cornet (lead) (boxed)	V
Krummhorn (tin)	8
Vox humana (tin)	8

Brustwerk	
Gedackt (lead)	8
Prinzipal (tin)	4
Rohrflöte	4
Nasat (lead)	$2\frac{2}{3}$
Oktave (tin)	2
Tierce (lead)	$1\frac{3}{5}$
Quinte (tin)	$1\frac{1}{3}$
Sifflöte	1
Mixtur	III

Pedal	
Untersatz (same slider as Oktave)	32 (stopped wood)
Prinzipal	16
Oktave (same slider as Untersatz)	16 (wood)
Sub-Bass	16 (stopped wood)
Oktave (tin)	8
Oktave (tin)	4
Mixtur (tin)	VI
Posaune (lead)	16
Trompete (lead)	8
Clarin (lead)	4

Lead = metal with high lead content (Gedackts, wooden pipes in bass)
Tremulant *fort* to three manuals together
Tremulant *doux* for Vox humana
Sperrventile to each department
Couplers: *Oberwerk* to *Hauptwerk*; *Brustwerk* to *Hauptwerk*; (original *Hauptwerk* to Pedal uncertain)
Pitch: about $\frac{7}{8}$ tone higher than *a*′ = 440
Wind pressure: *c*85 mm (manual), *c*94 mm (pedal)
Compass: *CD–c′–c″*
Zimbel ranks duplicate smaller pipes of mixtures
Cornets: 1.8.12.15.17

cylindrical or conical, and various sources, including Bach himself, suggest that they were used not only in chorale preludes, but in continuo work. Tierce ranks, alone or as constituents of the Sesquialtera-Cornet, were indispensable for solo melodic lines in an organ chorale. Manual reeds were never numerous (even at Naumburg they accounted for less than 10% of the manual stops) and were, except Vox humana and Krummhorn, for chorus purposes, although pedal reeds at 16′, 8′ or both are found even in organs of moderate size. The Mixtures at Naumburg were more in the bright German tradition than Silbermann's *pleins jeux*, and the pedal reeds (32′, 16′, 8′, 4′) had something of Silbermann's élan. A contemporary critic of one of Hildebrandt's organs in Dresden thought its tone dull and heavy, owing to increased wind pressure, higher cut-ups, and new voicing methods in general which spoilt the Praetorian 'Lieblichkeit der Harmonie'. But such factors were characteristic of the new mode of the 1730s and 1740s in general, and 'gravity' in an organ was praised by Bach and others.

In view of the cross-currents in German organ design from 1700 to 1750, it is not surprising that Bach should have left only a few registrations, and those only of a general nature. The published Schübler chorale preludes (*c*1746) make it clear whether the pedal is a 16′ quasi-continuo bass line or a 4′ cantus firmus melody line, but they do not specify colour. The manual Prinzipal 8′ and pedal Trompete 8′ registered in the autograph manuscript of the *Orgelbüchlein* prelude BWV600 are there as much to indicate that the canonic voices are to sound an octave apart as to suggest actual stops to be drawn. For a concerto or a prelude and fugue it is rarely clear on whose authority the manuals (and particularly the manual changes) have been specified in the manuscript copies. The subject is thus open to many solutions and suggestions. But on no single organ that Bach is known to have played would all his organ music have sounded at its best or been given a registration suitable to its carefully conceived style and genre.

12. Splendours of Europe, 1650–1800. Between 1725 and 1750 a large number of important organs were built: the great organs of Haarlem, Gouda, Weingarten, Herzogenburg, Naumburg, Dresden, Breslau, Potsdam, Uppsala, Catania, Pisa, Tours, Paris (Notre Dame), Granada and Braga. All these and many other organs of their type were designed both to fill their churches with big sound and to tickle the ear with delicate effects. Neither purpose was known to the 16th-century builder. The very tendency to build organs exclusively at the west end of the church pinpoints this move towards extremes of sound, for apart from the large conventual churches, and larger French parish churches, the new west-end organ was the only instrument in the building, especially in Protestant countries, where the need for a smaller auxiliary organ in the liturgy had largely disappeared and choirs, if any, occupied the west gallery. The generation of builders who produced the even bigger, later organs of the 18th century (Toledo, Saint-Maximin-la-Sainte-Baume, Hamburg Michaeliskirche, Rostock Marienkirche, Arnhem, Nijmegen, Amorbach, St Florian and Oliwa) or theorists who planned yet bigger ones (Vogt, B1719, and Bédos de Celles, B1766–78) were mostly seeking to exploit the same extremes.

Earlier, however, characteristic national developments had frequently resulted in organs which, though conceived within classical limits and not, as it were, stepping outside idiomatic, traditional usage, nonetheless had greater potential than their composers seem to have been aware of, although improvisation was widely practised, an art of which we have little concrete knowledge in this period. Thus the problem with organs of 1650 to 1750 is to know for certain what they were meant to play and how they were meant to sound, whereas the problem with organs of 1750 to 1850 is that the music for which they were built, often with great ingenuity and unsurpassed technical skill, may be difficult to admire.

Two good examples of the northern organ about 1650 are at Klosterneuburg and Alkmaar; both retain many features of their originals in spite of extensive rebuilding. Much is still unknown, however, of the detail of the originals, and it is necessary to rely on the stop-lists, given in Table 25. At Klosterneuburg neither the *Brustwerk* nor even the *Rückpositiv* competes with the main chest (*Hauptwerk* and Pedal), either in sound or in appearance. The *Hauptwerk* dominates the ensemble, in the true 16th-century tradition of central Europe; perhaps it, not the pedal, was originally meant to take the 16′ pipes in the case. The instrument should be seen not so much as a three-manual organ but as a group of three independent organs: *Hauptwerk* for postludes etc., *Rückpositiv* for interludes, solos and major accompaniments, *Brustwerk* for continuo. It is uncertain whether the organ originally had manual reeds, other than the Regal; but mutations are also few, and colours were obtained by a variety of 8′ and 4′ ranks. 8′ colour stops were becoming very popular throughout the area Vienna–Ulm–Prague–Vienna, and on paper the main chests of such organs often appear misleadingly large. 14 out of 28 stops at the Týn Church, Prague (J.H. Mundt, 1671–3), were on the *Hauptwerk*, 16.8.8.8.8.8.4.4.2⅔.2.1⅓.1.VI.IV, but four of the 8′ stops were colour changes, not chorus ranks. Salicional 8′, Viola 8′ and similar stops were characteristic of late 17th-century Habsburg Europe; Salicet 4′, Fugara 4′ and Dulciana 4′ were common by the early 18th century; and reeds, except a pedal rank or two, gradually disappeared. Theorists like the Cistercian writer Vogt (B1719) emphasized 8′ colour stops; and for such registration rules as those given by J.B. Samber (*Manuductio ad organum*, i, Salzburg, 1704), the conical Viola 8′ was useful in many varied combinations: continuo playing, Viola 8′; fantasias, Viola 8′ + Flöte 4′; fugues, Viola 8′ + Mixtur III; versets, Viola 8′ + Zimbel II.

Soon after the organ at Klosterneuburg, organ cases in the area became divided into a kind of Habsburg equivalent of the *Werkprinzip* design, with one case for the *Hauptwerk*, one for the Pedal and one for an Echo chest (Waldhausen, 1677). Such division led over the years to a rigorously applied design followed by most Austrian organs of the mid-18th century, with a half-case to one side of the west-end gallery (*Hauptwerk*), a second half-case to the other (Pedal) and a *Rückpositiv* in front, the total gallery being spacious enough to accommodate a considerable choir and orchestra for the Mass on feast days. By 1740 or so, the keyboards would be placed (in the form of a detached console) in a commanding position on the gallery floor, and the various parts of the case strewn around the west-end windows, as in the large monastery organs of Ochsenhausen, near Biberach, or Weingarten. In theory such an arrangement might have

TABLE 25

Augustinerchorherrenstift, Klosterneuburg
J. Scherer, *c*1550, J.G. Freundt, 1636–42

Hauptwerk		*Brustwerk*	
CDEFGA–c'''		Coppel	4
Prinzipal	8	Prinzipal	2
Prinzipalflöte	8 (wide)	Spitzflöte	2
Coppel	8 (wide)	Regal	8
Quintadena	8		
Oktave	4	*Pedal*	
Offenflöte	4 (wide)	Portunprinzipal	16 (case)
Dulcian (Tolkaan)	4	Sub-Bass	16
Oktavcoppel	4 (wide)	Oktave	8
Quinte	$2\frac{2}{3}$	Choralflöte (open)	8 (wide)
Superoktave	2	Superoktave	4
Mixtur	XII–XIV (4')	Mixtur	VI–VIII (4')
Zimbel	II ($\frac{1}{2}$')	Rauschwerk	III (2')
Posaune (1950)	16	Posaune	16
Posaune (1950)	8	Posaune	8
Rückpositiv			
Nachthorngedackt	8 (wide)	All metal pipes	
Prinzipal	4	Pedal and *Hauptwerk* ranks all placed on the same chest	
Spitzflöte	4		
Kleincoppel	4	Some stop names conjectural	
Oktave	2	Coupler: *Ruckspositiv* to *Hauptwerk*	
Superoktave	1		
Zimbel	II	Wind pressure 55–65mm	
Krummhorn	8		

Laurentskerk (Groote Kerk), Alkmaar
L. Eckmans, Galtus & Germer Hagerbeer, 1639–45

Hauptwerk (manual III)		*Unterwerk* (II)	
F'–d''' (short, for first 2 stops)		*C–d'''* (short)	
C–d''' (short)		Bourdon	16
Praestant	16	Praestant	8
Praestant	8	Holpijp	8
Oktave	4	Oktave	4
Grosser Scharf		Quintadena	8
Kleiner Scharf		Offenflöte	4
Terzian		Echo Holpijp	4
Trompete	8	Superoktave	2
		Tierce	$1\frac{3}{5}$ (?1685)
Rückpositiv (I)		Nasard	$1\frac{1}{3}$
C–d''' (short)		Gemshorn	$1\frac{1}{3}$
Praestant	8	Sifflöte	1
Quintadena	8	Sesquialtera	II
Oktave	4	Trompete	8
Flöte	4	Vox humana	4
Superoktave	2		
Tierce	$1\frac{3}{5}$ (?1685)	*Pedal*	
Nasard	$1\frac{1}{3}$	*F'–f'* (at present) coupled to *Hauptwerk*	
Quintanus	$1\frac{1}{3}$		
Sifflöte	I	*C–f'* (at present) for pedal stops	
Mixtur	III–IV	Prinzipal	8
Scharf	IV	Oktave	4
Sesquialtera (treble)	(?1685)	Trompete	8
Trompete	8		
		Couplers etc. unknown	
		Rebuilt 1685 (J. Duyschot), 1723–6 (F.C. Schnitger)	

encouraged idiomatic, two-chorus organ music of the north German type, but in practice it did not.

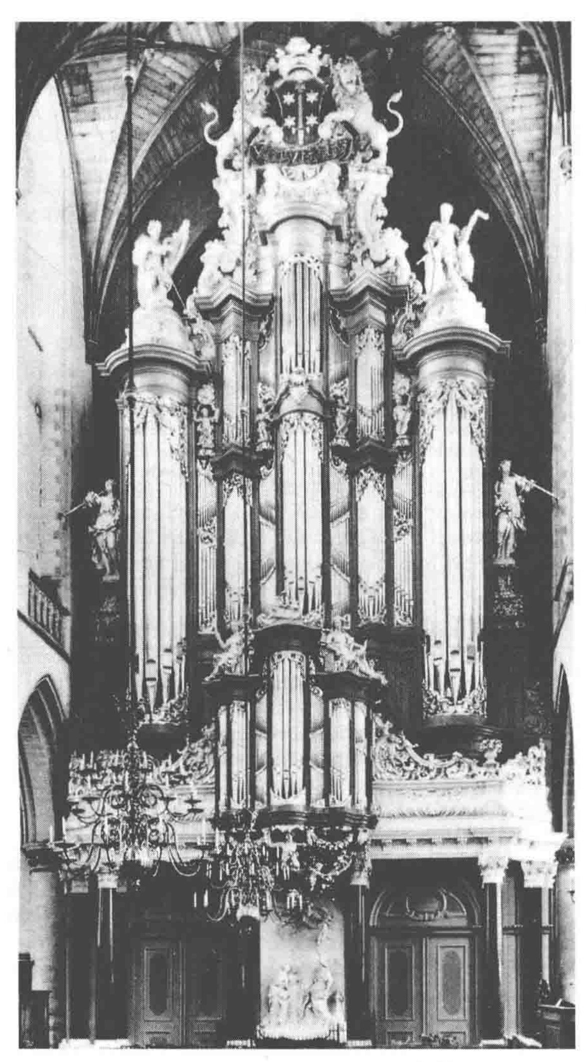
Little is known about the music played on the great series of Dutch organs built between the death of Sweelinck (1621) and the vogue for Bach's music two centuries later. But the array of mutations and flute and reed colours on the Laurentskerk instrument at Alkmaar would have made possible an immense variety in the settings of, and variations on, psalm tunes (probably improvised, as they are today). In the 1685 rebuild the *Hauptwerk* chest had to be lowered (fig.42), perhaps because by then the organist wished to be able to accompany the congregation during hymns (but such accompaniment was then still new). It is clear how the Alkmaar organ developed from the Brabant organ of Niehoff with its limited pedal, big *Hauptwerk* chorus, 8' *Rückpositiv* used for solo effects, and a quasi-*Oberwerk* (here placed below the main chest, however) with stops found on the main manual of other European organs. According to John Evelyn's diary, such Dutch organs were used 'only for show and to recreate the people before and after their Devotions, while the Burgomasters were walking and conferring about their affairs'. By association, then, the organs were secular, often indeed owned by the town council, who saw such magnificent creations as objects of rivalry. Hence the building of the organ at St Bavo, Haarlem, by Christian Müller (1735–8) is to be seen as a sign of competition with Zwolle (Grote Kerk; new organ by Schnitger's sons, 1718–21), Alkmaar (rebuilt 1723–6), Amsterdam (Oude Kerk; Christian Vater, 1724–6), Gouda (Jean Moreau, 1733–6) and elsewhere. Moreau was from the south; but Müller, Vater and F.C. Schnitger were German, and from then the Dutch organ was dominated by German builders who imported new ideas (big pedals from Hamburg, heavy voicing from Westphalia), added them to Dutch features, and produced large, powerful instruments, but unfortunately



42. Organ by Livin Eekmans and Germer Galtisz. van Hagerbeer, 1639–45 (case by Jacob van Campen), St Laurentserk, Alkmaar

often without either German brilliance or French éclat (thin reed trebles and a Cornet designed to outline the psalm-tune melody rather than to function in a *grand jeu*). Marcussen mistakenly tried to 'correct' the organ at Haarlem in 1961 with new pedal Mixtures and a new Great Mixture which attempted to convert the 16′ to an 8′ chorus and which was reversed in the 1980s. Although such tonal matters are subjective, the cases themselves can be more clearly seen to have lost their native Dutch characteristics, particularly the well-featured, classical designs of the 17th century, and to have begun to sprawl. It is true that, at Haarlem, Müller and his architect kept the traditional vertical emphasis and other essential details in the arrangement of towers and flats; but even there the classical pediment surmounting the best old Dutch cases gave way to an unstructural, Baroque coat-of-arms (fig.43).

Although the condition of the organs at Weingarten and Haarlem is nothing like as authentic as their fame leads admirers to assume, they do serve on paper (Table 26) as useful examples of their 'schools', being at once both traditional and exceptional, both formative and unapproachably 'ideal'. The details of the Weingarten organ – the bells, the cherrywood stops, the ivory pipes, the doubled ranks, the undulating stops, the big Mixtures, the complex action – require a book to themselves, and it could be that a first-rate restoration of the instrument would fill out its tone. Nevertheless, the principles behind its dispensing of organ colours can be seen, and Gabler's little quire organ in the same church contained an even clearer indication of his passion for 8′ and 4′ colour stops. Some writers have described the west-end organ as a 'Rococo-Gothic conception', but it is more like a southern European grotto organ. Three echo-like divisions (*Oberwerk*, *Unterwerk*, *Kronpositiv*) are bound to lead to a mocking of true organ tone, however logical an extension it may have been of current ideas in south Germany as a whole. Only the two *Rückpositive* offer well-balanced effects in the idiomatic north German manner; yet to an 18th-century organist visiting Weingarten after Salzburg Cathedral (organ by J.C. Egedacher, 1703–6) such *Rückpositive* must have seemed conservative and slightly puzzling. The original mechanical action must have been very troublesome to make, since even in this sprawling and unique case (fig.44) only eight of all the case pipes do not speak; clearly the detached console was the only practical arrangement. The influence of the whole instrument was wide and long-lasting; theory books (e.g. *HawkinsH*; Bêdos de Celles, B1766–78) gave it notoriety, and it held a significant position between the colourful Renaissance organ of south Germany and the large factory organs of the 1830s.



43. *Organ by Christian Müller, 1735–8 (case probably by Jan van Logteren), St Bavo, Haarlem*

Swabia also saw a remarkably good compromise organ during the 1760s: the larger instrument at Ottobeuren, built by K.J. Riepp (1761–8), incorporated French elements (learnt by its builder in Burgundy) and German ones (learnt in the vicinity of Lake Constance). Most major organs in both parish and conventual churches in Switzerland, Württemberg and Bavaria had such a mingling of organ cultures as to create distinct styles of their own; but the one at Ottobeuren was a simple amalgam. All the classical French registrations were possible on it, but so were German pedal music and hymn variations, from the evidence of its stop-list.

Such composite schemes were curiously rare in the 18th century. It was more characteristic of organ building in general that even adjacent areas (e.g. Carinthia and Veneto, or Saxony and Bohemia) had totally different organs, as if builders of one area or religious denomination were thoroughly opposed to the ideals of their neighbours. Some of the major religious orders, particularly the Cistercian and Augustinian, had something of an international style crossing political frontiers, but even this kind of uniformity was not conspicuous. It was regional style that carried the day, giving the organ at Klosterneuburg, for example, great influence over the one built nearby a century later by a foreign builder well versed in other organ types (Augustinerstift, Herzogenburg; J. Henke, 1747–52). It may well have been such provincialism, however, that helped to produce the good, conservative designs (Amorbach; Rot an der Rot), the late flowers of Baroque organ art that were able to resist the extremes of fashion.

The large organs of the late 18th century were individually distinctive, keeping regional characteristics despite the availability to organists of many printed sources of music from other countries. In Hamburg

TABLE 26

St Bavo, Haarlem
Christian Müller, 1735–8

Hauptwerk	
Praestant	16
Bourdon	16
Oktave (doubled rank from g)	8
Rohrflöte	8
Viola da gamba*	8
Rohrquinte	$5\frac{1}{3}$
Oktave	4
Gemshorn	4
Quintpraestant	$2\frac{2}{3}$
Waldflöte	2
Terzian	II
Mixtur	IV–X
Trompete	16
Trompete	8
Hautboy	8
Trompete	4

Rückpositiv	
Praestant (doubled rank from g)	8
Quintadena*	8
Holpijp	8
Oktave	4
Flûte douce	4
Spitzflöte	$2\frac{2}{3}$
Superoktave	2
Sesquialtera (doubled rank from c′)	II–IV
Cornet (from *c*′)	V
Mixtur	VI–VIII
Zimbel*	III
Fagott	16
Trompete	8
Trichterregal*	8

* replaced in 1961

Oberwerk	
Quintadena	16
Praestant (doubled rank from g)	8
Quintadena	8
Baarpijp (conical)	8
Oktave	4
Flachflöte	4
Nasard	$2\frac{2}{3}$
Nachthorn	2
Flageolet	$1\frac{1}{3}$
Sesquialtera	II
Mixtur*	IV–VI
Zimbel*	III
Schalmei	8
Dulzian	8
Vox humana	8

Pedal	
Praestant	32
Praestant	16
Sub-Bass	16
Rohrquinte	$10\frac{2}{3}$
Oktave	8
Holpijp	8
Quintprasetant	$5\frac{1}{3}$
Oktave	4
Holpijp	2
Rauschquinte	III
Posaune	32
Posaune	16
Trompete	8
Trompete	4
Zink	2

Two Tremulants

Couplers: *Oberwerk* to *Hauptwerk*; *Rückpositiv* to *Hauptwerk*; (Pedal couplers 1961)
Compass: *C-g-c*‴, complete
Wind pressure *c*75 mm
Pitch: *a*′ = *c*440
All pipes of metal
Compass: *C–d*′*–d*‴, complete (contract gave *c*‴; pedal now to *f*′)

Benediktinerabtei, Weingarten
Joseph Gabler, 1737–50

Hauptwerk	
Prinzipal	16
Prinzipal (narrow)	8
Rohrflöte (narrow)	8
Oktave*	4
Superoktave*	2
Hohlflöte*	2
Piffaro	V–VII
Sesquialtera	IX–VIII
Mixtur	XXI–XX
Zimbel	CII
Trompete	8

Oberwerk	
Bourdon (part wood)*	16
Prinzipal	8
Coppel	8
Violoncello*	8
Salizional	8
Hohlflöte (wood)	8
Unda maris (wood)	8
Mixtur	IX–XII
Kronpositiv (high chest played from *Oberwerk* keys)	
Oktave douce (bass)	4
(treble)	8
Viola douce*	8
Nasat	$2\frac{2}{3}$
Zimbel	II

Unterwerk	
Bourdon (wood)	16
Prinzipal (part wood)	
Quintatön	8
Flöte (wood, conical)	8
Viola douce	8
Oktave (conical)	4
Hohlflöte*	4
Piffaro douce	II
Superoktave (conical)	2
Mixtur	V–VI
(narrow)	VI–V
Hautboy	8
Tremulant	

Rückpositiv (south case, manual keys)	
Prinzipal doux	8
Flûte douce	8
Quintatön	8
Violoncello	8
Rohrflöte	4
Querflöte (wood)	4
Flauto traverso*	4
Flageolet	2
Piffaro	VI–V
Cornet (narrow)	XI–VIII
Vox humana	8
Hautboy	4
Carillon (32 bells, *f–c*‴)	

Pedal	
(*a*) main case	
Contrabass (open)*	32
Sub-bass	32
Oktave (wood)	16
Violon*	16
Mixtur	V–VI
Bombarde	16
Posaune (wood)	16
Carillon (20 bells at 2′)	
(*b*) north *Rückpositiv* case	
Quintatön	16
Superoktave	8
Flûte douce	8
Violoncello	8
Hohlflöte	4
Cornet	XI–X
Sesquialtera	VII–VI
Trompete	8
Fagott	8

La Force, pedal 'stop', playing 48 pipes of C major triad (4′)
Stops marked * have doubled ranks for all or part of the compass
Wind pressure now 70mm
Modern pitch

the Michaeliskirche had a 70-stop, three-manual organ by J.G. Hildebrandt (son of Silbermann's pupil Zacharias Hildebrandt); although he took with him many Saxon colours (Cornet, Unda maris, Chalumeau etc.) and followed contemporary ideas common to many regions (no *Rückpositiv*, thickening Quints etc.), the instrument remained a Hamburg organ, more complete and comprehensive than an organ could have been anywhere else. The massive case (for which Burney did not care) has an appearance that anticipated the 19th-century; the stoplist (Table 27) is typical of a large organ, but many writers who heard the instrument commented on its 'noble power', described by Burney as 'more striking by its force and the richness of the harmony than by a clear and distinct melody'. Yet the organ was no mere sacrifice to fashion, which was then rather geared to imitations of orchestral families, of wind concertos, and the like. Theorists like Hess and Knecht encouraged particular imitations of string stops and in general helped to deceive organists into thinking they could duplicate orchestral effects. So did G.J. Vogler, who typifies the less reputable side of late 18th-century organ playing, and whose bizarre organ-concert programmes sometimes proved irresistible to popular audiences in large cities from London to Vienna. Vogler's SIMPLIFICATION SYSTEM, however, has received more attention than it merits historically, for the development of the organ would probably have been little different without him. More important was the impasse brought about at the end of the century by the technical perfection of the late Baroque organ. Quite apart from the Napoleonic disruption, the organ historian must feel that the multiplied colour stops of St Florian and Oliwa



44. Organ by Joseph Gabler, 1737–50, in the west end of St Martin von Tours und St Oswald, Weingarten Abbey, showing the two Rückpositive (manual and pedal)

monastic churches (1770s), the reeds of Saint-Maximin-la-Sainte-Baume, Poitiers and Toledo, and the choruses of Hamburg and Rostock parish churches, all pushed the classical organ as far as it would go. A total rethinking was necessary early in the next century.

13. ORGANS IN THE AMERICAS. The first organs in the Americas were brought from Spain to Central America by Franciscan and Dominican missionaries in the mid-16th century. During the 17th century the use of organs – both imported and locally built – was widespread throughout Spanish colonial America: 17 small organs are reported as being in use in 1630 in what is now New Mexico (see §V, 9 above.) By the early 19th century small organs were used in most mission outposts, including some in present-day California. In the northern French colonies, there was a church organ at Quebec City as early as 1657, and between 1698 and 1705 a two-manual organ was imported for Notre Dame, Montreal.

The first documented use of an organ in a church in the British or German colonies of the eastern seaboard dates from 1703. A small German religious colony had settled near Philadelphia in 1694, apparently bringing with it a small positive organ, and this was lent in 1703 for use at a Lutheran ordination ceremony in the 'Old Swede's' Church, Philadelphia. In 1713 a four-stop chamber organ of the 'Father' Smith school was placed in King's Chapel, Boston; it was mentioned as early as 1708 in connection with its original owner, Thomas Brattle, by the diarist Samuel Sewall, and it may have been imported before 1700.

English organs, including some significant examples of the work of Bridge, Jordan, Green, England and Snetzler, continued to be imported in increasing numbers to the eastern coastal colonies during the rest of the 18th century. The first person known to have built an organ in the colonies was Johann Gottlob Klemm, a Saxon who emigrated in 1733 and who built several organs, the largest of them a three-manual instrument completed for Trinity Church, New York, in 1741. His work was carried on by his apprentice, David Tannenberg, who built more than 40 organs between 1758 and his death in 1804, many for Moravian churches in a small area of Pennsylvania (fig.45). His largest instrument, however, was built in 1790 for Zion Lutheran Church in Philadelphia. Other German-born builders, notably Philip Feyring, were active around Philadelphia during the late 18th century.

Tannenberg's work reflected the influence of the central German school, as transmitted by Klemm, but he also

TABLE 27

Michaeliskirche, Hamburg
J.G. Hildebrandt, 1762–7

Hauptwerk	
Prinzipal (tin)	16
Quintadena(metal)	16
Oktave* (tin)	8
Gedackt (metal)	8
Gemshorn (tin)	8
Viola da Gamba (tin)	8
Quinte (tin)	$5\frac{1}{3}$
Oktave (tin)	4
Gemshorn (metal)	4
Nasat (metal)	$2\frac{2}{3}$
Oktave (tin)	2
Sesquialtera (tin)	II
Mixtur (tin)	VIII
Scharf (tin)	V
Cornet (tin)	V (treble)
Trompete (tin)	16
Trompete (tin)	8

Brustwerk	
Rohrflöte (metal)	16
Prinzipal* (tin)	8
Flauto traverso (metal)	8
Gedackt (metal)	8
Rohrflöte (metal)	8
Oktave (tin)	4
Rohrflöte (metal)	4
Nasat (metal)	$2\frac{2}{3}$
Oktave (tin)	2
Tierce (tin)	$1\frac{3}{5}$
Quinte (tin)	$1\frac{1}{3}$
Sifflöte (tin)	1
Rauschpfeife (tin)	II–III
Zimbel (tin)	V
Chalumeau (tin)	8

Oberwerk	
Bourdon (metal)	16
Prinzipal*	8
Spitzflöte (metal)	8
Quintatön	8
Unda maris (tin)	8 (treble)
Oktave (tin)	4
Spitzflöte (metal)	4
Quinte (tin)	$2\frac{2}{3}$
Oktave (tin)	2
Rauschpfeife (tin)	II
Zimbel (tin)	V
Echo Cornet (tin)	V (treble)
Trompete* (tin)	8
Vox humana (tin)	8

Pedal	
Prinzipal (tin)	32
Sub-bass (stopped)	32
Prinzipal (tin)	16
Sub-bass (stopped)	16
Rohrquinte (metal)	$10\frac{2}{3}$
Oktave (tin)	8
Quinte (tin)	$5\frac{1}{4}$
Oktave (tin)	4
Mixtur (tin)	X
Posaune (tin)	32
Posaune (tin)	16
Fagott (tin)	16
Trompete (tin)	8
Trompete (tin)	4

Compass: *C–d′–f‴*, complete
Zimbelstern
Tremulant (*Hauptwerk*), i.e. *tremblant fort*
Schwebung (*Oberwerk*), i.e. *tremblant doux*
Couplers: *Hauptwerk* to Pedal; (? *Oberwerk* to *Hauptwerk*)
Swell for three stops (? last three of *Oberwerk*)
Stops marked * have doubled ranks for part of the compass

kept pace with newer European developments and was familiar with the writings of the theorist G.A. Sorge. Following in his footsteps were Conrad Doll and several generations of the Krauss and Dieffenbach families, who, culturally removed from the urban mainstream of East Coast organ building, continued to produce small organs in the 'Pennsylvania Dutch' tradition for rural churches well past 1850.

Puritan (Calvinist) objections to the use of instruments in worship prevailed throughout the northern colonies until the last decade of the 18th century, so that most of the early church organs were built for the Anglicans, Lutherans and Moravians. There is also evidence for a number of domestic chamber organs in this period. Most organs (of all types) were still imported, but after the mid-18th century a few American-built instruments began to appear in the colonies north of Pennsylvania.

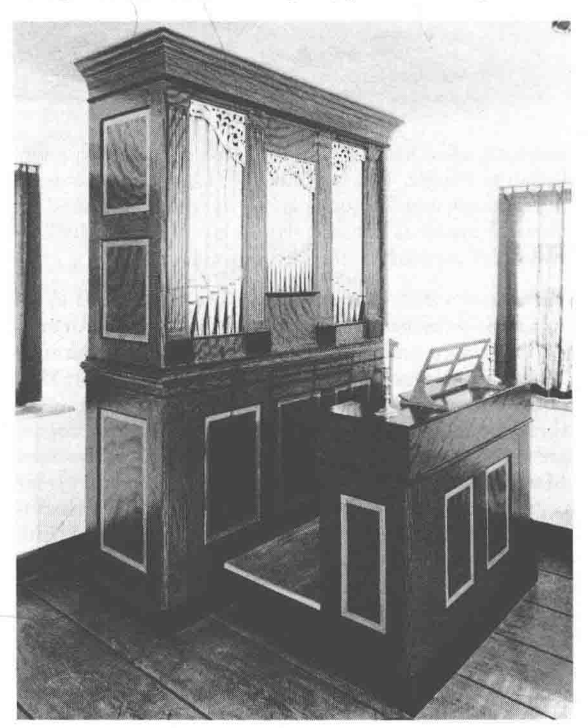
The first true organ builder in Boston was Thomas Johnston, who, beginning about 1753, built a small number of church and chamber organs modelled after imported English instruments. Among his followers were Josiah Leavitt and Henry Pratt, both of whom built several small church and chamber organs, primarily for rural churches west and north of Boston. The prejudice against instruments began to break down in churches of the Puritan tradition by the 1790s, creating a new demand for church organs that was largely met by American builders.

These early New England builders were essentially self-taught and supported themselves only partly through organ building. New York and Philadelphia, however, attracted some English-trained builders during the final years of the 18th century. One of the earliest to arrive was Charles Tawse, who in 1786 advertised himself as a builder of 'finger and barrel organs' in New York. He later moved to Philadelphia, where he was joined in 1795 by John Lowe, trained in the workshop of Gray of London. The most notable emigrant, however, was John Geib, who shortly after his arrival in New York around 1798 built several substantial church organs, most of them for New York, although some went to other cities including Providence, Rhode Island.

VI. Some developments, 1800–1930

1. General influences *c*1800. 2. 19th-century technical advances. 3. Some influential organs. 4. Electricity and the organ. 5. The organ in the early 20th century.

1. General influences *c*1800. A significant amount of rethinking did not occur until well into the first half of the 19th century. In some countries, notably Italy, England, the USA, the Netherlands and Scandinavia, no significant change in direction was evident until the second third of the century; the chief difference between an average organ of 1790 and 1840 in these countries was that the latter was bigger, and the builder had probably explored further the simple colour stops, Swell boxes and pedal departments. But colour stops were by nature foreign to Scandinavian organs, pedals to English and



45. Single-manual organ by David Tannenberg, 1797 (Single Brothers' House, Old Salem, NC)

American, and Swell boxes to Dutch. In other countries, notably France, Spain, Austria, central and southern Germany and their neighbours (Bohemia, Poland etc.), events outside music not only caused organ building to stagnate in the late 18th century but ultimately gave to the revival of organs in the 1830s an impetus towards new techniques.

In Austria the reforms of church music undertaken by Joseph II during the 1780s encouraged simple organs in parish churches – instruments contrasting hugely with the large monastic creations of St Florian (1770) and Heiligenkreuz (1802). In countries occupied by the French in the wake of the Revolution, such as the Netherlands, Spain, south Germany, Austria, Prussia, Poland and Moravia, church services were often suspended. Only here and there were organs destroyed; more physical damage was done in France itself, where the Revolution was followed by a scarcity of funds and then, after 1815, an equally harmful overreaction: from 1792 a church may have been closed to Christian use but its organ was just as useful for 'awakening and inspiring a holy love of the Fatherland', as the new département administrators knew. But in southern Germany and Austria it was the dissolution of the monasteries (particularly after 1803) that changed organ tradition. In Spain and Portugal the organ suffered an eclipse, only partial in some areas but severely evident in others, taken in the wake of Wellington's and Napoleon's armies and by the reappropriation of church funds in 1830. Further north, Denmark kept its organ traditions largely undisturbed, but Sweden produced some advanced ideas in the 1820s, not least as a result of cultural ties with Saxony and central Germany.

Some of the important influences on organs and their music at the end of the 18th century were more directly musical. One was the theory of difference tones (*see* DIFFERENCE TONE), quite familiar to theorists since Tartini. Vogler's ideas were based in part on the observation that the exploitation of harmonics might enable builders to dispense with large pipes, the combination of 16′, 10⅔′ and 6⅖′ for instance, producing a 32′ effect. But the idea is essentially naive, and Vogler must have had other assets to justify the respect with which he was held in Sweden and Salzburg.

A second major influence, or a symptom of the new emphases, was the idea propounded by J.H. Knecht (1795) and others that the organ was a kind of one-man orchestra, its three manuals having an orchestral spectrum of strings, brass and woodwind. To this end, Vogler's specially made travelling organ, the Orchestrion (*see* ORCHESTRION (1)), was hawked all over Europe during the 1790s. There was of course nothing new either in stops imitating string instruments or in regarding the organ as a 'compendium of all instruments whatsoever' (Mersenne, 1636–7); nor were organ transcriptions new, being as old as written-down organ music itself. But by 1800 the orchestra itself was heavier, more stratified and conventionalized, and, most significantly, more expressive than it was in 1600, and imitations of it would therefore be further removed from the nature of the organ as then known.

A third factor was the general assumption that the hundreds of new parish church organs of average size required by about 1820 were to be built chiefly for the sake of accompanying the congregation, for which unison pitches, especially 8′ stops, were the most useful. This may have been partly because mutations were less carefully made in a period of quickly built organs, partly because intelligent theorists like Wilke despised Voglerian claims about harmonic stops, and partly because Mixtures were difficult to justify in theory. Some of the ill-repute of Mixtures in the period may also have been due to their all-too-common Tierce rank (particularly ill-suited to equal temperament, which was coming into use in this period in all countries save England and the USA, where it was not accepted until the 1850s). Such an organ as that at Karlskrona, Sweden (P.Z. Strand, 1827), might have got its characteristic specification, whatever its voicing, in reaction to poorly made mutations and Mixtures too often met with at the time:

I	16.16.8.8.8.4.4.2.8
II	8.8.8.4.4.8
Pedal	16.8.8.4.16

A further influence on the design of organs soon after 1820 was the more international scope of the repertory available to an average organist. In England, for example, such firms as Boosey imported an immense amount of German organ music of all kinds during the first few decades of the century, including a translation of Rinck's popular tutor, *Praktische Orgel-Schule* (Eng. trans., 1825). These imports reached their culmination in the international Bach revival. Bach sonatas and other major works ('Grand Preludes and Fugues') were available shortly after 1800. Partly in response to this, many older English and French organs, and some Italian and Spanish, were being altered by 1840: pedals added, short-compass manuals completed, second choruses added. The result, however, was not that national organ types lost their identity but that they kept it in a less overt and certainly less charming manner. No doubt this situation was in part due to the 'organ ethos' of the period: a general anti-Baroque view of organs as sombre, solemn, ecclesiastical and ecclesiological objects whose music (as can be seen from Vincent Novello's travel diaries) was expected to be more 'elevated' than the *galanteries* of the previous generation. But it prompted organists of different national schools to suppose that their organ alone was the best for Bach; countless English organists, for example, have resisted the idea that Bach did not write for the Swell pedal.

Apart from the details produced by such factors, several general observations can be made. There were strangely few magnificent organs built anywhere between 1800 and 1825, and the new big instruments of 1825–50 show a bigger break with the past than those of any other period in organ history. Casework as well underwent extreme changes in design and ornamental detail. While it is probably true that in 1830 churches spent less on their organs than they did in 1730, the later organs were in fact larger. The sounds the new organs on the Continent were expected to produce accorded with the sobriety and gloom of the post-Revolution church, although the organist had a more variegated repertory to choose from than at any previous period. Few great organ builders stand out between 1800 and 1825, and major practical and theoretical developments were left to the next generation. Some conservative areas, however, kept their traditions: the *Brustwerk* of 1898 at St Anders, Copenhagen, must be regarded as a survival rather than a revival.

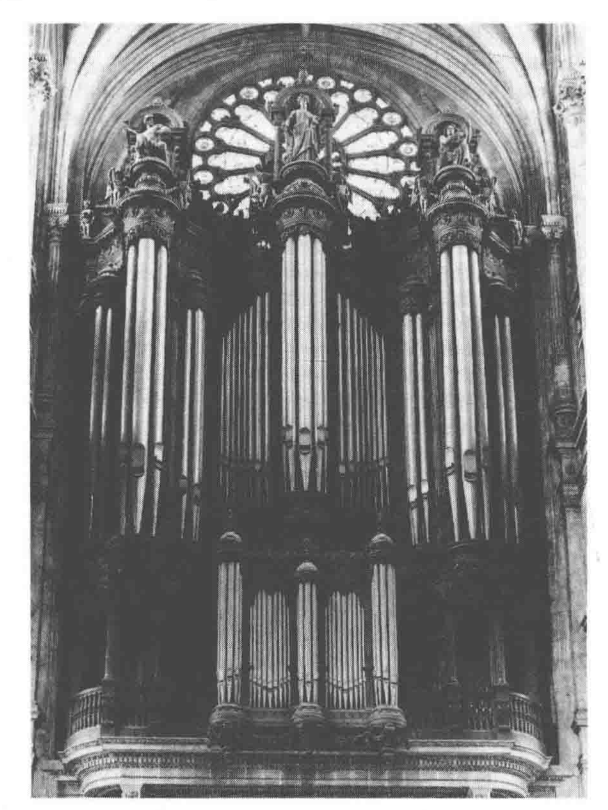
In the USA, particularly in Boston and New York, a native school of builders was rapidly developing in the

early 19th century to meet the demands of the many new churches in the expanding cities and prospering rural areas. These builders, notably Goodrich and Appleton in Boston, and Erben and Hall in New York, worked in the refined style inherited from 18th-century England and may be said to have brought it to its final fruition. Attractive as their instruments often were, both visually and tonally, their musical use rarely transcended the needs of a fairly simple church service, and the music of Bach was almost certainly not attempted by American organists until the second half of the century. By the 1850s the effect of continental developments, both tonal and mechanical, was being felt, and large factories (such as that of E. & G.G. Hook in Boston) began replacing the small workshops.

2. 19TH-CENTURY TECHNICAL ADVANCES. Audsley's monument to the Romantic organ, *The Art of Organ-Building* (B1905), shows that the organ builder of about 1900 had a vast array of pipework to choose from; he also had many types of chest, action, bellows, gadgets and case designs at his disposal. On the whole Audsley was describing a high-quality instrument, but the profusion of elements he described affected the smallest and cheapest builder. Similarly, the organist's repertory was in theory immense, although in practice quite restricted, save in the case of the recitalist. It was towards these two positions of technical and musical profusion, of embarrassing choice for both builder and player, that the organ gradually moved during the 19th century.

Different areas of Europe exercised major influence at different periods, and often an individual builder advanced concepts or techniques without which the overall development would have been different. Publicity for a new idea became increasingly easy (particularly from such concourses as the Great Exhibition at London, 1851, and the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia, 1876); builders travelled far to view developments, published (and read) papers or became associated with well-known theorists, and began to take commissions farther from home than they had been used to doing. New and rare stops were introduced into such foreign organs, perhaps sometimes for ostentation (e.g. Schulze's three-sided and cylindrical wooden pipes at Doncaster, 1862). An advanced organ of 1825 anywhere in Europe would at any rate have features gathered from various sources: from changing taste (multiple string stops), theory book notions of harmonics, quick factory methods, foreign influences (e.g. English Swells) and new visual ideas. 40 years later the amalgam was yet richer, and large organs produced in the factories of Walcker, Sauer, Willis, Hill and Cavaillé-Coll were taken all over the world.

Thus the developments about 1825 in central Germany had an influence throughout Europe, not least because English and French organs of the period were particularly susceptible to new ideas. The theorists Wolfram (B1815), Seidel (B1843) and above all Töpfer (B1833, B1843, B1855) were better known in Hamburg, Paris and London than Praetorius had been. Töpfer's new scientific description of the techniques of building (with tables and technical details for pipe-scales, wind-chambers, pallets, bellows, action etc.) were immensely useful to every new builder. His ratio for pipe-scales (*Normalmensur*, known in English as Normal Scale or Diapason Norm) was a theoretical model, not honed to the particular conditions of any church or local tradition; but it was adopted by



46. Organ by Ducroquet, 1854 (case after plans by Baltard), St Eustache, Paris

builders of cheaper, commercial organs. Better builders such as J.F. Schulze also found it useful, and in itself it is not far removed from what had been customary in central Germany.

Töpfer's calculation was that the area of the cross-section of a Principal pipe was √8 multiplied by the area of the cross-section of a pipe an octave higher. Pipe diameters therefore halved at the 17th inclusive pipe (i.e. eight whole tones above), as they had for many an organ before Töpfer (see §III, 1, above). Such a simple constant was convenient at the workbench, as were Töpfer's other formulae for calculating the wind consumption and the height of the pipe mouth. Meanwhile the improved bellows and reservoirs of his period not only allowed copious wind and constant pressure but encouraged builders to experiment with higher pressure for the pipes or with pipes scaled to either extreme. Since organists now demanded to be able to play with thicker registrations, these other formulae were at least as important as constant scalings.

Many of the experiments were short-lived. Free reeds were popular in central Germany and Alsace from about 1780 to 1850 but not often elsewhere, although Gray and Davidson used 32′ free reeds at the Crystal Palace (1857) and Leeds Town Hall (1859), and they were sporadically used as a novelty stop in large American organs as late as the 1870s. New materials, such as the cast-iron case and zinc pipes at Hohenofen (1818), became associated with poorer instruments once the novelty had worn off, and only zinc, useful for larger pipes, has stood the test of time. Solo manuals were reserved for the largest instruments, and double pedal-boards were used by Walcker in

a few of his largest organs, but octave couplers and detached consoles never lost popularity once they had gained it soon after 1830. In England, Swell boxes were constantly improved, most often with a view to reducing the closed box to a true *pp* (Hodges of Bristol, 1824), and their influence soon spread to France. In Germany, J. Wilke wrote major articles during the 1820s in the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* listing experimental devices for producing Swell effects such as triple touch, operating couplers or bringing on more stops as the key was depressed; lowered wind pressure brought about by a net curtain in the wind-trunk (Vogler); 'roof swells', devices for raising the lid of Swell boxes; and 'door swells' or 'jalousie swells', the English systems of (horizontal) Venetian shutters, perhaps encasing a complete organ. For most of the century, the Swell box mechanism remained simple: horizontal shutters were controlled by a wooden or metal foot-lever to the right of the pedal keys, which had to be notched into position if the box was to remain open. With such pedals, gradual crescendo or diminuendo was impractical, and had to await the development of vertical balanced shutters towards the end of the century. Only occasionally were other systems experimented with, such as Bryceson's hydraulic system of about 1865 in which water was communicated along a lead pipe from the pedal to the Swell mechanism, but remote control of the Swell shutters did not become practical until the development of pneumatic mechanisms, and even then the French continued to favour a mechanical connection.

The resulting organ of about 1840 was usually a compromise between old and new. At Halberstadt Cathedral, for example, J.F. Schulze built a four-manual organ in which three manuals and pedal were of the large, standard classical type familiar in the later 18th century, and couplers and accessories were conventional, even to a Zimbelstern; but the fourth manual, its purpose very unclassical, played new stops in a high Echo chest:

Lieblich Gedackt	16 (wood)
Lieblich Gedackt	8 (wood)
Terpodion	8 (tin)
Flauto traverso	8 (turned wood)
Harmonika	8 (wood)
Prinzipal	4
Flauto traverso	4 (turned wood)
Physharmonika	8 (zinc) (free reed)

Such Echo organs were a luxury, like apse organs in a few English cathedrals a century later. More popular in the advanced organ of 1850 were the SOLO ORGAN, often on higher wind pressure, and the full Swell organ with its characteristic 16′ reed and bright Mixture (Henry Willis, 1855). In Germany, Swells of the distant *Echowerk* type remained popular with builders such as König (St Maximilian, Düsseldorf, 1855).

It was E.F. Walcker who is said to have invented (or improved) the cone-chest (*Kegellade*, see fig.9), which he patented in 1842. Cavaillé-Coll, Willis and other great builders rejected it, as did American builders after a brief experimental attempt by the avant-garde Boston builder Simmons in his organ for Harvard University (1859). In America, cone-chests were briefly attempted a decade later (again unsuccessfully, owing to the adverse effects of the climate) by the immigrant Moritz Baumgarten, who had trained with Walcker. But Walcker's output was immense, and certainly the boom in north European organ building meant that the more systematic a builder's concepts (and hence his workshop), the bigger part he could play in providing organs for the hundreds of new parish churches of that period. Metal-planing machines, for examples, were drawn by Töpfer and manufactured by Walcker; such machine tools provided pipe metal of great precision and uniformity, obviating all capricious and 'imperfect' elements in pipe manufacture. The Walcker firm moved to Ludwigsburg in 1820 and was able from there to command a vast area of central Europe, and eventually to export worldwide. Its organ for the Paulskirche, Frankfurt (1827–33), was highly influential, with its 74 stops on three manuals and two pedal-boards; but it too was a compromise. The 14-stop Swell was a large Echo organ, with free reeds and Dulcianas; the action was mechanical, the chests slider-chests, the couplers standard. However, the Swell mechanism was balanced, and once the free reeds were replaced by long-resonator reed stops, the specification became standard. Indeed, the whole Walcker style had great influence, from the Rhine to the Black Sea. But in 1849 (Ulm Minster) and 1863 (Music Hall, Boston, USA), Walcker monster organs still had not outgrown compromise; more thoroughly modern designs were achieved by builders less set in their ways, such as A.W. Gottschalg whose large organ for Cologne Cathedral was influenced by Cavaillé-Coll. The influence of the Walcker instrument in Boston on American organ building, already well established in its own conventions, has been much overrated. The cone-chest had already been tried and rejected, Americans continued to develop their own scaling and voicing systems (although influenced by Töpfer and other theorists and by general European trends), and the only real novelty, the free-reed stops, enjoyed but limited vogue. The importation of the Walcker organ was, in truth, an aberration, for in the period in which it was built the major American builders could and did produce large, well-engineered and tonally sophisticated Romantic organs for large churches, cathedrals and concert halls (Mechanics Hall, Worcester, Massachusetts: Hook, 1864).

In France much important work was done during the 1820s and 1830s before Cavaillé-Coll began to dominate the scene. The Englishman John Abbey went to France (at the instigation of Erard) to work in the late 1820s, taking with him the improved English horizontal bellows, Venetian Swell, balanced action and refined voicing, and rebuilding organs from Reims to Caen. His Swell at Amiens in 1833, for example, resembled a typical English Echo organ of 1750: 8.8.4.V.8.8. Further east, Daublaine & Callinet came under the Walcker influence with their free reeds, double pedal-boards and general specifications in a few large organs, but essentially Callinet and his fellow-Alsatian Stiehr remained conservative. Their small and average-size church organs retained the basic classical physical and tonal layout in the mid-19th century, but with some suppression of upperwork and introduction of Gambas and Harmonic Flutes, and with the use of free reeds with resonators, primarily in the Pedal. By 1841 Cavaillé-Coll was making overblowing stops, both flue and reed. His new scheme that year for the organ of St Denis is discussed in §3 below.

High pressure was applied to reeds in England by the late 1830s, the first well-known example being Hill's Tuba mirabilis at Birmingham Town Hall (1840). But although by 1855 Hopkins could write that 'stops of this

kind are now made by nearly all the English organ-builders', no real technical details are known of these early stops. On the analogy of wood and brass wind-instrument playing in general, treble pipes in the reed ranks were also put on higher pressure in larger organs from the organ of St Denis onwards. This of itself was a major advance, as can be readily seen by comparing a Trumpet at St Sulpice with one at Haarlem. For centuries French builders had appreciated that reed trebles needed 'boosting' if the splendid bass was not to peter out above *g′* or so: hence one of the functions of the mounted Cornet in the 18th century. Cavaillé-Coll's overblowing double-length flue and reed pipes were thus new not in principle but in character. A Flûte harmonique or Trompette harmonique is so made for bigger, rounder tone and, unlike the narrow-scaled overblowing flutes of the 17th century, always requires strong, copious wind. The formation of nodes in overblowing flue pipes is helped by a small hole piercing the pipe rather less than halfway along from the mouth, the exact position affecting the overtone content of the pipe. In reeds, the hole is not necessary. The tone of neither flue nor reed harmonic pipes blends idiomatically with the Principal chorus; 17th-century builders therefore reserved such flutes for solo colour. Reed and flue harmonic stops show the desire felt in the 1840s for smooth reeds that stay in tune, and precisely voiced flue stops with no initial 'chiff' (a puff of wind articulating the start of each note) or articulation. Full- or double-length resonators gave smoothness to the reeds, while in flue pipes the chiff was eliminated by a heavier nicking of the languid, by 'ears and beard' (see §III, 1, above) and by roller-beards (dowels, circular in section, placed between the ears near the windway), all aiding prompt, smooth speech.

Further technical advances made between 1825 and 1845 concern the action. Many 19th-century builders were ingenious with purely mechanical devices for such accessories as double Venetian swells (H. Willis, Gloucester Cathedral, 1847), stop-combinations (Ladegast, Sauer, Roosevelt), crescendo pedals (Haas) and various couplers. Improved bellows-with-reservoir, greater application of two or even more wind pressures in an organ, improved slider-chests (and eventually cone-chests) were all at the skilled builder's disposal by 1845. So was the 'Barker lever' or mechanical-pneumatic action (see fig.8). By 1833, Booth in England and Hamilton in Scotland had constructed such actions. C.S. Barker worked on power pneumatics and compressed air, offering an apparatus to York Minster (1833), Birmingham Town Hall (1834–5) and, in France, to Cavaillé-Coll (1837). The pneumatic principle could also be applied to sliders and to such accessories as 'thumb-pistons' (H. Willis, 1851). Barker's French patent was taken out in 1839, and he applied his action to the organ under construction at St Denis by Cavaillé-Coll, whose high-pressure stops were indeed said to have been unplayable without this key-action. It was probably also in France that the first fully pneumatic action was made, in which all the tracker's backfalls, squares, rollers etc. were replaced by one pneumatic tube from key to pallet. The system is accredited to P.-A. Moitessier (1845), and was later modified with a partly mechanical action (Fermis, 1866) and adopted by such major builders as Willis (the divided organ at St Paul's Cathedral, 1872). Although Walcker applied this so-called tubular-pneumatic action to his cone-chests in 1889, the action gained only a minor success outside England (and, to some extent, the USA) because the action was sluggish when the keys were too far removed from the chests, although it was used extensively in Australia and New Zealand until well into the 20th century. As for the chests themselves, English, American and French builders preferred improved slider-chests to barless chests, often modifying the larger pallets with a secondary mechanism allowing them to be opened without undue key-pressure (Willis patent dated 1861, etc.). Audsley was witness to much American activity in designing 'pneumatic chests' in the late 19th century. Around the turn of the century, American builders such as Estey developed a reliable tubular-pneumatic action using ventil-chests, which they employed quite extensively, as did Möller and some of the Midwestern builders, and Steere obtained the rights to the system developed by the German builder Weigle. But other builders, such as Hook & Hastings, Hutchings and, in Canada, Casavant, went almost directly from Barker-machine mechanical to electro-pneumatic actions.

Electric actions were devised during the same period in England (Wilkinson 1826, Gauntlett 1852, Goundry 1863) and France (Du Moncel, Barker, Stein & fils), but these early experiments were incapable of reliable practical application. Electro-pneumatic action (see fig.11) overcomes the difficulty of directly opening a pallet by electro-magnets in that the magnet opens instead the smaller valve of a pneumatic motor which then opens the pallet. One such system is usually accredited to Albert Peschard (*c*1860); as a result of his work Barker took out a patent in 1868, and in turn licensed Bryceson to build such an action in the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane (1868). According to Hopkins, an electrification for the organ at Gloucester Cathedral for the Three Choirs Festival of 1868 allowed the keyboards to be placed nearer the conductor, far from the pipes, an obvious and updated version of the 'long movements' of the tracker-action organ used in the 1784 Commemoration of Handel in Westminster Abbey. A decade or more before the end of the century Walcker in Germany, Merklin in France, Roosevelt in the USA, Casavant in Canada and Willis in England were all producing reliable electric actions which allowed them to build detached consoles some way away from the organs high up at the west end or in a triforium gallery of the quire. The stop mechanism could also be operated electrically (Bryceson patent, 1868). Particularly in the USA, many electric actions and individual pipe-valve chests ('barless' chests) were patented and improved during the 1890s, becoming a norm shortly after 1900, some 25 years before the Willis firm, for example, turned exclusively to electro-pneumatic action. During the first half of the 20th century, most important organ builders throughout the world devised one or other type of electro-pneumatic action (see Whitworth, B1930). Clearly electric systems could serve accessories such as stop-combinations (whereby a button or switch of some kind could bring on pre-selected stops), or Swell pedals operating shutters around part or all of the pipework. Much of the ingenuity exercised on such accessories belongs to the early 20th century rather than the 19th.

3. Some influential organs. Reference has already been made to Walcker's organ for the Paulskirche, Frankfurt, and Schulze's for Halberstadt Cathedral.

Walcker's habitual scheme was close to such later 18th-century organs as that at the Michaeliskirche, Hamburg, with a large, heavy Great organ (often 32′) and a Pedal booming and powerful yet removed from true chorus purposes. Other German firms such as Schulze and Ladegast seem often to have made a brighter sound, with large-scale Mixtures and a tonal chorus brash yet recognizably in a tradition. Schulze's influence in England was considerable as his large, full-sounding Diapasons caught the taste of the time and influenced the work of builders such as Lewis for some decades after the Great Exhibition of 1851. Even his little colour stop, the narrow-scaled Lieblich Gedackt, became standard in English organs for the next 100 years. Such builders had a high standard of workmanship and the mass of 'good solid pipework' of foundational pitches in an influential organ like Sauer's for the Thomaskirche, Leipzig, was seen as a great advance on earlier organs with their greater percentage of higher-pitched stops. The craftsmanship and materials in a major Cavaillé-Coll organ are immensely impressive, as are the spaciousness (allowing pipes 'room to speak') and complicated actions and the careful planning of several chest levels. The drawings of the various elevations, tiers and cross-sections of the St Sulpice organ, for example, are witness to one of the great engineering masterpieces of the 19th century.

The St Denis organ has a well-known position in organ history, and its restoration in 1987–8 enabled players and builders to evaluate it for the youthful masterpiece that it is. The casework had already been designed when several builders tendered for the work, and Cavaillé-Coll's two plans of 1833 and 1841 show the great changes in organ building during that crucial decade. Flutes and mutations were reduced, overblowing stops were introduced, string stops added harmonic complexity, Barker's action allowed new arrangements of the chests, and the wind supply was increased and improved. Despite its ancestry in Bédos de Celles' scheme for a large 32′ organ, the instrument at St Denis (Table 28) was a great step along the 19th-century path. The Bombarde and Pedal departments became an ideal for hundreds of French or French-inspired organs over the next century or so; the scaling throughout became wider than classical French, and the voicing, as well as the wind pressure, stronger. It is not always clear how Cavaillé-Coll intended his organs to be registered, but since such stops as the Flûte harmonique are simply new versions of the auxiliary 8′ ranks drawn in old *fonds d'orgue* combinations, it is likely that he expected them to be used in choruses as well as solos (an interesting characteristic of the Flûte harmonique is that the upper range has a stronger, smoother character than the lower octaves, and one can play both solo and accompaniment on the same stop). Much the same could be said for the string stops (with tuning-slots at the top of the pipe) and the thick, stopped Bourdons. Nicking of languids was generally severe, at least in later organs of this builder; this, added to the slots cut into even the smallest Mixture pipes, aided smooth, constant tone. Conical and narrow-scaled stopped pipes were not conspicuous, and Cavaillé-Coll's spectrum of pipe forms was not particularly great. The foundation stops (*jeux de fonds*) of one manual were placed on one wind-chest, the reeds and (sometimes) flute mutations (*jeux de combinaison*) were placed on another. Each chest could have its own wind pressure and each could be controlled by a

TABLE 28

St Denis, Paris
Aristide Cavaillé-Coll, 1841

Stop	Pitch	Stop	Pitch
Grand orgue (II)		*Positif* (I)	
Montre	32	Bourdon	16
Montre	16	Bourdon	8
Bourdon	16	Salicional	8
Montre	8	Flûte (open)	8
Bourdon	8	Prestant	4
Viole	8	Flûte*	4
Flûte traverse*	8	Nasard	$2\frac{2}{3}$
Prestant	4	Doublette	2
Flûte traverse*	4	Flageolet	2
Nasard	$2\frac{2}{3}$	Tierce	$1\frac{3}{5}$
Doublette	2	Fourniture	IV
Grande Fourniture	IV	Cymbale	IV
Petite Fourniture	IV	Trompette*	8
Grande Cymbale	IV	Hautboy	8 (?treble)
Petite Cymbale	IV	Cor d'harmonie	8 (?bass)
Cornet (mounted)	V	Cromorne	8
Trompette*	8	Clairon*	4
Trompette*	8	Tremblant	
Basson/Cor anglais	8		
Clairon*	4	*Bombarde* (III)	
		Bourdon	16
Récit (IV)		Bourdon	8
Bourdon	8	Flûte	8
Flûte*	8	Prestant	4
Flûte*	4	Nasard ou Quinte	$2\frac{2}{3}$
Quinte	$2\frac{2}{3}$	Doublette	2
Octavin*	2	Cornet	VII
Trompette*	8	Bombarde	16
Voix humaine*	8	Trompette*	8
Clairon*	4	Trompette*	8
		Clairon*	4
Pédale		Clairon*	4
Flûte ouverte	32		
Flûte	16		
Flûte	8		
Nasard	$5\frac{1}{3}$		
Flûte	4		
Basse-contre	16 (24)		
Bombarde	16 (24)		
Basson	8 (12)		
Trompette	8 (12)		
Trompette	8 (12)		
Clairon	4 (6)		
Clairon	4 (6)		

Compass: *C–f–f‴* (pedal reeds *F′–f*)
Harmonic and reed stops on heavier wind
Combination pedals (swell, couplers IV/II, III/II, II/II, I/II, high-pressure basses, high-pressure trebles, suboctave couplers to all manuals)
Grand orgue did not play until II/II pedal operated

Stops marked * are double-length harmonic stops

valve ('ventil') that admitted wind only when required, thus allowing a registration to be prepared in advance, but not brought on until needed. The *Grand orgue* was never underbuilt in relation to the Swell, as it often was in England, nor did the reeds lose their brilliance. Feeder and reservoir bellows were generous, and the pneumatic action somewhat cumbersome in the space it took. As with Schulze organs, soundboards were ample in size for the boldly treated pipework. But neither electric actions nor general crescendo gadgets were found on Cavaillé-Coll's organs; indeed, he is recorded as saying that he could see no advantage in the use of electricity. (His showroom is illustrated in CAVAILLÉ-COLL, ARISTIDE.)

In Italy, Serassi, like his French and English colleagues, 'extended' local traditions and made many quite large and impressive-sounding organs of a curious Venetian compromise. The main manual would control 20 or more stops, including 16′ or even 32′ Principale and flutes and Violas of 8′ and 4′; most chorus stops were divided; the highest ranks were collected into Mixtures; and solo and chorus reeds were strong in tone. One or two subsidiary

manuals, of six to ten halved stops often in a Swell box, provided echo effects but no true chorus. The compass was long (frequently from *C′*); the pedal organ had six to eight bass stops; and there were many accessories, both sounding (bells, thunder, drum) and mechanical (composition pedals, couplers, including octave and suboctave). Some flamboyant music was written for organs of this type, by V.A. Petrali, Giacomo Davide and others.

In Spain, organ building came to something of a standstill; with the exception of a two-rank Voz celeste, the stop-list of Pedro Roques's 1870 organ for Cadiz Cathedral could have been written a century or more earlier. The farther cities of eastern Europe were completely conquered by central German and Bohemian organ building, organ repertory and organ players by the 19th century. The outposts of German organ art in east Prussia and Silesia had long known large instruments (both Protestant and Roman Catholic) and the new techniques led to wide dissemination of ideas. Occasionally a builder would try something new, such as Buchholz's solo organ: 16.8.8.8.8.8.4, in the 'Black' Church (1839) at Kronstadt (now Braşov, Romania); but on the whole builders were more anxious to improve action, accessories, bellows and chests of the more conventional organs.

In many ways the country best able to develop its organ was England, where a new awareness of foreign designs and repertory coincided with favourable economic conditions and the growing popularity of organs in secular concert halls and large nonconformist churches. While much work remains to be done on the position of the organ in France and Italy during the period 1830–50, the general picture of the English organ is clear enough. During the 1820s, the Choir organ was superseded by the Swell as the major secondary division; pedals came to be regarded as normal (though at first only with a rank or two of large-scaled wooden pipes); the compass generally remained at *G′*; and organists did as well as they could with the newly favoured music of J.S. Bach – *Das wohltemperirte Clavier* being as much played as the true organ music. Much of the newness of the British organ before Henry Willis's influential instrument for the 1851 Exhibition has been accredited to the friendship between H.J. Gauntlett, the composer and organist, and William Hill, organ builder and former partner in the firm of Elliot. About 1833 Gauntlett visited Haarlem, apparently on the advice of Samuel Wesley, and there are various hints throughout Gauntlett's career as an adviser on organs that such instruments were in his mind. His personal library too shows him to have been a good example of the outward-looking early Victorian musician. Of the dozen or so organs built by Hill under Gauntlett's influence, the one at Great George Street Chapel, Liverpool (1841), was the most indicative of things to come. Like Hopkins, Gauntlett knew enough German organ music to see the *C* compass as most useful for manuals, while S.S. Wesley favoured *G′* compass even on the new Willis masterpiece of St George's Hall, Liverpool. Much the same reason lay behind Gauntlett's scheme for the pedal departments of larger organs, for example the one at Christ Church, Newgate Street, London (a 1690 Harris instrument extensively rebuilt by Hill 1827–38); such a scheme (Table 29) presupposed 'continental scaling' and not the large open-wood pedal scales described by Hopkins as more than twice too large.

TABLE 29

Open Diapason	16
Open Diapason	16
Montre	16
Bourdon	16
Principal	8
Fifteenth	4
Tierce Mixture	V
Larigot Mixture	V
Contra Posaune	16
Posaune	8

Cavaillé-Coll visited Hill's workshops in 1844, as he did others at that period, and the influence they may have had on each other deserves closer study. The French, German and Italian stop names of many Hill-Gauntlett organs suggest at least paper knowledge of and interest in foreign organs; as late as 1871, Willis's new organ for the Royal Albert Hall can be related closely to Cavaillé-Coll's for St Sulpice. Hill's Liverpool organ was a compromise between traditional English and new continental styles, with a 16-stop Swell (including 16′ reed), a small Choir organ of flutes, a high-pressure Tuba played from the Swell, six couplers, five composition pedals, and a complete compass of *C–d′–f‴*. Hill also designed a new kind of pallet that slid open and admitted high-pressure wind without increasing the touch-resistance. Neither he nor Gauntlett felt obliged to give up the long-established tradition of combining many international features: their organ at St Olave, Southwark (1846), for instance, was almost Serassian in its big Great and its solo Swell. It was left to Willis's organ for St George's Hall, Liverpool (1855), to establish fully the 'first modern British organ' (Table 30), which remained an ideal throughout the British Empire at its apogee. Less opulent instruments by Willis and the builders he influenced would merely have had fewer choices of 8′ and 4′ colour. Large though such organs were, their priority was not necessarily traditional organ repertory; rather they encouraged even further the age-old regard for large organs *per se*, useful for transcriptions of orchestral and vocal music and impressive as engineering projects with such innovations as inclined stop-jambs, pneumatic thumb-pistons, concave and radiating pedal-board (perfected by Willis soon after 1851 but not adopted in America until the 1890s, and even later on the continent), Barker levers to each department, varied wind pressures, new wind-raising devices, pneumatic couplers and a Swell pedal. The Swell alone was a good example of the general attitude. Of the

TABLE 30

St George's Hall, Liverpool
Reconstructed 1867, under supervision of W.T. Best

Choir organ:	16.8.8.8.8.8.8.4.4.4.2⅔.2.2.IV.8.8.8.4
Great organ:	16.8.8.8.8.8.8.5⅓.4.4.4.4.3⅕.2⅔.2.2.II.V.IV.16.8.8.8.4.4
Swell organ:	16.8.8.8.8.8.4.4.4.2⅔.2.2.2.II.V.16.16.8.8.8.8.8.8.4.4
Solo organ:	16.8.8.4.2.16.8.8.8.8.4.8.8.8.4 (last four on heavy wind, 380 mm to 500 mm)
Pedal:	32.32.16.16.16.16.8.8.5⅓.4.V.IV.16.16.8.4

Compass: *G′–a‴*; pedal *C–f′*
Ten couplers (including Suboctave Swell to Great, Superoctave Swell to Great)
42 pneumatic pistons
Two bellows blown by a steam engine (8 horsepower)
Wind pressure: from 90 mm to 510 mm
Pneumatic lever (doubled for pedals)

'double Venetian front' at Gloucester Cathedral (1847), Willis himself observed that 'the pianissimo was simply astounding' but gave no reason why he thought this a desirable aim.

The old-fashioned unequal temperament at Liverpool, applied on the advice of S.S. Wesley, was changed in 1867 (although the old G′ compass was not changed to C until 1898). The wind pressure of the solo reeds was raised to 48·5 cm in the bass and 62 cm in the treble. Along with greater power went the demand for apparatus to control it. In 1857 Willis had patented a crescendo pedal – a foot-lever rotating a cylinder that activated pneumatic motors at the ends of the sliders. There were many other such devices, including one by Walcker (copied briefly by Hook & Hastings), in which a horizontal sliding metal bar was substituted for the foot-lever. In later organs, Willis took his schemes to a logical end by ousting the Choir organ for a Solo organ in certain three-manual instruments (e.g. Sheldonian Theatre, Oxford, 1877); already at Gloucester (1847) the Swell had been made nearly three times as large as the Choir.

It is clear from the lists of specifications given by Hopkins and Rimbault, as it is in earlier lists by Seidel, Hamilton and others, that each major firm about 1850 had its hallmarks. Each introduced into many organs a characteristic stop (e.g. Hill's Octave Clarion 2′) or principle of construction or occasional foible (e.g. Cavaillé-Coll's Septième ranks); each had its own patented action, chest and wind-raising device; and each had a known attitude towards such major developments as harmonic reeds, either exploiting or rejecting them. Major German organs built about 1860 were in general either less inventive or more traditional than in England and France, and this difference was reflected in those organs of the USA and the British Empire that followed the foreign models favoured by their respective builders. St George's Hall, Liverpool, had the ideal town-hall organ, a far cry from such modest concert organs as Elliot's in the Hanover Square Rooms, London (1804, 12 stops). It was the secular organ (Exeter Hall, London, and Birmingham Town Hall, both 1849) that first saw the application of the pneumatic lever to key action and one of Hill's secular organs in London (the Panopticon, 1853) that first had pneumatically operated sliders, as well as higher pressure for treble pipes and a reversible crescendo pedal pushing out the organ stops one by one. The Solo organ or fourth manual, whether enclosed (Leeds, 1859) or not, also had its origins in the town-hall organ. The emphasis behind such contemporary designs as, say, Willis's organ for St Paul's Cathedral (1872) and Hill's for Melbourne Town Hall (1870) reflects their contrasting ecclesiastical and secular natures: one would expect the latter to have bigger Solo manuals, smaller Choir manuals, perhaps a bigger compass, and certainly a larger array of unusual tone-effects.

It was the crescendo and diminuendo of a British town-hall organ (Glasgow; T.C. Lewis, 1877) that led Hans von Bülow to write to the local newspaper and claim never to have 'met with an organ so good in Germany'. Indeed, by comparison the German organ may well have seemed a dreary instrument, with little ability to blend or offer the organist much delight in its tone, touch or expressive musical potential. It can hardly be assumed, however, that the tone of new German organs did not occasionally delight; organists may well have liked the

TABLE 31

Etzelbach
Edmund Schulze, 1869

Manual I		*Manual II*	
Bordun	16	Lieblich Gedackt	8
Prinzipal	8	Salizional	8
Hohlflöte	8	Dolce	8
Gamba	8	Gedacktflöte	4
Oktave	4		
Mixtur	III	*Pedal*	
		Sub-Bass	16
Couplers: Manual I to II;		Violonbass	16
Manual I to pedal		Gedacktbass	8

sounds produced by Schulze's highly differentiated voicing in a small two-manual like that at Etzelbach (1869). Such an organ (Table 31) was utterly typical in its day, although in some ways Schulze was old-fashioned (e.g. with his diagonal bellows at Doncaster, 1862).

Much German organ music of the late 19th century was written for a large, sombre-voiced instrument which depended for effect more on weight and dynamic extremes than on the sort of colour provided by, for instance, Cavaillé-Coll's Bombarde manual or Willis's Swell. Indeed, the very size and gravity of such instruments is their chief musical attribute, and Liszt, Reubke, Reger and others capitalized impressively on these qualities. Specifications were often much more classical in appearance than their voicing and general tone justify. Extremes of timbre in the form of harmonic reed choruses were not much favoured, and it is not always easy to see exactly why a German organ, even in its various neo-classical guises, needed a third or fourth manual. The large instrument in Magdeburg Cathedral (Table 32), built by the firm of Reubke, expresses the potential sought by such composers as its scion Julius Reubke (1834–58). Walcker's organ of 1886 for the Stephansdom, Vienna, was even less systematic, with an ordinary Pedal but a huge Great organ manual of 35 stops strewn over the west end, and two further manuals, yet only one stop was in a Swell box. Similarly, not until 1857 at Ulm did Walcker use the Barker lever and not until 1890 a fully pneumatic action. A lack of inventiveness was also evident in the stop-lists themselves: Sauer's two organs in Leipzig both with about 60 stops (the Peterskirche, 1885, and the Thomaskirche, 1889) had almost identical specifications, both full of heavy 8′ stops. Such were the instruments played by Reger and Straube, and for which registrations were fairly standardized. Thus 8′ ranks were mixed freely, according to choice, but a 4′ stop aided their blend, particularly a wide 4′ above a narrow 8′. An organ that cannot provide an accompaniment of Gedackt 8′ + Voix céleste 8′ + Spitzflöte 4′ voiced on late 19th-century principles cannot provide the sounds intended by Reger in his quieter movements.

For such music it is also vital to be able to change stops quickly. Accessories became a priority, and by 1900 a German organ of 12 speaking stops could have as many

TABLE 32

I:	16.16.8.8.8.5⅓.4.4.4.2⅔.2.IV.IV.IV.16.8
II:	16.8.8.8.8.8.4.4.2.II.V.III.8
III:	16.8.8.8.8.8.4.4.4.2⅔.2.V.16
IV:	16.8.8.8.8.8.4.4.4.2⅔.2.IV.8.8
V:	8.8.8.4.2⅔.2.II III (Echo played from III)
Pedal I:	32.32.16.16.16.10⅔.8.8.8.5⅓.4.2.V.IV.32.16.8.4
Pedal II:	6.8.5⅓.4.2.16

as 12 'aids'. This was in addition to the Swell, which by then usually took the form of a cylinder rolled by the foot (*Walze*) and operating horizontal shutters. Other aids were the manual coupler, pedal coupler, octave and suboctave couplers, several pre-set combinations (labelled *p*, *mf*, *pp* etc.), one or more free combinations (set as required), General Crescendo (likewise operated by a foot cylinder or *Rollschweller*) and so on. But it is a mistake to assume that such composers as Reger necessarily required a General Crescendo or fixed combinations. The free combination, which requires good precision work on the builder's part, is more useful, whether mechanical or pneumatic. Similarly, the high-pressure reeds and large-mouth flues (called Seraphon) made by Weigle between 1890 and 1940 needed careful engineering, 'hard' though the tone undeniably sounded even at the time (as is shown by Schweitzer's opinion of the Stuttgart Liederhalle organ built in 1894–5).

Although the best of the 19th-century organs may now deserve the status of historical monuments, little musical sense can be made of such mature Romantic organs as Weigle's at Lauterbach (1906), whose stop-list is given in Table 33. Such organs were not so much 'Romantic' as perversions of a legitimate ideal current from Gabler to Walcker; it is hard to see them being fashionable again. Weigle's Stuttgart organ was criticized by Audsley (B1905) for making 'absolutely no attempt to place at the disposal of the *virtuoso* the ready means of producing complicated orchestral effects or of massing special tone-colours', which indeed was a high priority with performers of the day, who praised builders such as E.M. Skinner for providing such means.

As an example of a true Romantic organ close to the music of a lively, century-long tradition, Ladegast's organ for Merseburg Cathedral (completed 1855 in a classical case by Thayssner), for which Liszt wrote his Prelude and Fugue on B–A–C–H, would serve, although it is of interest that this large organ possesses no enclosed divisions, nor playing aids beyond a few couplers and *Sperrventile*; so would Cavaillé-Coll's for Ste Clotilde, Paris, where César Franck was organist from 1859 to 1890, and which he could yet describe as 'an orchestra':

Grand orgue	16.16.8.8.8.8.4.4.$2\frac{2}{3}$.2.V.16.8.4
Positif	16.8.8.8.8.8.4.4.$2\frac{2}{3}$.2.8.8.4
Récit	8.8.8.8.4.2.8.8.4
Pédale	32.16.8.4.16.16.8.4

The superiority of Cavaillé-Coll's voicing, particularly of the reeds, would have given Franck a more musical instrument than Weigle's at Lauterbach. The several 8′ stops are there for variety, and registrations still more or less followed traditional ideas of *plein jeu*, *grand jeu*, *fonds d'orgue* etc., for which the *pédales de combinaison* were essential. In general the principles behind the specification at Ste Clotilde were quite different from those of Weigle, and exercised a subtle influence on the repertory from Franck to Messiaen. French builders remained faithful to slider-chests in both practice and theory (cf J. Guédon: *Nouveau manuel*, 1903), and eschewed dull, foundational reed stops.

As an example of *fin de siècle* development beyond the demands of organ music, the Great organ manual of Walcker's Paulskirche organ, Frankfurt (1827), can be compared with its rebuild by the same firm 72 years later. The stop-list alone makes clear the change of taste and

TABLE 33

Lauterbach
Weigle, 1906

Manual I		*Manual II*	
Bourdon	16	Geigenprinzipal*	8
Prinzipal	8	Flöte*	8
Gedackt*	8	Viola	8
Flûte octaviante	8	Quintatön	8
Gamba*	8	Salizional	8
Dulziana	8	Aeoline	8
Oktave	4	Voix céleste	8
Rohrflöte	4	Fugara	4
Oktave	2	Traversflöte	4
Mixtur	IV–V	Kornett	III–IV
Trompete	8	Oboe (flue)	8
Tuba mirabilis	8		
Pedal		*Stops marked * were*	
Kontrabass	16	Seraphon stops	
Violonbass	16		
Sub-bass	16		
Quintatön	16		
Violoncello	8		
Posaune	16		

the manner in which the revision destroyed the early 19th-century monument:

(1827) 32.16.16.16.8.8.8.8.$5\frac{1}{3}$.4.4.4.$3\frac{1}{5}$.2 2/3.2.2.$1\frac{3}{5}$.2.2.$1\frac{3}{5}$.1. Cornet.V.IV.16.8 mechanical action, slider chest

(1899) 16.16.8.8.8.8.8.8.8.8.4.4.4.2.2.Cornet.VI.16.8.8.4 pneumatic action, cone-chest

From the mid-19th century organs in the USA broke from the older English pattern with increasing use of European innovations (often demanded by organists who had studied in Europe). Gambas and Harmonic Flutes (the latter usually at 4′ pitch) assumed a permanent place in the stop-lists of even small organs, and Solo divisions and high-pressure or harmonic-length reeds appeared in larger ones. The Barker machine was commonly used in large organs from about 1860 onwards, and early experiments (Roosevelt, 1869) were made with electric actions. Immigrant builders, mainly from Germany, began to do significant work in the Midwest (Pfeffer, Kilgen, Koehnken etc.) but appear not to have had significant influence on the large eastern builders. Little distinction was made between church and secular organs: Hook's large organs in Mechanics Hall, Worcester, Massachusetts (1864), and Immaculate Conception Church, Boston (1863), were very similar in size, stop-list and voicing, and were indeed expected to play much the same repertory, yet by the time Hook & Hastings's 70-stop organ was built for Boston's Holy Cross Cathedral in 1875, a distinct type of American Romantic organ had emerged, different in many respects from those of England and the Continent.

4. ELECTRICITY AND THE ORGAN. The instruments of Robert Hope-Jones and his lesser imitators are considered the most extreme of a highly experimental period, both tonally and mechanically. In the latter they broke new ground, but in tonal matters they extend the principles behind such organs as that at Lauterbach by omitting all ranks above a wide flute 2′, resulting in such schemes as the following for the Great organ manual at Worcester Cathedral (1896): 16.8.8.8.8.8.4.4.2.16.8 plus ten couplers to Great and seven composition keys. The tone was characterized by a corresponding smoothing out of

acoustic 'interest' and a princely indifference to traditional chorus-blending; yet the 1904 instrument at St John's, Newfoundland, was described in a contemporary account as having 'wonderfully powerful and delightfully neat tone'. Ignored by French and German organ historians, Hope-Jones built few instruments himself and had only limited business success in Britain and the USA; but his influence was significant in the early decades of the 20th century.

During the 25 years from 1889 to 1914 Hope-Jones contributed two major innovations: to key-action (electric, with stop-switches for registration, 'double touch' for keys and accessories), and to pipework and specification (large harmonic Trombas, very narrow Trumpets, heavy-pressure Diapasons with 'leathered' lips – i.e. with thin leather glued round the edge of the lip to reduce brightness, very narrow and keen-sounding string stops and wide-scaled open flutes). His diaphone pipe of 1893 was itself a new departure (see fig.21). Though no doubt more effective as a foghorn (an earlier version was accepted as such by the Canadian government, and diaphones were used as lighthouse fog-signals as late as the 1960s by the US Coast Guard), the diaphone is a good guide to the tone required by some musicians about 1900. Hope-Jones's actions were too finely designed for organs (they were more effective in telephone exchanges), but the period was one of experiment in electrical technology and his contributions are important. So many devices or facilities, such as those enabling the organist to 'prepare' stops which remained silent until required, or to open Swell shutters one by one, were made much easier with electricity; so was 'borrowing' stops, still disapproved of by Audsley (B1905) but in principle leading to 'unit-chests', 'extension organs' and other systems using one rank of pipes for several purposes. Hope-Jones thus typifies a movement that led to such extraordinary achievements for their time as the stadium organ in Chicago (Barton, 1929) where 44 ranks of pipes and various percussion effects produced an organ of six manuals (hanging in lofts above an auditorium of 25,000 seats) controlled by a movable console of 884 stop-controls and accessories, and blown by pressures of 40 to 140 cm, the latter for the diaphones. The extension organ of 1938 in the Civic Hall, Wolverhampton, was more modest and typical (Table 34).

Electricity has been used to replace key-pallet action (see fig.11), operate stop-mechanisms and accessories (couplers, combinations, tremulant, Swell shutters etc.), drive a motor for raising the wind and replace older chest types. The design of such mechanisms requires great skill and was perfected only during the 20th century. Certain sophisticated gadgets like Willis's 'infinite speed and gradation Swell' (where the amount by which the pedal is pushed forward is a measure of the speed at which the shutters open) date from the 1930s. In 1905 Audsley was still justifying the 'incomplete' nature of his discussion of electro-pneumatic actions by 'the tentative state of that branch of organ construction at this time'. By then, however, knowledge of such actions was advanced enough for E.M. Skinner's system to be applied at St Bartholomew, New York, to a console playing two organs, one at each end of the church. Skinner was perhaps America's most innovatory designer of actions; his 'pitman chest' (see below), still widely used in the USA, was first developed during his employment with Hutchings in the 1890s and

TABLE 34

Civic Hall, Wolverhampton
John Compton Organ Co., 1938

Chamber 1	*Pitch*	*Pipes*	*Pedal*	*Choir*	*Great*
Sub-bass	32	62	32.16.8.4		
Contrabass	16	56	16.8.4		
Bombarde	16	56	16.8.4		
Contra Salicional	16	109	16.8	16.8.4.$2\frac{2}{3}$.2.$1\frac{1}{3}$.1	
Gemshorn	8	61		8	
Vox angelica	4	49		8 (from *c*)	
Lieblich Gedackt	16	97	16	16.8.4.2	
Claribel Flute	8	61		8	
Flauto traverso	4	61		4	
Nazard	$2\frac{2}{3}$	61		$2\frac{2}{3}$	
Tierce	$1\frac{3}{5}$	61		$1\frac{3}{5}$	
Double Open Diapason	16	97	16.$10\frac{2}{3}$.$5\frac{1}{3}$	8	16.8.4.2
First Diapason	8	61			8
Second Diapason	8	61			8
Stopped Diapason	8	61			8
Octave	4	61			4
Twelfth	$2\frac{2}{3}$	61			$2\frac{2}{3}$
Superoctave	2	61			2
Furniture IV	$1\frac{1}{3}$	244			IV
Harmonics V	$6\frac{2}{3}$	364	V at 16′, V at 8′	V	
Contra Posaune	16	85	16.8	8	16.4
Tromba	8	61			8
Horn	8	61		8	8
Chamber II				*Swell*	*Solo*
Contra Viola	16	85	16	16.8.4	
Geigen	8	61		8	
Voix célestes	4	49		8 (from *c*)	
Rohrflute	8	61		8	
Geigen Octave	4	61		4	
Fifteenth	2	61		2	
Mixture IV	$1\frac{1}{3}$	244		IV	
Double Trumpet	16	85	16	16.4	8
Trumpet	8	61		8	
Hautboy	8	61			8
Violoncello	8	61			8
Viole céleste	8	61			8
Harmonic Flute	8	61			8
Harmonic Flute	4	61			4
Clarinet	8	61			8
Orchestral Oboe	8	61		*Choir*	8
Tuba	8	73		8	8.4

Contained in two Swell boxes in the roof of the hall, without case or case front, the sound escaping between plaster roof-sections
50 ranks of pipes
Electric action for keys, stops and accessories
26 double-touch pistons to manuals and pedal
20 toe-pistons
11 other pistons, 3 Tremulants and 2 'Sustainers' (Choir, Solo)
15 couplers
Electronic section for Solo Organ (flute and reed effects, chimes)

was a radical departure from other systems then in use which were, with the exception of Austin's equally original 'Universal Air Chest', largely electrified adaptations of the older slider-, ventil-, or cone-chests.

Perhaps the most radical application of electricity to organ building was that enabling any key to be connected to any pipe: as in other forms of individual note-valve chests, each pipe stands over its own individual valve on the so-called unit-chest, but through the use of switching mechanisms such unit-chests can be used for one or more stops of an organ. A 2′ pipe could be *c*′ of a nominal 8′ stop, *c* of a 4′ stop, *F* of a $2\frac{2}{3}$′ stop, etc., and the row of

pipes 'extended' to allow complete compass at all levels. The principle of 'extension' was known to Praetorius for a little table positive, and Marcussen applied it to six of his *Hauptwerk* stops at Siseby in 1819; an 'extension organ' is merely one taking the idea of such 'duplexed ranks' to a logical conclusion. Electric actions made such systems much easier to use. That the idea is basically inimical to true organ tone, since no consistently scaled rank will serve two purposes, did not escape the attention of the better builders. At Wolverhampton, for example, the principle is applied very discreetly, and builders such as Skinner and Austin avoided it almost entirely except in the Pedal department. But extended ranks cannot provide as much power and variety as their stop-knobs promise, and some builders compensated by coarsening the tonal quality of the pipes concerned: the pressure was raised, languids sharp-angled, upper lips leathered, scaling enlarged or narrowed excessively, perhaps with a double languid (drawing in air from outside) or double mouth (two sides of a square pipe provided with a mouth, as in the Doppelflöte of the late 18th century and the 19th), reed-tongues 'weighted' to encourage stronger foundational tone, cheaper metal used, and sometimes (in the pedals) a diaphone resorted to. Many of the orchestral colours imitated by builders and recommended by influential writers were themselves ephemeral (e.g. the euphonium). New chests, particularly the Anglo-American pitman chest (E.M. Skinner), were devised in which the key and drawstop had equal access to the valve below the pipe, sounding it only when both were activated – a rather ingenious and efficient system that has stood the test of time.

Builders of the period 1840–1940 often disagreed with one another's taste in details. Hope-Jones's diaphones were not made (or were only briefly employed) by most builders, nor Cavaillé-Coll's type of slotted reed pipes outside France, nor English leathered Diapasons beyond a certain period in England and the USA, nor the unit-chest by most of the better builders of church organs. The origin of many voicing techniques, such as leathering the lips of flue pipes and weighting reed-tongues with brass or lead, is obscure; so many had their origins in earlier periods that only the extremes of various kinds (high pressure, diaphone pipes, electro-pneumatic action etc.) can be dated from the late 19th century. It was these extremes that led to the CINEMA ORGAN about 1911. A large-looking Wurlitzer organ of this period contained only a few ranks of pipes voiced to either extreme and 'extended' to provide many stops available at every pitch on every manual: a *reductio ad absurdum* of the principle of 'floating' chests. With its percussion traps and effects and omnipresent tremulants, its high-pressure pipework enclosed in grille-fronted chambers, its movable console operating electric actions and swell shutters, the cinema organ can be seen not only following on from the 'serious' organs of Hope-Jones, Compton, Pendlebury, Franklin Lloyd and others, but as an updated version of Vogler's orchestrion. Again it was not the church organ but the secular that demonstrated an idea taken to its logical end.

5. THE ORGAN IN THE EARLY 20TH CENTURY. The early decades of the 20th century saw more than one short-lived phenomenon. The heyday of the cinema organ lasted only until the introduction of soundtracks to moving pictures around 1930 (and a little later in Britain). Many such organs were ultimately removed from cinemas, some destroyed, and others moved to churches (where they were eventually found to be so inappropriate that they were replaced); but in the second half of the century some that survived *in situ* were restored, and, in America, others have been rebuilt and installed in 'pizza and beer' restaurants, where they continue their intended mission of providing entertainment. Another such development was the domestic self-playing organ (*see* PLAYER ORGAN), created by manufacturers such as Welte & Söhn of Freiburg and the Aeolian Company of New York, who each adapted their already successful electro-pneumatic roll-playing mechanisms for the REPRODUCING PIANO to the pipe organ. As seen from surviving player-roll libraries, the greater part of the repertory of these instruments consisted of orchestral and operatic transcriptions, and their tonal resources were geared to this music. However, legitimate organ music was also recorded, and some of these rolls now have considerable historical interest in that they preserve the performances of some notable turn-of-the-century organ virtuosos. The player organ enjoyed a worldwide market until a combination of the Depression and new fashions such as the radio and the gramophone set it into a near terminal decline in the 1930s.

The 'post-Romantic' organ of the early 20th century has been criticized on numerous counts, most of them to a greater or lesser extent legitimate. At its most mediocre, it was the 'factory organ' that roused the ire of Albert Schweitzer (B1906; see §VII, 1, below); it was also this organ that, sinking ever deeper into its makers' and players' preoccupations with the imitation of orchestral sounds, vast ranges of dynamic expression, and ingenious console gadgetry, threatened for a time to make a large part of the corpus of organ literature from Scheidt to Franck either obsolete or unintelligible. What is perhaps surprising is that at no other time in history has the organ been so ubiquitous: organs of all sizes were to be found not only in churches, chapels, cathedrals and concert halls, but also in auditoriums, cinemas, residences, hospitals, museums, hotels, spas, restaurants, ballrooms, skating-rinks, department stores and schools of all kinds. According to statistics from the US Census Bureau, more organs were built in that country in 1927 than in any year before or since. Eight years later, this figure had dropped to its lowest point before World War II (which interrupted organ building everywhere). The pattern was similar in Europe.

At its worst, the organ of this period was dull and uninspired, most of the small to medium-size instruments being virtually mass-produced and only shop-voiced. The use of extension and unification principles was rampant, resulting in a thinness and blandness of sound in the majority of smaller church organs. Some unfortunate architectural trends were also promulgated in this period. Since electric action removed all limitations from the placement of the console and the layout of the pipes, more and more organs were divided and placed in sound-smothering chambers that were often deep and without adequate openings, and the consoles (as well as Echo divisions with little historical connection) could be located almost anywhere, even at the opposite end of the church from the pipes. What such placements of organs may have gained in visual and physical convenience, they suffered from in musical inconvenience, and, once established, this fashion – perhaps most greatly abused in English-speaking countries – has been unfortunately difficult to reverse.

At its best, however, the early 20th-century organ was a triumph of technology and the possessor of sometimes surprisingly impressive musical qualities when allowed to do what it was designed for. A virtuoso cinema organist playing a good Wurlitzer, Barton or Compton can bring life and drama to a silent film; a suavely voiced Aeolian or Welte playing from a well-made orchestral roll can delight all but the most hardened purist. Similarly, in some of the larger 'symphonic' instruments, most often located in secular concert halls, one can discern the qualities that attracted such extraordinarily gifted and internationally recognized recitalists as Eddy, Guilmant, Courboin, Lemare, Cunningham and Farnam. Marcel Dupré was inspired to compose his monumental *Symphonie-Passion* (1924) while improvising on the monster organ in Philadelphia's Wanamaker store in 1921, later stating that he 'played in a state of exaltation that [he had] seldom known'. Such builders as Skinner, Kimball, Casavant, Willis, Harrison, Mutin or Steinmeyer could produce large instruments which could not only flood with sound a large building – whether a reverberant European cathedral or a dry American concert hall – but also perform transcriptions to perfection and do some justice to much of the legitimate organ literature, as well as serve as a foil to an orchestra or an accompaniment to a choir. When certain conservative and knowledgeable advisers (George Dixon in England, Emerson Richards in the USA, etc.) were involved, the stop-lists, at least on paper, could appear quite balanced. What were lacking were smaller instruments well enough designed and voiced to live up to the expectations generated by the large organs, and this lack may have been one of the many factors which helped to give impetus to the forthcoming Organ Reform movement.

VII. The Organ Revival, 1930–70

'Organ Revival' is a term used increasingly often as an English equivalent to *Orgelbewegung* (coined about 1930 as a simplified form of Gurlitt's *Orgel-Erneuerungsbewegung* proposed at the Freiburg congress, B1926). The movement was concerned with 'reviving' some of the 'historic principles' of the organ, because it was thought in German musicological circles of the 1920s that the 'true purpose and nature' of the organ had 'declined' and required 'regeneration'. Although such words were much used in Germany, considerable activity also occurred in other countries, notably the Netherlands, Denmark and Switzerland.

During the 1920s, not least in the light of current political movements, many aspects of German cultural life were re-examined, and before 1933 there were more or less formulated movements in folk music, youth music, church music, and the music of particular composers (e.g. the *Schützbewegung*). These movements had certain aims or assumptions in common, for their followers:

(i) reacted negatively to a previous period. In the *Orgelbewegung* this was done in the form of a protest against the thick, loud sonorities of the orchestral organ, the factory organ, the 'expressive' or symphonic organ, the organ as an engineered machine rather than an apparatus or 'tool of music'. As such, reacting against late 19th-century organ ideals is equivalent to reacting against late 19th-century music, and insufficient explanation has been given for why an organ of Sauer is less worthy of revival than, say, Wagner's *Parsifal*.

(ii) assumed that criteria could be determined. In 1906 Schweitzer's test for an organ, 'the best and sole' standard, was its fitness for playing J.S. Bach's music. Unfortunately, that ideal in the 1820s had already deflected the French and English organs from the better features of their native paths; and it is not *per se* a reliable criterion, since not only do opinions differ as to the 'nature of Bach's organ' but the composer himself played organs of quite opposing aims. To the reformers, the 'Bach organ' was more a generic term, merely signifying instruments built and voiced 'in the Baroque manner'. Schweitzer's rallying-cry was perhaps not to be taken too literally, although several builders in Alsace and south Germany met under its banner and adopted stop-lists (if nothing else) conducive to Bach registration. The resulting 'Alsatian Organ Reform' has been seen as the precursor of the Organ Revival.

(iii) attempted in general to lead to standardization. Schweitzer's views expressed at the Vienna Congress of the IMS in 1909 and at the Third Organ Conference at Freiberg, Lower Saxony in 1927 aimed at a general return to old ideals. Although in 1909 it may have been reasonable to equate *tonschön* with *alt*, a blanket equation of the two leads to over-uniformity and a kind of lazy norm often to be heard as simple anonymity in the tone of hundreds of neo-Baroque organs built in Germany and elsewhere since the mid-1930s.

1. Early indications. Schweitzer's book *J.S. Bach, le musicien-poète* (1905) and his pamphlet *Deutsche und französische Orgelbaukunst* (B1906) were highly formative, and still influential in some quarters at the end of the 20th century. A precursor in the workings of the Alsatian Organ Reform has been seen in Emil Rupp, for whom Walcker built a 'reformed organ' at St Paul, Strasbourg, in 1907. But equally indicative of the inevitable change in direction were works of more general musical scholarship. For example, Guilmant's series of old French organ music (begun in 1901 under the title Archives des Maîtres de l'Orgue) was much in advance of Karl Straube's 'editions' of old German composers (1904) with their anachronistic expression marks and improbable registrations. Also important was the pioneering work in the interpretation of old music published by Arnold Dolmetsch and others. Dolmetsch no doubt owed much to a favourable musical climate in England where Charles Salaman, Carl Engel and A.J. Hipkins had already reintroduced the harpsichord to public music-making. But, as in France and Germany, renewed interest in harpsichords did not necessarily lead to enlightenment with regard to organs. Nevertheless what Dolmetsch wrote in 1915 reflected his views over the past decades and summed up the situation admirably for anyone wishing to heed them:

> Church organs had that power based on sweetness which constitutes majesty. The change came on, and for the sake of louder tone, pressure of wind was doubled and trebled. The same pressure acting on the valves which let the wind into the pipes made them too heavy for the fingers to move through the keys. A machine was then invented which did the work at second hand [and] the music of the organ dragged on after the player's fingers as best it could. Personal touch, which did so much for phrasing and expression, was destroyed.
>
> Then fashion decreed that the organ should be an imitation of the orchestra. ... The organist, if he is clever, can give a chromo-lithograph of the *Meistersinger* Prelude; but he has not the right tone with which to play a chorale, if his organ is up-to-date. Modern compositions are intended for this machine, and all is well with them; but it is a revelation to hear Handel's or Bach's music on a well-preserved old organ.

There is nothing here about 'the Baroque organ', and the word was only later taken over from art historians to evoke an organ type more imaginary than real.

In England practice did not reflect enlightened theory. The ideas of organ advisers like Thomas Casson (1842–1910) and, during a particularly critical period, George Dixon (1870–1950) kept early 20th-century organs from

the worst excesses; but they were still only insular compromises. As with so many English writers of the period 1875–1975, their emphasis on stop-lists and imaginary 'ideal organs' was not basic enough to lead to radical rethinking. Factions in organ building are common, and in France the polarization of conservative 'Romanticists' versus German-influenced 'Reformers' meant that a modern organ could have one of two totally opposed characters depending on what the builder and his adviser favoured. But in England, many organists had only a compromise instrument of mixed lineage going back to William Hill and taking in a few non-establishment influences from Hope-Jones on one hand and later continental 'reform' builders such as D.A. Flentrop on the other. *Grove5* ('Organ') gives the specifications of several such organs, often built well and at great expense. Until the 1930s the situation in the USA was much the same as in England, although Willis's influence on Ernest Skinner prompted him to reintroduce the Great principal chorus in some of his organs in the 1920s. The increasing interest in Bach's music (as shown in the popularity of W. Lynnwood Farnam's recitals of the complete organ works of Bach in 1929) was an early sign of coming change.

2. German developments in the 1920s. A practical step was taken in 1921 when Oscar Walcker, with the collaboration of Wilibald Gurlitt, designed and built the Freiburg Praetorius-Orgel, inaugrated by Karl Straube. This was the first attempt at reconstructing the tonal character of a so-called Baroque organ according to some of the details given by Praetorius in *De organographia* (*Syntagma musicum*, ii).

Compromises were evident: suitable casework was not made, the stop-list was modified, the pipes were placed not on a slider-chest but a 'stop-channel chest', wind was supplied by an electric blower and the action was electro-pneumatic. Nonetheless, the organ was significant, not least in the publicity it gained during the organ conference held at Freiburg in 1926 before 600 members. The instrument was destroyed in 1944, and a second, less compromising one was made in 1954–5. The change in approach indicates clearly how German organ thinking had developed over 30 or so years: Gurlitt was still the adviser, but the organ was built by Walcker-Mayer with the collaboration of acoustic and technical experts (Lottermoser, E.K. Rössler) and closely modelled on the first specification in Praetorius's *De organographia*, with data taken from extant pipework by Praetorius's friend Esaias Compenius, and with mean-tone tuning, a slider-chest, mechanical action and a thorough *Werkprinzip* structure; the stop-lists is given in Table 35. Were a third 'Praetorius' organ to be built, one could expect that all compromises away from his specification would be dropped and an early 17th-century casework and wind system incorporated, being integral parts of the total sound-production.

Although both Schweitzer's and Gurlitt's views were directed towards certain music – that of J.S. Bach on the one hand and that of Scheidt and Schütz on the other – results were seen only gradually in organ building. After Rupp and Walcker visited Mutin, Cavaillé-Coll's successor, one or two organs were built with the express purpose of combining the musical potential of the German and French organ. One such instrument was at the Reinoldikirche, Dortmund, inaugrated in 1909 by Schweitzer and attracting the attention of Reger, for whom a festival was

TABLE 35

Freiburg University, 'Praetorius' organ II
W. Walcker-Mayer, 1954–5

Oberwerk		*Rückpositiv*	
Principal	8	Principal	4
Gedackt	8	Quintadena	8
Oktave	4	Hohlflöte	4
Gemshorn	4	Nachthorn (wood)	4
Gedackt (wood)	4	Blockflöte	2
Nasat	$2\frac{2}{3}$	Oktave	2
Scharfquinta	4 (?$1\frac{1}{3}$)	Quinta	$1\frac{1}{3}$
Superoktave	2	Zimbel	
Mixtur III	2	Schalmei	8
Brustpositiv		*Pedal*	
Krummhorn (wood)	8	Untersatz (open wood)	16
Quintetz	$1\frac{1}{3}$ (?4)	Posaune (Sordun)	16
Zimbel	II	Dolcan	8
Sifflöte	1	Bauerflötlein	1
		Singend Cornet	2

Zimbelstern
Tremulants (*Oberwerk*, *Rückpositiv*)
Couplers: *Rückpositiv* to *Oberwerk*; *Oberwerk* to *Pedal*; *Rückpositiv* to *Pedal*

held at Dortmund in 1910. The dual polyphonic-homophonic nature of Reger's mature style would in theory gain much from the character of an Alsatian Reform organ. The type of eclecticism aimed at in such organs was considerably ahead of its time and not fully understood; but it led to giant organs such as that at Passau Cathedral (Steinmeyer, 1930; 208 stops) in which one section serves as a 'German Romantic organ', another has a 'French character' (reeds, Cornet), and yet another provides a 'Baroque department'. While in north Germany such firms as Ott and Kemper remained closer to a single orderly tradition, the influence of Steinmeyer was wide, and a harbinger of things to come.

Yet returning to full *Werkprinzip* design was also only gradual. Like the 1921 Praetorius-Orgel, the influential organ of the Marienkirche, Göttingen (Furtwängler & Hammer, 1925), was a compromise with pneumatic action, but in its specification and scalings, prepared by Christhard Mahrenholz, it pointed the way to future development:

Less recognized is the broader Swiss approach, as expressed in Jacques Hanschin's paper in *Tagung für deutsche Orgelkunst: Freiburg, Lower Saxony, 1927*, and Kuhn's French-influenced *Rückpositiv* at Berne Minster (1930). The 'Hindemith organ' – that thought ideal for the performance of his sonatas – was itself a mean between extremes, and in fact revelatory of the real meaning of the movement to many, including 'neo-Baroque' composers such as Distler and Pepping. But important work was begun on technical aspects of organ building, and a climate of opinion was being created with regard to acoustics (*Akustische Zeitschrift*, 1936; *AMf*, 1939), slider-chest and their influence on tone (H.H. Jahnn: *Der Einfluss der Schleifenwindlade*, 1931), pallets (*ZI*, 1933), casework (W. Supper: *Architekt und Orgelbau*, 1934) and scaling (Mahrenholz, C1938). In Italy questions concerning old organs had been discussed for many years (e.g. *Musica sacra*, 1901–3), and even large electric organs like that in the Pontificio Istituto di Musica Sacra (Rome, 1933) had never shaken off certain traditional features. But in France technical achievement lagged behind

historical research: the documents and archives published by Raugel and Dufourcq led to the discovery of many old organs, as a result of which almost all were rebuilt over the next few decades, and many altered beyond recognition in an effort to make them suitable for German Baroque music.

3. Old organs. The position of surviving old organs in the Organ Reform was a difficult one. Important though the Schnitger organ in the Jacobikirche, Hamburg, or the Lübeck Totentanzorgel were to a writer like H.H. Jahnn (*Deutsche Musikgesellschaft: Kongress I: Leipzig 1925*), or the Silbermann in Freiberg, Lower Saxony, to E. Flade (*Tagung für deutsche Orgelkunst III: Freiberg, Lower Saxony, 1927*), in practice they were, obviously, not suitable for all the organ repertory. They would not allow, for instance, the gradual crescendo demanded by Reger and obtained on one manual by piling up three or four 8′ stops before the first 4′ was added. Oversimplified claims were often made – for instance, that ventil-chests are by nature 'bad'. It is probably true that, compass apart, an organ of 1700 is in certain respects more versatile than one of 1900; but no valid doctrine can be formed on the basis of such a generalization.

Nevertheless, the beauty of the Freiberg Cathedral Silbermann organ was not questioned, and the publication in facsimile of treatises by Werckmeister, Praetorius, Bédos de Celles, Mattheson, Adlung and Schlick heightened interest in the few extant remains of organs they described. One result, however, was that much-altered instruments were over-respected, and an organ like that at Amorbach (1774–82) or the Totentanzorgel gave, over the years, many misleading impressions, due, at least in part, to imperfect analysis. Enlightened opinion may no longer claim that 'it is the large Schnitger organ that best corresponds to the demands made by J.S. Bach's music' (Klotz, D(i)1934), but it is still almost impossible to be sure what kind of sound Schnitger was aiming at, since none of his instruments remain in wholly unaltered condition.

As examples of ill-conceived restorations, many organs in England, Ireland, France, Spain and Germany could be described, and as much damage was done during the 30 years following World War II as at any other period. The organ of Herzogenburg Abbey, Austria, can serve as an example. By 1964 most of its original character had either survived or was fairly easily ascertainable; but the 'restoration' of that year resulted in major changes based on unhistorical or oversimplified concepts. The main chests were enlarged to give a modern compass of *C*–*f*‴–*g*‴, thus discarding the original short octaves, the incomplete (but characteristic) pedals and most of the original chests; the action was discarded and newly made; manual and pedal Mixtures were changed in content; new ranks and stops of a kind unsuitable to an Austrian organ of 1749 were made; the instrument was revoiced throughout; and the original detached console was discarded and replaced by a new oak console. This organ would need a radical rebuild if it were ever again to give an organist anything like a true impression of the instruments known to Mozart.

By 1971, however, certain builders were attempting closer historical accuracy in their restorations, as is shown in a second Austrian organ, that of the Hofkirche, Innsbruck (see Table 8 and fig.34). Here the original wind-trunk was preserved, the wind pressure ascertained and voicing recovered; the original short *C*–*a*″ compass was restored (though the keys perhaps date from the 18th century); the original pitch level (*a*′ = 445), case, chests etc. were restored; and the instrument was tuned in an unequal temperament. Were the modern bellows to be replaced by one more characteristic of the period, the organ would represent better the late 20th-century ideals of restoration.

Almost wholly overlooked until the 1960s, however, were many noteworthy 19th-century organs in all countries. After World War II large numbers of these continued to be ruthlessly rebuilt or electrified, or, ironically, tonally ruined in misguided attempts to make them conform to neo-Baroque ideals.

4. Scandinavian and Dutch organs. A more radical rethinking of the organ appears to have been achieved in Scandinavia, but it is more likely that national organ types had been less extremely developed there during the crucial period 1870–1910. It is thus perhaps less a question of revival than of survival of old organ design. On the whole the Swedish organ had become more 'decadent' than the Danish, but interest in such things as mutations survived here and there. Naturally, German ventil-chests were found in Scandinavia, and Theodor Frobenius, a German-born builder who settled in Copenhagen, made the first Danish electric action. But the ideas aired by the Alsatian Organ Reform soon became respected in Denmark.

Simpler than the organ at the Marienkirche, Göttingen, yet put in a very imposing contemporary case by builders alert to correct acoustical placing, was the quire organ of the extraordinary Grundtvig Church, Copenhagen (1940), built by Marcussen. In 1920 the head of this firm was Sybrand Zachariassen, who was joined a little later by P.G. Andersen; by the late 1930s the firm was producing almost nothing but mechanical-action organs and doing good formative work in restoration (Sorø Cathedral, 1942). The Grundtvig Church organ was quite uneclectic (Table 36).

In the same year (1940) a *Rückpositiv* was added by Frobenius to the early 16th-century *Hauptwerk* from St Petri, Malmö, now in Malmö Museum, showing that builders were aware of the practical convenience of *Werkprinzip* elements. By 1944 the new organ of Jaegersborg, near Copenhagen, had three uncompromising *Werkprinzip* manuals complete with a Trumpet *en chamade*, so placed for power rather than for imitations of Spanish tone. (This has remained true of *Orgelbewegung* reeds *en chamade*.) Important too were the smaller organs made by the new builders after the war, especially in view of the lacklustre quality of most small organs built

TABLE 36

Grundtvig Church, Copenhagen
Marcussen, 1940

Hoofdwerk		*Rugwerk*		*Pedal*	
Principal*	8	Principal*	4	Sub-Bass	16
Nachthorn	8	Gedakt	8	Bordun (transmitted)	8
Octav	4	Rørfløtje	4	Octav (transmitted)	4
Quint	$2\frac{2}{3}$	Quintatøn	2	Dulcian	16
Octav	2	Scharf	II		
Mixtur	IV	Krumhorn	8		

The *Hoofdwerk* and Pedal pipes are on the same chest
* = case pipes

TABLE 37

Schoondijke
Flentrop, 1951

One manual, *C–e‴*

Stop	Pitch
Prestant	4
Holpijp	8 (halved)
Quintadeen	8
Spitsfluit	4 (halved)
Octaaf	2
Scherp	IV
Sesquialter	II (treble)
Ranket	16 (halved)

Doetinchem
Flentrop, 1952

Hoofdwerk		*Rugwerk*	
Prestant	8	Prestant	4
Quintadeen	16	Holpijp	8
Roerfluit	8	Quintadeen	8
Octaaaf	4	Roerfluit	4
Ged. Fluit	4	Octaaf	2
Nasard	2⅔	Quint	1⅓
Octaaf	2	Scherp (1′)	IV
Mixtur (1⅓′)	V–VI	Sesquialter	II (treble)
Trompet	8	Dulciaan	8
Borstwerk		*Pedaal*	
Prestant	2	Prestant	16
Fluit (wood)	8	Octaaf	16
Fluit	4	Octaaf	4
Gemshoorn	2	Nachthoorn	2
Octaaf	1	Mixtur (2′)	IV
Cymbel (1⅓′)	II	Bazuin	16
Regaal	4	Schalmei	4

Couplers: *Rugwerk* to *Hoofdwerk*; *Borstwerk* to *Hoofdwerk*; *Hoofdwerk* to *Pedaal*; *Rugwerk* to *Pedaal*

in the pre-war period. Flentrop's eight-stop organ at Schoondijke (1951) was in its way even more influential than his *Werkprinzip* organ at Doetinchem (1952), which soon became a model for the design of *Hauptwerk* + *Rückpositiv* + Pedal towers. (The stop-lists of both are given in Table 37.) Open-toe voicing, mechanical action and encased departments were by now standard among the younger builders, although the importance of wind supply was still not understood. Such instruments went far beyond the theories of the *Orgelbewegung*, and it is a mistake to regard them as mere 17th- or 18th-century pastiche – they were in fact a new genre. Frequently they serve as practical demonstration of intricate theory and knowledge. Frobenius and Ingerslev's paper on end correction, for example (C1947), is the most important theoretical work by an organ builder in this field since Cavaillé-Coll.

TABLE 38

Acadia University
Casavant Frères, 1963

Hauptwerk		*Brustwerk*		*Pedal*	
Quintaden	16	Gedackt	8	Sub-Bass	16
Prinzipal	8	Spitzflöte	4	Prinzipal	8
Rohrflöte	8	Prinzipal	2	Choralbass	4
Oktav	4	Quinte	1⅓	Mixtur (2′)	IV
Waldflöte	4	Sesquialtera	II	Fagott	16
Flachflöte	2	Zimbel (¼′)	II		
Mixtur (1′)	IV	Holzregal	8		
Trompete	8				

Couplers: Hauptwerk to Pedal; Brustwerk to Pedal; Brustwerk to Hauptwerk

Mechanical action

5. The Organ Revival in the USA. The main innovators of the early revival in USA were Walter Holtkamp of Cleveland and G.D. Harrison, an Englishman working for the Skinner Organ Co. In 1933 Holtkamp had been contracted to add a *Rückpositiv* to Tthe large Romantic organ of the Cleveland Museum of Art, but the slider-chest had a multiple-valve system which was later abandoned in his work. Harrison's influence on tonal design was more important than the structural reforms; he had applied low pressure to a fairly large organ contracted for at Groton School in 1935, but structurally and mechanically it was otherwise no different from other electro-pneumatic organs built by the firm. This organ, like the slightly smaller but more coherent instrument built a year earlier for the Church of the Advent in Boston, was one of the first attempts in the USA at a large, classically influenced eclectic instrument, although its voicing hardly follows classical principles and its general effect lacks articulation. More successful, and certainly more influential, was the small, unencased, two-manual organ built in 1937 as an experiment, and installed in the Germanic (now Busch-Reisinger) Museum at Harvard University, which was heard by a vast audience through the broadcasts and recordings of E. Power Biggs, an early champion of the Reform movement. These and other isolated instruments of the period testify to a growing interest in historic European principles among some American organists and builders, Cavaillé-Coll and Silbermann being especially admired. Such organs, for all their drawbacks of voicing, pitman chests and electric action, possessed greater clarity than had been heard from American organs for some decades, and they made their point musically. Partly because of Holtkamp's efforts, many of these organs were free-standing rather than installed in the all-too-common chambers (fig.47), but the musical importance of casework was as yet unrealized, and only low wind pressures and gentle voicing curbed the tendency of 'pipes-in-the-open' to sound raw and unblending, especially in acoustically dry surroundings.

Soon after World War II the reform movement revived with renewed vigour. Academic and musicological writers leant heavily on 17th-century German literature and indeed tried to create a more rational (if sometimes contrived) language of organ terms (Bunjes, D(xv)1966). Organists and organ students, especially American, became much influenced by the various historic organs of France and Germany, although the relative inaccessibility of East German organs until the late 1980s, notably those of Silbermann, affected American-European organ design. European builders exported small but important organs to the USA (Rieger about 1952, Flentrop in 1954), and Beckerath consolidated the trend by building a 44-stop four-manual organ for Trinity Lutheran Church, Cleveland, in 1957. American firms were bound to be influenced by such instruments, and while Flentrop secured many prestigious American contracts (e.g. St Mark's Cathedral, Seattle), and Beckerath went on to build several equally important organs in Canada (e.g. St Joseph's Oratory, Montreal), other builders like Charles Fisk of Massachusetts and Casavant Frères of Quebec soon produced their own versions of the new styles. Casavant's organ of 1963 in Acadia University, Wolfville, Nova Scotia (Table 38) is



47. Organ by the Holtkamp Organ Co., inaugurated 1967, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque

a typical small organ of the kind inspired by such builders as Beckerath, and Fisk's organ in Mt Calvary Church, Baltimore, was influenced by Flentrop. From the point of view of the Organ Revival, such instruments were far in advance of the huge unencased organs made by the larger firms (e.g. Möller's paired organs in the Shrine of the Immaculate Conception, Washington DC, 1970), although it is fair to point out that inventive and contemporary visual effects can often be achieved by a good designer with unencased chests.

Many North American builders were willing to consult advisers who had practical or theoretical knowledge of historic organ types of Europe; at its best the collaboration is highly successful. Flentrop's organ of 1958 for the Busch-Reisinger Museum at Harvard reflects a further element: the strength of taste developed by players (in this instance E. Power Biggs) experienced in European organs. In North America, Flentrop, Metzler, Beckerath, Ahrend & Brunzema and others went on to build important instruments of great beauty, and from the late 1960s other influences became evident, such as the French elements in the stop-list and voicing at the Memorial Church, Harvard University (C.B. Fisk, 1967), or the pseudo-Italian elements in the large electric-action organ of the First Congregational Church, Los Angeles (Schlicker, 1969). It is true that neither instrument demonstrates a thorough understanding of its models, but such attempts were important stepping-stones towards stricter historical copies – a trend also followed by American harpsichord makers in the same period and one leading to less compromising organs (see §VIII below). The specific influence of the German-orientated *Orgelbewegung* has waned considerably in the USA and Canada since the 1970s; like the new organ terminology sometimes attempted, it was too artificial a graft to bear much fruit, and other, more attractive and more historically informed influences have taken its place in the thinking of builders and players.

6. ENGLAND, FRANCE AND ITALY. Although perceptive English organ enthusiasts such as Cecil Clutton were praising European 'reform' organs in print by around 1950, it seems to be true that the Organ Revival in England 'really took root only with the opening of the organ for the Royal Festival Hall, London, in 1954' (Clutton and Niland, D(xii)1963; fig.48). Despite careful planning by the adviser (Ralph Downes) and meticulous workmanship by the builders (Harrison & Harrison), the

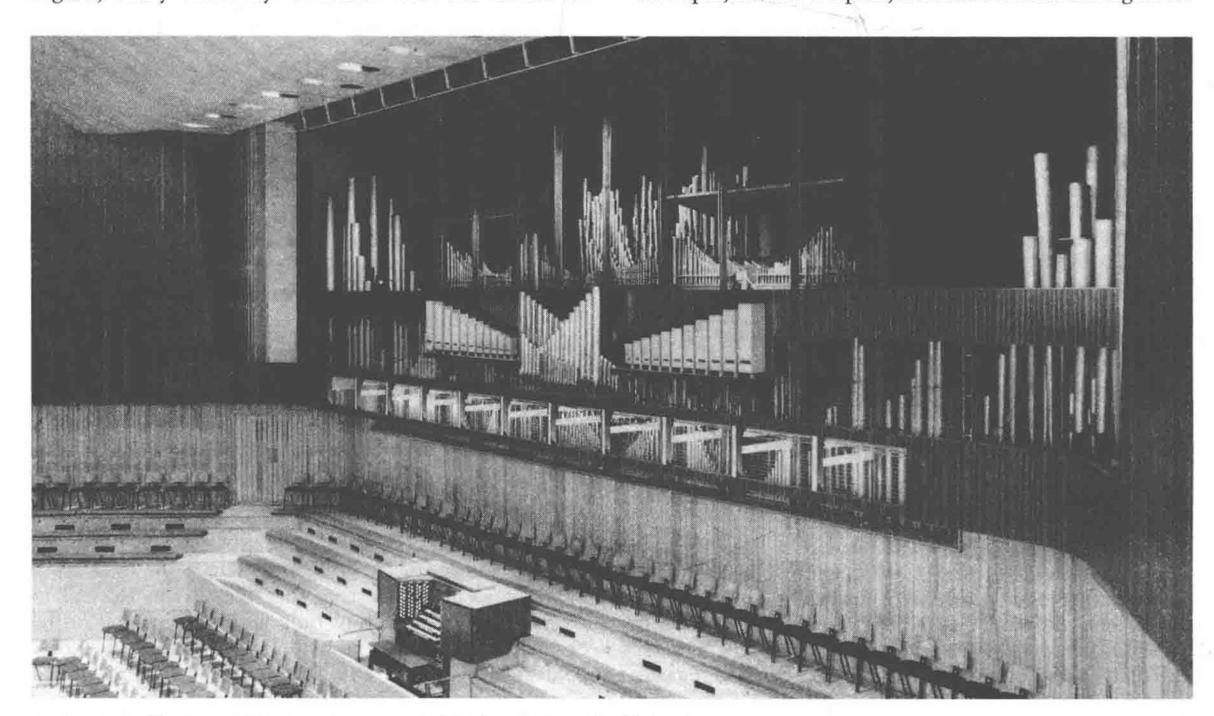
composite nature of the organ made it little more than a quickly dated compromise. Its 103 stops give the impression of immense adaptability, and the German flutes, Anglo-German chorus and French reeds allow many types of organ music to be given reasonable performance; but the very size (quite apart from the semi-unencased construction and the electro-pneumatic action) make true sympathy with most musical styles impossible. Although admired by many players in both England and the USA, the instrument has had curiously few successors: new designs did not immediately appear, despite an awareness of continental organs (e.g. the Organ Club's visit to Frobenius in 1958) and the obvious qualities of tracker action (St Vedast-alias-Foster, London, built in 1961 by Noel Mander, using an 18th-century case and much antique pipework). J.W. Walker's organ of 1959 in the Italian Church, London, showed a rather confused scheme, but it helped to open the path to 'Baroque' influences:

Great organ	16.8.8.4.4.$2\frac{2}{3}$.2.II.IV.8
Choir organ	8.4.4.2.2.$1\frac{1}{3}$.II.III.8
Swell organ	8.8.8.8.4.4.$2\frac{2}{3}$.2.IV.16.8.8
Pedal	32.16.16.16.8.8.8.$5\frac{1}{3}$.4.4.IV.16.16.8.4

As in America, imported organs (e.g. The Queen's College, Oxford: Frobenius, 1965) played their part in promulgating the new tonal and mechanical ideals, which began to be taken up by such builders as Collins, Mander, and Grant, Degens & Bradbeer (New College, Oxford, 1969). Later in the 20th century some younger builders (e.g. Goetze & Gwynn, Drake and Collins) found inspiration closer to home, particularly in 18th-century English organs.

The French organ has developed on rather similar lines, 'neo-classical' indicating a frenchified composite organ designed with both Grigny and Bach, both Franck and Messiaen in mind. Most major French churches have such organs, many made by Gonzalez with the advice of Norbert Dufourcq, a collaboration which also unfortunately engineered the rebuilding of many intact classical and Romantic organs in a hybrid quasi-Germanic mould, with the stated aim of making them better fitted for the playing of Bach. Since the late 1960s closer imitations of old French styles have been attempted, for example the partial copy of a Bédos de Celles organ (complete with low pitch) by J.-G. Koenig at Sarre-Union (1968). In particular, the importance of the traditional French classical form of 'suspended' action has been recognized and such actions, notable for their sensitivity, have since successfully been made by American, Dutch and German builders as well as the French. In both England and France, 'restoration' of old organs had been, with a few significant exceptions (Poitiers Cathedral, restored by Boisseau), as detrimental as in Germany. The typically French classical 1693/1832 pedal department (Flutes 8′ and 4′ (*C–e*), Trompette 8′ and Clairon 4′ (*ravalement F′–e*)) at Auch Cathedral was altered in 1959 to a more 'correct' Reform stop-list (Principal 16′, Sub-Bass 16′, Bourdon 8′, Flûte 8′, Flûte 4′, Bombarde 16′, Trompette 8′, Clairon 4′). Only towards the end of the 20th century did builders in England or France show enlightened attitudes towards the subtler historical problems of pitch and voicing. In France the journal *Connaissance de l'orgue* has helped propagate sounder ideas, as have the British Institute of Organ Studies and the *Organ Yearbook* in England, and the Organ Historical Society in the USA.

In Italy the late 1960s witnessed a movement towards a kind of modified *Werkprinzip* organ but with characteristic Italian choruses and even at times Italian reeds. The organ at S Maria Assunta (B. Formentelli, 1967–8) has a *grand'organo* of 8.4.2.$1\frac{1}{3}$.1.$\frac{2}{3}$.$\frac{1}{2}$.$\frac{1}{3}$ + $\frac{1}{4}$.8.4.$2\frac{2}{3}$.2.$1\frac{3}{5}$.8.4, the last of them reeds. Large three-manual organs such as that at the Chiesa dei Servi, Bologna (Tamburini), united an Italian chorus, German mutations, Spanish Trumpet, Italian compass, mechanical action and general



48. Organ by Harrison & Harrison, inaugurated 1954, Royal Festival Hall, London

Werkprinzip relationships between the manuals. Other larger firms such as Ruffatti, on the other hand, seem to have been strongly affected by the 'American classic' movement, and, while they have produced some smaller mechanical-action organs, have concentrated more on large multi-purpose electric-action instruments, many of them built for export. Smaller organs too have attempted comprehensiveness; the instrument at S Severino, Bologna (G. Zanin & Figlio, 1968), has the following scheme:

Grand'organo	8.4.2.11.IV.8.2.II.8.8
Positivo	8.4.2.1⅓.1.8.2⅔.8
Pedale	16.8.8.4.16

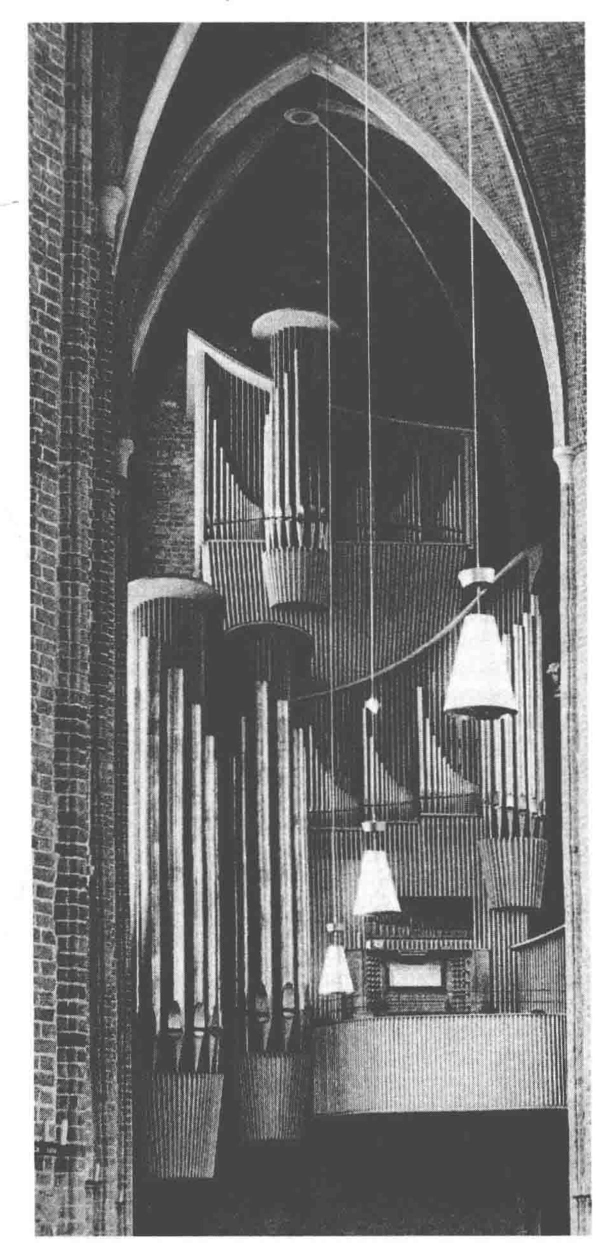
Apart from some restoration work by builders such as Amezua, and a few modern positive organs, the Iberian peninsula has been only slightly affected by the organ reform.

7. Some German developments since World War II. An important factor in postwar Germany was the prominence and high standard of many new and small firms, while the older and larger ones faded into the background. The appointment of organ advisers for each of the districts of Germany encouraged smaller builders as it also encouraged local variety and enterprise. From the early 1950s Beckerath of Hamburg and the two Schuke firms of Berlin (East and West) produced organs of strong character, often influenced by old instruments they had rebuilt (Schnitger organs rebuilt by Beckerath, Joachim Wagner organs by Alexander Schuke); as noted above, Beckerath also exported instruments to the USA and, in 1970, a smaller example to Britain (Clare College, Cambridge). Ahrend and his former partner Brunzema (pupils of Paul Ott) continued the trend towards strong-toned organs, omitting most mutations and relying on highly coloured flue and reed stops (usually made of hammered metal); old instruments restored by the firm (e.g. at Westerhusen) have a natural, unforced but startlingly powerful, breathy tone. The organ at Westerhusen, like Metzler's restoration at Nieuw Scheemda, Führer's at Hohenkirchen and Ahrend's in Stade, is a revelation of the musical colour open to a 17th-century organist of Friesland and Groningen, and these instruments have exercised an increasingly positive influence on the work of other north German builders as well as Americans such as John Brombaugh, Taylor & Boody and P.B. Fritts. The stop-lists seem nondescript; an example by Ahrend & Brunzema (Bremen-Oberneuland, 1966) is:

Hauptwerk	16.8.8.4.4.2.Mixtur.8
Rückpositiv	8.4.4.2.1⅓.II.Scharf.8
Pedal	16.8.4.16.8.2

But the sound is far from nondescript, and the idiosyncratic tone of such instruments is well removed from the top-heavy neo-Baroque anonymity typical of so many organs of the 1950s.

Before 1973 German builders rarely developed good designs for organ cases, relying on simple geometric Bauhaus-influenced shapes that are pleasing but repetitive and often careless. Some imagination has been shown here and there in designing a sinuous front with 'modern' motifs (Marktkirche, Hanover; Beckerath, 1954, fig.49) and the square or rectangular box sometimes conforms with its surroundings (Gedächtniskirche, Berlin; Schuke, 1962). Non-German builders more often tend to look at old models, as witness the influence of the Perpignan organ-case on that at Linz Cathedral (Marcussen and Andersen, 1968). Swells, either as enclosed *Oberwerk* or enclosed *Brustwerk*, were fairly common in Germany, but it is often not possible to view them as anything more than ambiguous in nature and limited in conviction, although they were seen as an acceptable compromise in America. Standard German practice in making mechanical action has done little but good, and German builders are correct to point out that 'organ music (such as Ligeti's *Volumina*) with its note-clusters, requires mechanical action. … The cluster technique shows complex flutter beats; the foreign nature of untempered, non-harmonic sound-elements can be produced only by mechanical action and its associated voicing' (*ISO Information*, viii, 1972, p.45). On the other hand, the widespread use of *Schwimmer* wind regulators, producing an inflexible and often jittery wind response, cannot in any way be regarded as a positive influence.



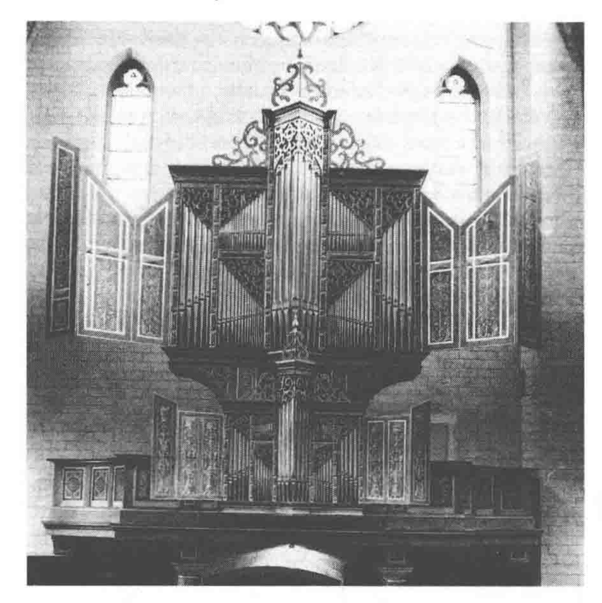
49. Organ by Rudolph von Beckerath, 1954, Marktkirche, Hanover

VIII. The organ at the close of the 20th century

During the last three decades of the 20th century such terms as 'Organ Reform' and 'neo-Baroque' ceased to be truly applicable. The original thrust of these movements was as much anti-Romantic as it was pro-Baroque. From the bottom-heavy, widely expressive, remote-controlled 'symphonic' organ of the 1920s (lacking a coherent chorus and deriving its colour from a variety of unison reeds, flutes and strings), to the top-heavy, inexpressive, mechanically controlled 'neo-Baroque' organ of the 1950s (with dogmatically dictated choruses, no strings, and deriving its colour from mutations and antique reed forms), the pendulum of taste in the organ world has swung between extremes unmatched in any other musical area save possibly that of popular music. There have always been exceptions, of course. The French made gestures in the neo-classic direction, but could never entirely shake off the influence of the Romantic organ on their music. Builders in the 'American classic' style, encouraged by the work of some of the more conservative English builders, strove, if somewhat haphazardly, to amalgamate elements of several periods into a multi-purpose instrument that had influence as far away as Italy. Only in Germany and northern Europe did the neo-Baroque aesthetic hold almost total sway at the mid-century, but the influence on the composers of those countries, and on organ building in other countries, was considerable

During the late 1960s and early 70s, a new spirit of inquiry began challenging some of the dogmas of the Reform movement while taking a closer look at the historic instruments that purported to be its models. Why, for instance, did a well-preserved 17th- or 18th-century Principal pipe speak with a full 'bloom' and just the smallest amount of 'chiff' when its neo-Baroque counterpart coughed prominently before settling into a rather thin and sizzly tone? Both had similar scales and cut-ups, open toe-holes and a seeming absence of nicking, but on closer inspection the historic pipe was found to have not the chisel-edged languid of the modern pipe but one with its leading edge blunted rather roughly with a counterface, and it had a more open windway; even closer inspection revealed details of metal composition (trace elements) and treatment (hammering or scraping) which had gone unnoticed or unheeded before. During the 1970s builders such as Wolff in Canada, Brombaugh, Fisk, Noack, Bedient, and Taylor & Boody in the USA, and Ahrend in Germany began experimenting with principals and flutes made more closely to historical models. Reeds soon followed, as analysis of various historical shallot forms (including French styles and those faced with leather), tongue brass, and tongue curvatures revealed why using standardized shallots and modern tongue materials such as phosphor-bronze did not produce a desired result. The results of these inquiries found favour with many organists concerned with the requirements and interpretation of various schools of organ literature.

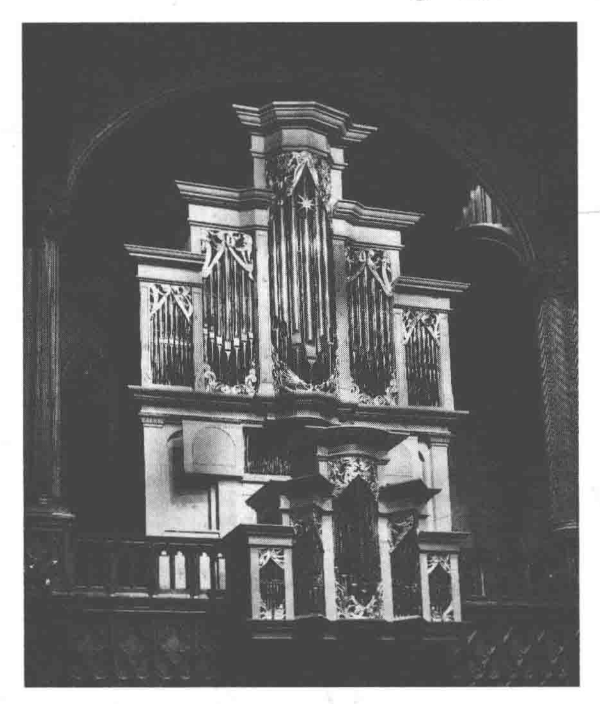
If the historical research of the Reform movement in the 1930s concentrated at first on stop-lists and scales, by the 1950s, as understanding of traditional instruments developed, the value of mechanical action and free-standing casework was recognized. In 1968 an article by Charles Fisk concerning wind supply was published in *The Diapason* which generated considerable controversy internationally over most of the succeeding decade. When this had finally died down, the role of flexible wind



50. Organ by Jürgen Ahrend, 1981, Musée des Augustins, Toulouse

supply, with all that it implies relative to the size and form of bellows and wind-trunks (and even tremulants), had been accepted along with pipe metal composition and non-equal temperaments (Werckmeister, Kirnberger, Chaumont, Vallotti, Young, Fisk, van Biezen) among the last major pieces in the puzzle of the 'historically informed' organ, and many builders abandoned the inflexible modern *Schwimmer* system of wind regulation (see §II, 11(iii, v), above), that had been so much a part of the neo-Baroque organ. By the 1980s builders on the Continent (Ahrend, Flentrop, Riel, Garnier, Führer, Metzler) and in America (Fisk, Noack, Brombaugh, Bedient, Moore, Fritts, Taylor & Boody) were building organs where the wind could optionally be raised either manually or electrically. In 1981 instruments built in the 17th-century north European style by Fisk (Wellesley College, Massachusetts; fig.51) and Brombaugh (Oberlin College, Ohio) helped to confirm the validity not only of flexible wind but of mean-tone tuning and sub-semitones (split keys) in the performance of music of that period.

The early Organ Reform school concentrated on its interpretation of one particular style of organ, that of the north German Baroque. By the end of the 20th century organists and organ builders had come to a deeper understanding not only of that particular model, but of myriad other styles. Foremost among these were the French classical (Clicquot) and Romantic (Cavaillé-Coll) styles, and by the 1990s a number of organs wholly or largely patterned on both were being built; in the Netherlands, the Van den Heuvel firm specialized not in classical Dutch but Romantic French instruments. The organs of Silbermann and other central German builders also began to find emulators: Fisk and Bozeman each built a Silbermann copy in the 1980s, as did Ahrend (Jesuit church, Porrentruy, Switzerland, 1985). The south German work of Riepp has inspired at least one new instrument by Hubert Sandtner (St Andreas, Babenhausen, 1987). The unification of Germany in 1989 and the restoration in the same period of important 18th-century organs such as those in Altenburg (Trost) and Naumburg (Hildebrandt) focussed attention on the typical central



51. Organ by C.B. Fisk, 1981, Wellesley College, Massachusetts

German organ, resulting in instruments such as that built by Noack for Christ the King Lutheran Church in Houston, Texas (1995). A few builders made smaller organs in the Italian (Wilhelm, Hradetzky, Tsuji) and Iberian (Rosales, Harrold) styles during the 1990s.

In the 1980s and 90s England and America witnessed a re-evaluation of a national heritage overlooked during many years of seeking inspiration from the Continent. Although the Mander firm played an important part in the preservation of numerous 18th- and 19th-century English organs during the postwar years, the influence of these instruments did not really begin to be strongly felt in the firm's new work until the 1980s (Pembroke College, Cambridge, 1980), when other English builders such as Martin Renshaw, William Drake, and Goetze & Gwynn likewise began to concentrate on models from the Restoration and Georgian periods; in 1989 Mander built an organ for St Andrew's, Holborn, London, largely based on early Victorian models. In the USA many 19th-century organs have been sympathetically restored, and 18th- and 19th-century American builders such as Tannenberg, Erben, Appleton and Hook have had both visual and tonal influence on work by Andover, Bozeman, Dobson, Fisk, Moore and Noack, while renewed interest in organs of the early 20th century led Schoenstein to build organs in the Skinner style (e.g. St Paul's Church, Washington DC, 1996). As 'neo-Baroque' organs also became regarded as 'historic', the whole gamut of organ history became open to emulation.

The proliferation of these exercises in emulating so many earlier styles led inevitably to differences in opinion among organists, and perhaps indirectly to situations where two very different organs co-exist in certain large buildings, especially in the USA. An increasing number of builders (also probably in North America at first) began cautiously combining various styles to create a new kind of 'historically informed' eclectic instrument. One of the first examples was Fisk's large 1979 instrument for the House of Hope Church, St Paul. Its *Brustwerk* division is a virtual copy of a similar 17th-century division in Lüneburg, and the *Rückpositiv* is also largely German, with a hint of classical French. The Great, Swell and Pedal divisions are, however, carefully chosen eclectic mixtures of 18th- and 19th-century German and French styles (including both German and French Trumpets). Music from several periods and places can be played stylistically on this organ, but players must have a clear understanding of the registrational needs of any particular piece, as also with Brombaugh's similar 1986 instrument at Southern Adventist University, Collegedale, Tennessee. A 1985 Fisk (Mt Holyoke College, Massachusetts) blended German and Italian Baroque elements; a very different blending of 18th-century German, 19th-century French and 20th-century American elements characterizes Manuel Rosales's 1987 organ in Trinity Church, Portland, Oregon; and Mander's large organ at St Ignatius Loyola, New York (1992), successfully melds classical elements with later French and English colours. Such instruments succeed, not because they purport to play all music indiscriminately (they do not), but because they are carefully designed and large enough to do ample justice to more than one school or period.

In the 1990s this kind of historically informed eclecticism proliferated not only in the USA but in Britain, the Netherlands, Switzerland, Germany and even the former hotbed of neo-Baroque design, Scandinavia. That decade also saw a renewal of interest in concert hall organs which led to the restoration of older ones (the town halls at Birmingham, West Bromwich and Sydney; City Hall, Portland, Maine) and to the building of new ones largely in the new eclectic style (Meyerson Symphony Center, Dallas, Texas; Fisk, 1991). Mechanical key action became the choice of many of the younger builders and some of the older ones, but in the larger instruments of all builders the stop and combination actions were almost universally electric or electro-pneumatic, and often equipped with solid-state memory systems, MIDI capability, or both. Small organs of excellent quality (usually all-mechanical) were being built, but tended to differ tonally from similarly sized instruments of the 1950s and 60s in that they more often included an 8′ Principal on the main (or only) manual, tended to have a smaller proportion of Pedal stops to manual stops, and, if they had an enclosed division, it was more likely to be a proper interior Swell rather than simply a *Brustwerk* with shutters. Casework of organs of all sizes tended to be classical in proportion and decoration, but a few younger builders, such as the Austrian Caspar Clatter-Götz, remained committed to exploring more contemporary visual designs.

Organ-building firms became greater in number but smaller in size. In the USA two of the largest firms (Aeolian-Skinner and Möller) closed after 1970, and the only remaining firms of comparable size were Schantz, Reuter, Austin and Wicks, all makers of electric-action organs; in England the large Hill, Norman & Beard firm closed in the 1990s. Large European firms such as Klais, Schuke and Ruffatti diversified, offering organs in many styles, sizes and action types, and east European builders such as Jehmlich and Rieger-Kloss began to compete for export trade. Other older firms retrenched, including Willis, Walker, and Harrison in England, Walcker in Germany, Casavant in Canada and Rieger in Austria.

Medium-size firms (30–40 employees) began to execute the large and prestigious contracts that would once have been the province of the larger factories, and some important instruments were commissioned from even smaller and younger firms, such as Fritts in the USA, Wolff and Letourneau in Canada and Jones in Ireland.

The last decades of the 20th century also saw the growth of organ-building establishments outside Europe and the Americas. Despite a large number of imports, mainly British, organs have been built since the middle of the 19th century in Australia and New Zealand by builders such as Fincham, Hobday, Richardson, Fuller, Dodds, Jones, Pogson and South Island, but it was not until Ronald Sharp built a mammoth five-manual organ in 1979 for the new Sydney Opera House that an Australian-born organ builder gained prominence. A Western-inspired organ culture also took root in Asia. Ever since the 19th century small numbers of organs have been exported to Hong Kong, Korea and mainland China, but Japan emerged as the major Asian organ centre. During the final three decades of the 20th century a large number of organs of all sizes, chiefly all-mechanical or with mechanical key action, were exported by European and North American builders to Japanese colleges, concert halls, private houses, Christian churches and Buddhist temples. Organ playing began to be taught in many colleges and conservatories, organ recitals were well attended, and an active Japan Organ Society founded a scholarly journal. Excellent organs began to be constructed in Japan by several native builders, among whom Hiroshi Tsuji and Tetsuo Kusakari were the earliest to establish workshops.

Late 20th-century developments in organ research and design did much to further understanding of the repertory of all times and places. But the 'historically informed' organ also attracted the attention of a growing number of composers who, unlike many in the previous generation, were more interested in exploring its potential as a musical medium than in treating it as a sound-effects machine. Other trends, however, were more disturbing to some and challenging to others, especially the encroachments of electronic technology. Solid-state switching gained widespread acceptance in larger organs as a compact and reliable alternative to all-electric or electro-pneumatic systems, and computerized 'memory' in combination actions was welcomed with enthusiasm by organists. MIDI can be applied to most organs, even those with mechanical key action, and offers access to synthesizer effects for some kinds of contemporary music, as well as playback options (in which it is simply duplicating the function of the early 20th-century roll-players). More controversial to many players and builders has been the incorporation of electronically produced tone into otherwise traditional organs, although some builders had already been doing this in order to add 32′ Pedal tone in situations where finances or space precluded using real pipes. By the end of the century, however, whole divisions were being added electronically: an organ might have one or two divisions of (mostly) pipes, a second or third of electronic tone-generators, and a Pedal division combining both. The greatest appeal of such frankly hybrid instruments is to smaller churches with limited space and funds, although a few larger ones have been manufactured. Such developments have, predictably, encouraged polarization between the proponents of historically influenced traditional organs on the one hand, and those who regard organs more from a technological and commercial standpoint on the other. However, the long history of the organs tells us that this 'large wind instrument' (as the builder Metzler has described it) has faced many other cultural and technological challenges in past centuries, and all that is certain is that yet more intriguing chapters in its continuing saga will open as the future unfolds.

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For further bibliography *see* entries on types of organ and on individual builders.

BARBARA OWEN, PETER WILLIAMS (I–IV; V, 1–7, 9–13; VI–VII), STEPHEN BICKNELL (V, 8)

Organ chorale. An organ composition based on a traditional German Protestant chorale melody. *See* CHORALE SETTINGS.

Organette. A portable self-playing REED ORGAN. It enjoyed an enormous popularity between 1880 and the early 1900s. The first automatic keyboardless instrument of this type was the Cartonium made in 1861 by J.A. Testé of Nantes. A series of sprung metal fingers were held down by a strip of perforated cardboard which was drawn across these fingers by friction rollers. Where a hole appeared in the card, the relevant lever would rise, so opening a pallet to a reed and allowing air to be sucked in to an exhaust bellows worked by a hand crank. Further developments took place simultaneously in Germany and in the USA. While most German organettes worked on Testé's mechanical fingers and vacuum principle, American makers generally adopted the pneumatic 'paper-as-a-valve' system in which a music roll of perforated paper is drawn across a row of openings in a block or tracker bar. The pneumatic system, adopted in the later pneumatic piano player and PLAYER PIANO, enabled instruments to be made very cheaply. Huge numbers of instruments were made: sales of the Leipzig-made Ariston, for example, had exceeded 300,000 by 1893 while the repertory of tunes available numbered over 4000 titles and 6 million of the cardboard tune-discs had been punched out. The tonal range of the organette was never fully chromatic and usually compromised between 14 notes and 28 notes, although Vocalion's Syreno had a 46-note compass (one version of this, the Tonsyreno, was provided with a keyboard). Other makes of organette models included Ariosa, Ariston, Cabinet Organ, Celestina, Gem Roller Organ, Herophon, Intona, Kalliston, Organina, Phoenix and Seraphine. Alternative forms of musical programme to the perforated paper roll or cardboard or metal strip included punched metal or cardboard discs, punched music in ring (annulus) form, endless card or paper bands, and small pinned wooden barrels of the barrel organ type. One instrument played 'square discs' by rotating the entire player mechanism beneath the perforated tune-sheet. For a discussion of larger self-playing organs (other than the BARREL ORGAN type), *see* PLAYER ORGAN.

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ARTHUR W.J.G. ORD-HUME

Organetto (i) (It.). *See* PORTATIVE.

Organetto (ii). A term occasionally applied to a street organ or a street piano. *See* BARREL ORGAN and BARREL PIANO.

Organetto (iii). Small diatonic accordion of Italy. *See* ITALY, §II, 6.

Organetto a manovella (It.). *See* BARREL ORGAN.

Organ hymn. A liturgical form in which the organ replaced the odd-numbered or even-numbered stanzas of a plainsong hymn, alternating with the choir. It is convenient to consider other *alternatim* forms used in the Office at the same time, in particular the *Te Deum*, *Magnificat* and *Salve regina*. Antiphons to psalms and canticles were also set, especially in England, but they are complete in themselves and not in the strict sense *alternatim*.

The earliest extant music in these forms dates from the early 15th century, but there are earlier references to *alternatim* singing, especially of the *Te Deum*. A passage in Dante's *Purgatorio* (ix.142–5) appears to refer to this. At Essen in the 14th century a triple scheme of alternation was devised for the singing of the *Te Deum* after the performances of the Easter sepulchre play at Matins: the organ began, the canonesses in whose convent the performance took place sang the second verse, the clerks (men in orders) sang the third, and so on to the end. At St Albans in 1396 the *Te Deum* was sung 'alternantibus organis' at the reception of an abbot.

The earliest source of liturgical organ music, the Faenza manuscript (*I-FZc* 117), contains in addition to organ music for the Mass a single verse of the hymn *Ave maris stella*, what may be conjectured to be three verses for a *Magnificat*, and the response *Deo gratias* to a melody for the *Benedicamus domino* for the Office; all are untitled in the manuscript. The provision of only a single hymn verse and of fewer than the required number of verses for the *Magnificat* (which needs six) seems strange but is characteristic of continental sources up to the mid-16th century. It is possible that single hymn verses were intended merely as preludes, but it is more likely that they were written down as samples of what could be readily improvised to provide a complete *alternatim* structure. *Magnificat* fragments are found in early 15th-century German sources, among them Paumann's *Fundamentum organisandi* (1452), which also contains the verse 'O clemens' of the *Salve regina*. The Buxheimer Orgelbuch (*c*1470) has four *Magnificat* fragments, two complete settings (with five organ verses) of the *Salve regina* and two hymn verses: *Veni Creator Spiritus* and *Pange lingua*, the latter merely an arrangement of a vocal piece by Touront.

Early 16th-century German tablatures favoured the *Salve regina*. The Basle manuscript of Hans Buchner's *Fundamentum* (dated 1551) contains only three hymn verses, two verses for the *Te Deum* and two responds for the Office. There are a few hymn verses in the Lublin tablature (CEKM, vi/2, 1964–7). The hymn is better represented in Italy. Apart from a hymn verse and a *Magnificat* verse in an early 16th-century manuscript of keyboard dances (*I-Vnm* ital.iv.1227; ed. K. Jeppesen, *Balli antichi veneziani per cembalo*, Copenhagen, 1962), the two organ publications of Girolamo Cavazzoni (1543 and before 1549) contain between them 12 single hymn verses and four five-verse settings of the *Magnificat* (they lack the verse 'Et misericordia'). The sixth of the seven books of keyboard music published by Attaingnant in Paris in 1531 contains eight settings of the *Magnificat* with from two to five verses, and *alternatim* verses for the first and third sections of the *Te Deum*. In Spain the *Libro de cifra nueva* edited by Luis Venegas de Henestrosa (1557) included, apart from some isolated single hymn verses, sets of verses for *Pange lingua* and *Ave maris stella* by Cabezón. Further settings of these two hymns (with yet more isolated verses) occur in Cabezón's posthumous *Obras* (1578); only two single verses are identical with any from the 1557 edition, and the general impression is

of an unwieldy mass of material from which selections for *alternatim* performance might be made.

For a full appreciation of the *alternatim* possibilities of the organ hymn one must turn to the English organists. Even in this repertory (published in EECM, vi, 1966–9) there are a number of isolated hymn verses, and series of verses which are too many or too few for *alternatim* performance of the hymn to which they belong. But there are enough regular sets to show that English composers of the first half of the 16th century regarded the complete hymn as a single entity. Except in settings of the nine-verse hymn *Aeterne rerum conditor*, which is regularly given four organ verses, the organ is normally allotted the odd-numbered verses. Occasionally the first line of the first verse is left to be intoned by a *cantor*, as in English settings of the *Te Deum*, *Magnificat* and certain Mass chants. The two most important collections of hymns are found in different sections of the same manuscript: *GB-Lbl* Add.29996. Those of the former are mostly by John Redford (*d* 1547); those of the latter, though anonymous, may be by Thomas Preston. All English organ hymns are based on a cantus firmus, which may be either the appropriate plainsong (sometimes heavily adorned) or the faburden of the chant, which also may be highly ornamented. Since the faburden need not strictly follow the melodic contour of the chant, the degree of sophistication in the treatment of the cantus firmus was sometimes very considerable.

Alternation between choir and organ was not banned by the Council of Trent, and organ hymns and settings of the *Magnificat* were published in the early 17th century by Frescobaldi and, most memorably, by Titelouze (hymns in 1623, *see* SOURCES OF KEYBOARD MUSIC TO 1660, fig.3, *Magnificat* settings in 1626), whose works are lengthy essays in an imaginative brand of traditional counterpoint. There are also numerous examples in Italian and Spanish manuscripts of the 17th century; in Spain a local triple-time tune for *Pange lingua* was especially favoured. In France, the hymn was among the items in which organ alternation was permitted (Higginbottom). But the organ hymn did not develop much beyond this point, perhaps because even where alternation was still permitted it was more convenient to improvise than to write down so many versions of a single tune. In the Protestant countries the organ hymn gave way to the organ chorale. There was a considerable amount of continuity, not only because earlier German composers had made settings of German religious songs (for example the settings of *Maria zart* by Schlick and of *Christ ist erstanden* by Buchner and in the Buxheimer Orgelbuch) but also because some Latin hymns remained in the Lutheran liturgy. The principle of alternation was lost; but the musical substance of the genre remained in the form of the set of chorale variations.

See also SOURCES OF KEYBOARD MUSIC TO 1660, §2.

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JOHN CALDWELL

Organi, Bartolomeo degli. *See* BARTOLOMEO DEGLI ORGANI.

Organino (i) (It.). A term for a small organ, notably the 14th- and 15th-century instrument generally known as PORTATIVE.

Organino (ii). A free-reed instrument based on the regals said to have been made by Filippo Testa in 1700; a precursor of the REED ORGAN.

Organistrum. *See* HURDY-GURDY.

Organized piano [Organ-piano]. A piano, usually a square, to which organ pipes have been added. *See* CLAVIORGAN.

Organ mass. A collection of versets for the organ replacing parts of the Ordinary and Proper of the Mass and played in alternation with the sung portions. The term ALTERNATIM is frequently used to describe the practice of dividing sections of a liturgical text between organ and choir. The choir normally sings a plainchant setting of the Mass when alternating with the organ. The practice belongs almost exclusively to the liturgy of the Roman Catholic Church.

The extant literature of organ masses covers most of Western Christendom and some 500 years of music history, beginning about 1400 with the organ versets in *I-FZc* 117 and ending late in the 19th century with works such as Justin's *L'organiste à la messe ... 11 messes: plainchant alternant avec l'orgue* (1870).

1. Ecclesiastical legislation and the liturgy: (i) *Alternatim* practice in the Ordinary (ii) *Alternatim* practices in the Proper. 2. The extant literature: (i) The use of plainchant (ii) *Alternatim* styles (iii) History.

1. ECCLESIASTICAL LEGISLATION AND THE LITURGY. The organ mass is essentially a practice and not a musical form, and as such it came to be regulated by ecclesiastical prescription. The earliest document issued by the Apostolic See to refer in detail to liturgical organ music is the *Caeremoniale episcoporum* or 'Bishops' Ceremonial' of Pope Clement VIII (Rome, 1600). This permits the use of the organ each Sunday, except those during Advent and Lent, and on all important feast days, and it lists the moments in the offices when the organ might intervene. The section concerning the Mass reads:

> At the solemn Mass the organ is played *alternatim* for the Kyrie eleison and the Gloria in excelsis ...; likewise at the end of the Epistle and at the Offertory; for the Sanctus, *alternatim*; then more gravely and softly during the Elevation of the Most Holy Sacrament; for the Agnus Dei, *alternatim*, and at the verse before the post-Communion prayer; also at the end of the Mass.

This arrangement, which had already been practised in broad outline for over 200 years, was maintained until the beginning of the 20th century. It was sustained not only by the authority of the *Caeremoniale espiscoporum* but also by the numerous local diocesan ceremonials, and by ceremonials published for the use of religious orders. It was finally changed by Pope Pius X, whose *Motu proprio* (1903) imposed a formal ban on *alternatim* organ music in general.

(i) Alternatim practice in the Ordinary. The *Caeremoniale episcoporum* omits to describe the manner in which

the texts of the Ordinary were to be apportioned. The instruction *alternatim* is clearly intended to suffice. A fairly standard division of the text is revealed in extant organ masses of the 16th century, and continues in later sources. The division for the Kyrie, Gloria and Agnus Dei customarily falls into the following pattern (portions taken by the organ are shown in italics):

Kyrie eleison. Kyrie eleison. *Kyrie eleison.* Christe eleison. *Christe eleison.* Christe eleison. *Kyrie eleison.* Kyrie eleison. *Kyrie eleison.*
[Intonation: Gloria in excelsis Deo.] *Et in terra pax hominibus bonae voluntatis.* Laudamus te. *Benedicimus te.* Adoramus te. *Glorificamus te.* Gratias agimus tibi propter magnam gloriam tuam. *Domine Deus, rex caelestis, Deus pater omnipotens.* Domine fili, unigenite Jesu Christe. *Domine Deus, Agnus Dei, filius patris.* Qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis. *Qui tollis peccata mundi, suscipe deprecationem nostram.* Qui sedes ad dexteram Patris, miserere nobis. *Quoniam tu solus sanctus.* Tu solus Dominus. *Tu solus altissimus, Jesu Christe.* Cum Sancto Spiritu. *In gloria Dei patris. Amen.*
Agnus Dei qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis. Agnus Dei qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis. *Agnus Dei qui tollis peccata mundi, dona nobis pacem.*

The Sanctus and Benedictus might be subject to various arrangements, including one in which the Benedictus was subsumed by a piece of organ music at the Elevation (Schaefer, 1987). In the French classical tradition the Sanctus was often treated thus (organ versets in italics):

Sanctus. Sanctus. Sanctus Dominus Deus Sabbaoth. Pleni sunt caeli et terra gloria tua. Hosanna in excelsis. *Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini. Hosanna in excelsis.*

In all, this makes 19 organ versets: nine for the Gloria, five for the Kyrie, two each for the Sanctus and Agnus and one for the Benedictus (although strictly speaking the Benedictus is not *alternatim*). The text of the Credo, according to the *Caeremoniale episcoporum*, was not to be divided between organ and choir although before 1600 organ versets had appeared quite frequently for the Credo, as for instance in Cavazzoni's *Intabulatura d'organo . . . libro secondo* (?1543) and in the Mass *'Kyrie fons bonitatis'* of Attaingnant's publication *Tabulature pour le jeu d'orgues* (1531). Such settings were clearly no longer generally acceptable after the Counter-Reformation.

The *alternatim* pattern given above is the one intended for such famous organ masses as François Couperin's *Messe pour les paroisses* (1690). Variations in this pattern after the beginning of the 16th century are found normally only in the distribution of the versets for the Gloria and the Sanctus and Benedictus, although variations of course occur when the Gloria is troped: the *Missa de Beata Virgine* from Cavazzoni's *Intabulatura* includes such a Gloria setting with 12 versets. An earlier example, also with Marian tropes, is to be found in the Buxheim Organbook (*c*1470, in *D-Mbs*). The practice of troping was banned by the Council of Trent.

Whether or not an Elevation verset was part of an *alternatim* sequence for the Benedictus, the *Caeremoniale episcoporum* specifically stipulated quieter and more serious music at this moment. Frescobaldi's three *Toccate per l'elevatione* from his *Fiori musicali* (1635) exemplify the intensely expressive music deemed appropriate (Tagliavini, 1984). There is also a beautiful *Tierce en taille* for the Elevation in Couperin's *Messe pour les couvents* (1690).

At the very end of the Mass, the organ normally responds with 'Deo gratias' to the priest's 'Ite missa est'.

(ii) Alternatim practices in the Proper. The *Caeremoniale episcoporum* mentions the intervention of the organ 'at the end of the epistle', 'at the offertory', and 'at the verse before the post-communion prayer'; in other words, at the gradual or alleluia or both, the offertory, and the communion. But once again it does not indicate the distribution of the texts of these items between the organ and the choir. It is difficult to gain an overall view of practices concerning the Proper (with the notable exception of the offertory) from musical examples, since these are distributed very unevenly over time and place.

Although Clement's ceremonial does not refer to the introit in connection with *alternatim* practices, some organists had been accustomed to producing versets for this item (for example, there are settings in the Buxheim Organbook, an elaborate three-verset setting of the introit *Resurrexi* in Thomas Preston's *Missa in die Paschae*, ed. in EECM, x, 1969, no.5, and all of 47 settings in the Leopolita Tablature, *c*1580). In all, Lynn has located 104 organ settings from the period *c*1460–*c*1630. But extant examples from after the early 17th century are few, and the practice is hardly mentioned in ceremonials. An exception occurs in a German *Caeremoniale benedictinum* published in Dillingen in 1641: the choir is instructed to begin the introit, the organ to play the verse, the choir to sing 'Gloria' and 'Sicut erat', and the organ to repeat the antiphon.

Organ music at the gradual and alleluia on the other hand was clearly used as frequently after 1600 as before. The *alternatim* patterns seem to vary greatly, and it is not always certain that *alternatim* in its strict sense was intended. For instance, a *Caeremoniale monasticum ... ordinis S. Benedicti* (Toul, 1695) reads: 'afterwards the organ plays the whole of the gradual with its verse'. This may also be the meaning of Banchieri's instruction in his *L'organo suonarino*: 'Finita l'epistola una toccata del primo tuono' (cf Frescobaldi's *Canzone dopo l'epistola* in his *Fiori musicali*). If, however, the gradual was sometimes replaced entirely by the organ, then other ceremonials demand no less clearly an equal division between organ and choir. A *Rituale cisterciense* (Paris, 1727) instructs the organ to begin and the choir to take over at the verse: 'Post epistolam pulsatur ad responsorium, sed versum sequentem ... cantat chorus'.

There remain few organ versets for the gradual. Thomas Preston's two-verset setting of *Haec dies* from his *Missa in die Paschae* is a rarity, as is Gaspard Corrette's single-verset gradual in his *Messe du 8e ton* (1703). A late 18th-century French manuscript entitled *Livre d'orgue pour la Chapelle royale* (in *F-V*) gives the plainchant intonation for each gradual for the feasts on which the organ was played, leaving the precise nature of the organist's intervention unclear.

Instructions on the performance of the alleluia are often more specific: Banchieri (*L'organo suonarino*) wrote, 'Dopo l'alleluia, e versetto si replica l'alleluia', a clear indication that the organ takes up the repeat of the alleluia after the verse. Among those ceremonials which mention *alternatim* alleluias, some allow the organ to intervene only at the last jubilus of the repeat. Others, including the famous *Caeremoniale parisiense* (Paris, 1662), also allow the organ to play the repeat of the alleluia before the verse. The Versailles *Livre d'orgue* mentioned above gives the chant for the intonation of each alleluia. Thomas Preston provided a unique set of alleluia versets in his *Missa in die Paschae*.

By way of contrast, extant offertory versets are numerous, and they show that the intervention of the organ at the offertory was standardized at an early date. From the English pre-Reformation settings of the Marian antiphon *Felix namque* to the French *offertoires* of the 19th century the formula was the same: the intonation of the offertory antiphon was sung and the organ played from then onwards. This very simple form of alternation eventually led composers to treat the offertory with a considerable degree of freedom, for once the custom of using the plainchant as a cantus firmus had passed, even the obligation to match the mode of the sung intonation was forgotten: there was no ensuing choir verset to accommodate. Indeed, the *offertoires* of the French classical school were simply free-standing pieces, written on a large scale to span the liturgical ceremonies at this point in the Mass.

It appears to have been common practice to use the organ at the communion antiphon. A *Caeremoniale monasticum* (Paris, 1634) reads: 'play *alternatim* at the antiphon which is said at the communion'. The organist might also be required to provide music during the distribution: 'ad communionem cleri et populi pulsatur organum' (*Ceremoniale lexoviense*, Lisieux, 1747). But it is not clear whether such versets as the one headed 'pour la communion' in Grigny's *Premier livre d'orgue* (1699) are intended for use during the communion, or for the communion antiphon, or for both at once. The communion antiphon would be treated in the same way as the offertory: intonation and then organ verset.

These practices, variously described by the official texts of the Roman Catholic Church, were not in the main copied by the Protestant reformed churches. The exceptions (bits of an *alternatim* mass in the third part of Scheidt's *Tabulatura nova*, 1624) were hangovers, and soon fell into disuse. The matter of J.S. Bach's so-called organ mass is considered below (§2(iii)).

2. THE EXTANT LITERATURE. The extant examples of *alternatim* organ music for the Mass should be seen in their correct perspective: they are the recorded monuments of what was above all an improvisatory art, long practised by countless organists in innumerable churches. If some organ masses have been written down, they are but the most minute fraction of the organ music to which the practice of *alternatim* gave birth. Their notated form allowed them to serve as exemplars and (more modestly) to supply the less competent improvisers with something to play. Most extant organ masses consist of versets for the Ordinary. Versets for the Proper were less easy to supply in any useful fashion on account of the wide repertory of chants involved.

(i) The use of plainchant. Until the middle of the 17th century it was normal for the portion of plainchant replaced by the organ to be used structurally in the organ verset itself. Even after 1650 plainchant continued to exert its influence, but only rarely as a structural element, at least until the reappearance of strict cantus firmus techniques in the middle of the 18th century. The plainchant masses upon which organ versets for the Ordinary were most commonly based were those used on Sundays and the principal feasts of the Church's calendar. In the modern Gradual they are known as: *Cunctipotens genitor Deus* (IV), *Cum jubilo* (IX) and *Orbis factor* (XI) (the figures in parentheses show modern enumeration).

Where organ versets are not built upon the plainchant they replace, there may be some difficulty in identifying the plainchant with which they were intended to alternate. Crucially, of course, the organ had to remain in the tonality appropriate to the mode of the plainchant being used by the choir. So, for example, Gaspard Corrette's *Messe du 8e ton*, although not structurally based on any particular chant, was written for use with a plainchant setting in the 8th mode, or one compatible with the key of G major. It could not, therefore, alternate with the setting *Cunctipotens genitor Deus*.

(ii) Alternatim styles. The liturgical use of the organ in the Mass juxtaposed organ music and plainchant. The plainchant itself was subject to vastly different readings and interpretative styles, some of which led to vocal performances of the chant coming very close to the tempo and rhythmic articulation of the cantus firmus in the organ verset. In some places improvised discant might have been employed by the singers (called 'chant sur le livre' in France). In other places, notably France from the second half of the 17th century, newly composed 'plainchant' was used alongside the organ versets (see below). Evidence for the use of the organ to support the sung portions of plainchant is largely lacking. Several factors make it highly unlikely that the organ participated as both solo and accompanimental instrument on any regular basis. Evidence for the use of 'polyphonic' vocal settings in alternation with the organ is more plentiful, though not all of it is unambiguous. Mahrt (1969) argued that the polyphonic masses of Heinrich Isaac may have been used *alternatim* with organ. Certainly polyphonic settings of strophic items, such as hymns and canticles, might have been so employed. The problem with the Ordinary of the Mass is that its forms are not strophic in the same way. Nevertheless, a ceremonial for the French diocese of Toul (*Cérémonial de Toul*, 1700) explains in detail how vocal music (*chant figuré* as opposed to plainchant) might be accommodated within the tradition:

> At the Mass one plays five times at the Kyrie when it is sung in the choir in plainchant; four times when it is sung 'en musique' [i.e. organ–Kyrie–organ–Christe–organ–Kyrie–organ]; and twice only when the musicians sing Kyrie, Christe, Kyrie without a break [i.e. organ–Kyrie+Christe+Kyrie–organ].

This ceremonial also explains that when the Gloria is sung 'en musique', the organ does not intervene at all. For the remainder of the Ordinary 'en musique', the organ plays once before the Sanctus, for the Benedictus and for the first and third Agnus. A similar scene is used in several vocal mass settings by Marc-Antoine Charpentier. His *Messe pour le samedi de Pâques à 4 voix* contains instructions for the interpolation of organ versets in the Kyrie and Sanctus. The Benedictus is wholly sung. (The Agnus is omitted in accordance with liturgical practice on Holy Saturday.) The Sanctus bears the following rubrics: 'Premier Sanctus pour l'orgue sur le plein jeu'; 'Second Sanctus' (polyphonic vocal setting); 'Troisième Sanctus pour l'orgue sur les petits jeux'; 'Pleni sunt ... in excelsis' (to a polyphonic vocal setting). Here therefore, Charpentier introduced the organ between the second 'Sanctus' and 'Pleni sunt'. Somewhat later Michel Corrette published a collection of masses (*Quatre messes à deux voix égales, avec l'accompagnement de l'orgue à l'usage des dames religieuses*) showing the alternation of vocal settings and organ versets. In the second and third masses only half of the liturgical text is set (including the Gloria),

Corrette directing the organist to interpolate versets at the breaks. Appropriate versets, according to a note at the head of the second mass, were to be found in the composer's 'Ie livre d'orgue', referring not to Corrette's *Premier livre* but to a much later 'livre Ir' of *Pièces pour l'orgue dans un genre nouveau à l'usage des dames religieuses*.

(iii) History. The manuscript *I-FZc* 117 (*c*1400; complete facsimile in *MD*, xiii–xv, 1959–61, and MSD, x, 1962; ed. in CMM, lvii, 1972) contains two Kyrie–Gloria sets (one incomplete) and a single Kyrie verset. This transcription shows a tenor plainchant cantus firmus in predominantly long, equal note values over which a lively discantus dances. No less reminiscent of 12th-century St Martial organa are the versets found in the earliest extant German sources, the so-called Sagan Manuscript (*PL-WRu*, *c*1425) and the Wynsem Manuscript (*D-Bsb*, *c*1430; both ed. in CEKM, i, 1963). The first includes three versets for the Gloria, the second a Sanctus and incomplete Credo.

A more flexible approach to the cantus firmus is found in the three-part settings belonging to the Buxheim Organbook (*D-Mbs, c*1470). Here the plainchant is organized rhythmically. This source contains (in addition to the troped Gloria mentioned above, several settings of the Kyrie, a single Credo and a Sanctus) versets for three introits.

Two English organ masses survive from the very early years of the 16th century: *Missa in die Paschae* by Thomas Preston, which consists exclusively of settings of the Proper, and a complete setting of the Ordinary, with a troped Kyrie for Trinity Sunday, by Philip ap Rhys (EECM, x, 1969, no.1). There remain also a significant number of English offertory versets, among which *Felix namque* settings predominate. The offertory antiphon *Felix namque* was prescribed for Lady Masses. (Surviving examples of pre-Reformation English organ music for the Mass are transcribed in EECM, x (1969).)

The two earliest extant French organ masses also date from the first half of the 16th century. Moreover, they are the first printed organ masses. They appear in Attaingnant's *Tabulature pour le jeu d'orgues* (1531), which set the pattern for printed organ masses for the next 200 years. The versets are for the Ordinary and, with the exception of those for the Kyrie of the Mass *'Kyrie fons bonitatis'*, based on the fourth plainchant. This setting (*Cunctipotens genitor Deus*) was favoured (and continued to be favoured in France) for 'annual and solemn feasts'. The plainchant is still treated as a strict cantus firmus, mainly in the bass.

Cavazzoni, in his *Intabulatura d'organo ... libro secondo* (?1543), was one of the first composers to break away from the strict cantus firmus style and to produce a more unified texture. His versets normally start with a compact series of imitative entries, taking the plainchant incipit as their 'point', and proceed to a fuller statement of the plainchant, either in the soprano or in the bass. The *Intabulatura* contains three masses, *Missa apostolorum* (IV), *Missa domenicalis* (XI) and *Missa de Beata Virgine* (IX). The same basic titles, and the same plainchants, occur in the three organ masses by Andrea Gabrieli (in one of the Turin tablatures, *I-Tn*) and in those by Claudio Merulo (*Messe d'intavolatura d'organo*, 1568). Organ versets for the Mass also appear in the work of Hans Buchner (*Fundamentum*) and Cabezón, and in a Polish manuscript (*PL-Kp*: the Lublin Tablature).

Towards the end of the 16th century and the beginning of the 17th the extant literature of organ versets from the Catholic parts of Germany is much slighter than from Italy, but there are manuscript sets of versets for the mass by Hans Leo Hassler (one complete in the Turin manuscripts) and Christian Ehrbach (five Kyries and one Gloria), which show that *alternatim* organ music was in use. An anonymous German 16th-century source contains three masses in organ tablature (Wolff, 1994).

The 17th century is the most important in the history of the organ mass, both for the number of publications and for the degree of technical accomplishment. Banchieri's treatise *L'organo suonarino* (1605), of which the third edition (1622) contains a *Missa alla domenica*, was followed by Bottazzi's *Choro et organo* (1614), Frescobaldi's *Fiori musicali* (1635), Salvatore's *Ricercari ... e versi per rispondere nelle messe* (1641), Croci's *Frutti musicali* (1642) and Fasolo's *Annuale* (1645), each of which contains three masses: the familiar Mass for the Apostles, Mass for Sunday and Mass for Our Lady. Frescobaldi's publication is exceptional in that, of the Ordinary, only the Kyrie is set. The remaining pieces are for the processional ('avanti la Messa'), the gradual ('dopo l'epistola'), offertory ('dopo il Credo'), the Elevation and the post-communion. The Kyries use the normal plainchants, but for each mass there are more than five versets; clearly some are alternatives.

In France also, publications containing organ masses abound, beginning at about the time that Italian publication ceased: Nivers' *2e livre d'orgue* (1667), Lebègue's *Second livre d'orgue* (n.d.), Gigault's *Livre de musique pour l'orgue* (1685), Raison's *Livre d'orgue contenant cinq messes* (1688), Grigny's *Premier livre d'orgue* (1699) and the most outstanding masses of the French classical school, those of François Couperin (ii) in his *Pièces d'orgue consistantes en deux messes* (1690). There are also settings in manuscript: two in an anonymous *livre d'orgue* formerly belonging to Marguerite Thiery (now in *F-Pc*), another in an anonymous collection of organ music sometimes attributed to Jean-Nicolas Geoffroy (all three published in A.C. Howell: *Five French Baroque Organ Masses*, Lexington, Kentucky, 1961), and five in the *Livre d'orgue de Montréal*, a late 17th-century compilation of Parisian provenance (ed. E. Gallat-Morin, Paris and Montreal, 1988).

With the emergence of the French classical school, notable changes are found in compositional techniques. The old polyphonic structures were discarded in favour of the new concertato style: the *récit*, the *Tierce en taille*, the *basse de trompette* and the *dialogue* appeared; the old forms were transformed into the *fugue*, the *plein jeu* and the *fond d'orgue*, and the organ was exploited for its variety of colour. The structural use of plainchant diminished to such an extent that the Paris diocese actually directed (in the *Caeremoniale parisiense*) that the plainchant in use should appear, completely unaltered, in the versets for the first and last Kyrie, at the words 'Et in terra pax ... suscipe deprecationem nostram' and 'In gloria Dei patris. Amen' of the Gloria, and also in the versets for the first Sanctus and Agnus. However, the full force of this injunction appears seldom to have been felt by composers. Even so sensitive a liturgist as Nivers only went so far as to observe it for the first versets of the Kyrie, Gloria,

Sanctus and Agnus. A similar compromise was reached by both Couperin (in his *Messe pour les paroisses*) and Grigny, with the exception in Couperin's case of a cantus firmus setting of the last Kyrie. The treatment of the cantus firmus plainchant in these instances is often rather selfconscious, partly because the standard registration for versets with a cantus firmus calls for the plainchant to be played on the loudest stops of the organ: the pedal Trompette and Clairon. This contrasts with the easy manner in which other versets may freely paraphrase the plainchant.

In other settings, notably Couperin's *Messe pour les couvents* and the five masses of Raison's *Livre d'orgue* (1688), the demands of the Paris ceremonial seem to be totally ignored, but for understandable reasons. These organ masses were intended for use in religious houses where the diocesan ceremonial had no jurisdiction, and where local usages existed, such as the employment of special chants for the Mass. Many of these chants were often newly composed (i.e. *messes musicales*) and required organ versets which remained in the same key throughout the Ordinary, unlike organ masses written to alternate with the fourth plainchant. It was these demands which Couperin and Raison had to meet. Raison's publication with its variety of keys is intended to supply versets for any *messe musicale*. Interestingly, Couperin's *Messe pour les couvents*, written in the 8th mode (more or less G major), conforms to the key needed for alternation with Nivers' 'plainchant' setting for feasts of the first solemnity, transposed from F to G (perhaps to suit nuns' voices). Nivers' *messes musicales* were in wide circulation in service books published for the use of monastic orders.

French organ masses continued to dominate the scene in the 18th century. Although Gaspard Corrette's *Messe du 8e ton* (1703) stands firmly in the classical tradition, his son Michel was responsible for a new development in compositional technique, altogether uncharacteristic of the classical school. Each of the four masses of his *IIIe livre d'orgue ... contenant les messes* (1756) consists of versets written almost without exception upon a strict plainchant cantus firmus in the bass. This return to cantus firmus settings became very popular and continued well into the 19th century, but whatever its liturgical advantages it produced nothing of artistic merit (van Wye, 1995).

The French also cultivated the *messe en noëls*, which became a notable Christmas attraction in fashionable Paris churches. Here each verset is based upon a popular Christmas carol. Claude-Bénigne Balbastre was renowned for his improvised *messes en noëls*, and some examples by Benaut survive. The cult of the organist as entertainer also led to extravagant and entirely inappropriate versets for the offertory. The Mass in F by Benaut contains an *offertoire* in several sections inscribed: 'Prélude, ou Réveil de chasseurs', 'Chasse flamande', 'Repos de chasse, tempo di minuetto', and 'Retour de la chasse'. These trends continued into the 19th century with Christmas enlivened by such works as Alexandre Boëly's *Messe du jour de Noël ... sur les airs populaires anciens* (1842), while the general production of organ music for the Ordinary continued with such works as the *Livre d'orgue* op.26 of J.A. Miné. The style of Miné's versets is similar to Michel Corrette's, but still simpler. They consist of little more than harmonizations of a plainchant bass, of negligible musical interest (van Wye, 1970). Some 19th-century Italian sources reveal a more ambitious approach. Vincenzo Petrali (1832–89) published versets for the Mass on the scale and in the character of operatic arias and interludes.

The case of the third part of J.S. Bach's *Clavier-Übung* being called an organ mass (first by E. Krieger in 1930) forms an interesting footnote to this account. Despite the intriguing appearance of versets for the Kyrie and Gloria in the third part of Scheidt's *Tabulatura nova* of 1624 (see Herman, 1969), the use of *alternatim* organ music for the Mass was generally not adopted by the Lutheran Church, nor indeed by any of the reformed churches. Book 3 of Bach's *Clavier-Übung* provides for the Mass only in the sense that it contains elaborate chorale preludes on Lutheran chants for the Kyrie and the Gloria. Bach's organ music 'sub communione' (e.g. *Jesus Christus, unser Heiland* BWV665) had a specific liturgical role in the Mass, one with which the chorale partitas have also been associated (Clement, 1991). However, there is no *alternatim* practice at work here.

Although the Roman Church banned *alternatim* organ music after 1903, much music for use during the Mass has of course been written since then (Kotek, 1974). Messiaen's *Messe de la Pentecôte* (1949–50) is a notable example. It consists of five movements (the term 'verset' is no longer appropriate): 'Entrée', 'Offertoire', 'Consécration', 'Communion' and 'Sortie'.

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Organ music. *See* KEYBOARD MUSIC, §§I–II.

Órgano, canto de. *See* CANTO DE ÓRGANO.

Organochordium [organochordon]. A type of CLAVIORGAN built in 1782–9 by the Danish organ builder Kirschnigk and developed by G.J. Vogler, with Rackwitz of Stockholm. *See also* REED ORGAN, §1.

Organology (Ger. *Instrumentenkunde*). The study of musical instruments in terms of their history and social function, design, construction and relation to performance. Organology has interested scholars since at least as early as the 17th century. Praetorius, in his *Syntagma musicum* ii (1618) provided an important section on instruments, including some non-Western types, with realistic illustrations drawn to scale (*Theatrum instrumentorum*, 1620). Other technical discussions appear in the encyclopedic works of Mersenne (1636) and Kircher (1650). Modern organologists and reproducers of historical instruments (who might be called 'applied organologists') have benefited from the observations of such early scholars, particularly in cases where well-preserved original instruments are rare or nonexistent. In addition to providing practical information useful to performers and instrument makers, organologists seek to elucidate the complex, ever-changing relationships among musical style, performing practices and evolution of instruments worldwide. This study involves authenticating and dating old instruments by scientific means, discerning the methods by which instruments of different cultures have been designed and produced and investigating the many extra-musical influences – such as advances in technology and changing economic conditions – that lead to innovation and obsolescence. The symbolism and folklore of instruments are subjects that organology shares with music iconography and ethnomusicology.

Since the late 18th century, interest in instruments of all kinds has served an ethnomusicological purpose by providing a common avenue of approach to the music of diverse cultures. Guillaume André Villoteau (1759–1839) made the first scientific study of ancient Egyptian music largely on the basis of depictions of instruments in tombs and temples; later archaeological discoveries of actual if fragmentary Egyptian instruments allowed his conclusions to be refined and corrected. Organology as an academic discipline came into its own after the 19th-century development of large, permanent instrument collections in Europe and the USA. Once these repositories were established, organologists, who were often also museum curators, confronted the challenges of comprehensive classification and description. Curt Sachs's *Real-Lexikon der Musikinstrumente* (1913), a pioneering effort to systematize knowledge of instruments on a worldwide basis, and the widely-adopted classificatory scheme devised jointly by Sachs and Erich von Hornbostel were based on Victor-Charles Mahillon's research on instruments collected at the Brussels Conservatory beginning in the 1870s. Nicholas Bessaraboff, who in 1941 introduced the term 'organology' in the sense used here, applied a classification derived from Francis W. Galpin's (1910, 1937) to the collection at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. The study of instruments *per se* became an important resource for comparative musicology (e.g. Hornbostel's adducing of panpipe tunings as evidence of a cultural connection between Brazil and Polynesia), but ethnomusicologists have tended to subordinate a purely object-oriented approach to a broader consideration of instruments' musical and social contexts. Especially in traditional and non-literate cultures, the shapes, materials, and decoration of instruments, no less than their sounds, convey meaning essential to their functions; seeking to understand these features, organologists might collaborate in field research with ethnologists and native informants. Efforts to interpret ancient and prehistoric sound-producing implements have thus far usually proved inconclusive or unconvincing, in part because of the difficulty of faithfully reconstructing scattered fragmentary remains. Since primitive noisemakers often served multiple purposes, the sonic function of an excavated artefact might even go unrecognized.

Recent studies of Western instruments have produced important, though sometimes controversial, results in such matters as pitch and tuning, historically appropriate string materials and the origin and dissemination of various instrument types. Technological advances, for example, in dendrochronology (the comparative study of the annual growth rings in timber and in ancient trees in order to fix dates in the past) and computer-assisted tomography (the use of scanning techniques to obtain a detailed image of a particular section or plane, of or within a solid structure or body), have broadened the scope of organological investigation and helped raise standards of connoisseurship. During the last quarter of the 20th century, John Koster and G. Grant O'Brien contributed valuable new information concerning the

construction and uses of early stringed keyboard instruments, and Peter Williams explicated the obscure history of organs. Karel Moens raised fundamental questions about the authentication of antique bowed string instruments, while Herbert Heyde, a specialist in the development of woodwinds and brasses, demonstrated the relevance of geometric proportional schemes and local units of measure to instrument design. Studies such as these depend on close examination of extant instruments and primary documentary sources, including treatises, patent claims and musical compositions, as well as iconographic evidence. One striking conclusion to emerge from analysis of a wide range of data is that, contrary to common belief, major advances in instrument design often precede rather than result from musical style shifts, as innovative instrument makers, responding to general market conditions, introduce novel types having expressive potentials that might take generations for musicians to explore. The history of the piano and of the saxophone exemplify instances where, so to speak, the medium anticipated the message. Observations such as this demonstrate the power of organology to shift perceptions of music history.

See also INSTRUMENTS AND TECHNOLOGY; INSTRUMENTS, CLASSIFICATION OF; and INSTRUMENTS, CONSERVATION, RESTORATION, COPYING OF.

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Organo pleno [pieno] (It.: 'full organ'). Full organ has rarely, if ever, denoted that the composer has required the organist to draw every stop; since *c*1850 most composers other than French have left it to the organist's discretion and the organ-bellows' capacity.

Before that, both the term itself and the registration it indicated varied according to period and area. The 15th-century BLOCKWERK was itself the *plenum* of larger organs, from Spain to the Baltic, from Italy to the North Sea; if it were referred to in a document such as a contract, it would be called 'Principal'. When or where this Diapason chorus was separated into several single or multiple ranks, a term such as *grant jeu* would indicate the total or full organ (St Michel, Bordeaux, 1510), perhaps without flutes, like the 'compimento de l'organo' at S Martino, Bologna (1556). (*See* GRAND JEU.)

Plenum and the German terms *volles Werk* and *zum gantzen Werck* are chiefly 17th-century terms, referring to the Diapason chorus codified in many 16th-century sources; the last phrase, however, often means that a stop runs 'through the whole compass', not that it joins 'the total chorus'. In Italy *ripieno* was based on single ranks excluding Flutes (Antegnati, 1608), but later examples are known to have included a Tierce rank (Trent Cathedral, 1687), as sometimes happened with the PLEIN JEU in France (*c*1620). In Spain, *plé* (16th century) indicated the chorus in general, *lleno* (17th century) the main Mixture.

From *das Werck* at Hagenau in 1491, which was the total chorus Mixture excluding Diapason and Zimbel, to Mattheson's treatises of 1721, the German organ progressed towards heavier and thicker *plena*, including all stops except reeds, and used not so much for particular colour, like the French *grands* and *pleins jeux*, as for massive effects in preludes, toccatas, etc. Some writers, like Praetorius and Werckmeister, insisted that 'families' of stops should not be mixed. It is unlikely that J. S. Bach had a specific combination in mind when he asked for *organum plenum*, whether in 1715 or 1745; however, a contemporary organ builder, Gottfried Silbermann, directed organists to use the manual coupler but no manual reeds or Tierces in the *plenum* (Fraureuth, 1739).

See also FULL ORGAN and GRAND CHOEUR.

PETER WILLIAMS

Organo tedesco (It.). *See* BARREL ORGAN.

Organ point. An ambiguous term in English, owing its existence to the fact that it is the literal equivalent of the Latin *punctus organi* or *organicus punctus*, the German *Orgelpunkt*, and the French *point d'orgue*. Although listed in all musical dictionaries, the English term is usually avoided in practical situations in favour of the more precise 'pedal' or PEDAL POINT and PAUSE or FERMATA. *Organicus punctus* is found as early as Franco of Cologne (*Ars cantus mensurabilis*, *c*1260), who used it for the penultimate note of a tenor at which the regular measure is suspended. Tinctoris (*Terminorum musicae diffinitorium*, *c*1472–3) applied it to the sign of the corona, which by that time was used in various situations where it was necessary for one part to pay attention to the other parts instead of to the beat: on final notes which must be prolonged and released together, in canons, where one part might have to prolong a final note until the other parts have caught up, and in passages of block chords where each note was to be prolonged for effect (e.g. Dufay's *Supremum est mortalibus*).

In French, *point d'orgue* was applied in the 17th century to both the corona and the harmonic pedal. The latter meaning, though rare, is found in Furetière's *Dictionnaire universel*, which was published in 1690 (though the reference is to the usage of the mid-17th century): 'Le point d'orgue est proprement une tenuë en Musique, et est en usage en plusieurs parties quand on veut que l'une continuë long-tems sur un même ton, tandis que les autres font différents accords'.

In the 18th century the term began to take on the additional meaning of the ornamental cadenza often demanded by the *point d'orgue*, whereas the meaning of harmonic pedal gradually dropped away. Cohen (*JAMS*, xxiv, 1971, 63–84, esp. 76) cited Etienne Loulié's use of the curious term *ostinatione* for pedal point in a manuscript composition treatise (before 1703). In 1844 the Escudier brothers (*Dictionnaire de musique théorique et historique*) defined *point d'orgue* simply as 'passage brillant que fait la partie principale dans un solo', while 19th-century treatises on fugue (e.g. Cherubini, Fétis)

introduced the term *pédale*, which they had doubtless imported from Italy, where it is found with its modern meaning as early as 1802 (Sabbatini). 20th-century French dictionaries distinguish sharply between *point d'orgue* and *pédale*; the former never means the latter.

Orgelpunkt seems to have entered German terminology by way of French usage rather than of Latin. Early German usage prefers 'Pausa generalis' or 'Corona' for the fermata, and it is under 'Corona' that Walther (*Musikalisches Lexikon*, 1732) gave his main definition – adding, however, that 'die Franzosen nennen es *point d'orgue*'. The other meaning of the French term crops up in Heinichen's explanation of a prolonged *tasto solo* note in figured bass (*Der General-Bass*, 1728), where he wrote that the French called it *point d'orgue* because one could hold a note with the pedals and play all sorts of 'variations and foreign syncopations' with both hands. By the mid-18th century the corona had come to be called *Fermate* (C.P.E. Bach and Quantz), and Marpurg was using *point d'orgue* for the pedal near the end of a fugue. By the end of the century *point d'orgue* had been taken over as *Orgelpunkt*, in which form it was defined by Sulzer (*Allgemeine Theorie*, 1771–4) and Koch (*Musikalisches Lexikon*, 1802) as a harmonic pedal, with no mention of the sign of the corona. Unfortunately, however, Koch gave *point d'orgue* as the French equivalent for *Orgelpunkt* – just when the French themselves had managed to differentiate it clearly from *pédale*. Thus began the confusion, which was made worse by English writers seizing upon the cognate without specifying which meaning they attached to it.

Modern French and German usage is clear: French *point d'orgue* means German *Fermate*; German *Orgelpunkt* means French *pédale*. English usage avoids 'organ point'; 'pause', 'fermata' and 'pedal' are preferred.

DAVID FULLER

Organ score. Most notably since *c*1750, when London publishers began issuing Handel's oratorios in two-stave reductions for solo organ, the term has denoted an abbreviated arrangement of a work for whose original instrumentation the organ stands as substitute. The practice grew in the 19th century, initially through the publications of Vincent Novello, which included organ scores of Haydn's masses. Previously, the term had two more important usages: (i) an open score (very often in four parts) of a piece of organ music, particularly of a serious or contrapuntal nature, from Bach's *Die Kunst der Fuge* to Frescobaldi's ricercares; (ii) an open score of a vocal or instrumental work accompanied by the organ which reproduces the sung parts. Organ-basses of the 1590s, and hence figured basso continuo parts of the next decade, are as it were shorthand organ scores, indicating harmonies rather than exact parts, though these were considered the ideal realization (Viadana, 1602). Banchieri (1607) recommended score or tablature even in works for which he supplied a so-called *basso seguente* part. Such organ scores as are literal in the sense of (ii) above became increasingly common from *c*1550 (Juan Bermudo, 1555) and serve as a church equivalent to the simple instrumental scores of contemporary secular music (e.g. Malvezzi's solo numbers in the *Intermedii* of 1591). The Italian term is PARTITURA, the German frequently *Tabulatura* (Scheidt, 1624; Klemme, 1631), not to be confused with *Orgeltabulatur*.

PETER WILLIAMS (with CHRISTOPHER KENT)

Organ stop (Fr. *jeu, registre*; Ger. *Register, Stimme*). A rank of organ pipes of a specific construction, colour or pitch; also sometimes used to refer to the knob or tablet controlling a specific rank of pipes. With regard to construction and tone-colour, organ stops fall into four basic 'families': principals or diapasons (the ranks of flue pipes that provide the basic 'organ tone'), flutes (flue pipes of various constructions but wider-scaled), strings (narrow-scaled flue pipes), and reeds (differing from the other three categories in that the sound is produced by a beating metal tongue). For a full discussion of pipework *see* ORGAN, §III. Compound stops (Mixture, Zimbel, Fourniture, Sesquialtera, etc.) consist of several higher-pitched ranks under a single control, usually 'breaking back' to lower pitches from the middle of the compass upward. Mutation stops are single higher-pitched ranks at 5th and 3rd pitches used to colour ensembles by reinforcing a particular harmonic; the more higher-pitched mutations also usually break back towards the top of their compass (*see* MUTATION STOP). Compound and mutation stops may belong to any of the three flue categories and are never used without a suitable foundation (i.e. a flue stop of 8′ pitch, occasionally 4′, 2′ or 16′).

Just as the term 'stop' is of uncertain origin and meaning, so the many stop names have a complex history and usage: the evolution of stop names naturally reflects the evolution of the organ as a complex instrument. During the 15th century in northern France, the Netherlands and the Rhineland, such terms as 'Principal' were used to indicate the basic sound of the organ, the *pleno* chorus; and the case pipes (Prestant, Montre, Doif, etc.) were increasingly specified in sources, they being the first ranks to be separated off from the chorus in a big church organ. In most cases large secular organs, which had a longer tradition for separate and sometimes highly colourful ranks, have no associated verbal descriptions that specify names. By 1500, builders were making many kinds of pipes and almost without exception giving them the names of instruments or sounds which they were thought to imitate (Trumpet, Horn, Recorder, Gemshorn, etc.), sometimes picturesquely so (Old Women's Voice, Nightingale). It is misleading to assume that the 19th-century liking for orchestral effects was in itself a sign of decadence in organ building, since the practice dates back to the Renaissance. The exceptions to these instrumental names were important, since they usually indicated the construction of pipes concerned and were thus intrinsic to the organ as an independent instrument (Gedackt, Hohlflöte, Spitzflöte, etc.). The origin of some stop names is particularly difficult to understand, including those that appear to be words taken from other contexts – musical (Diapason), architectural (Trompes), theoretical (Sesquialtera) or even onomatopoeic (Bourdon). In some cases, notably Trompes and Bourdons, it is not clear whether the use of the term in the organ context precedes any other. By the end of the 16th century, names in all countries and languages had become regular and reliable as indications of a stop's purpose, if not always of its tone; whether such names remained in the builder's contracts or were actually written on stop labels at the organ is less clear. Labels were hardly necessary, for instance, on Italian and English organs, and remained uncommon on chamber organs until the late 18th century.

The great organ theorists and those giving lists of specifications, such as Praetorius, Mattheson, Bédos de

Celles and Hopkins, gave a somewhat misleading impression of the uniformity and reliability of stop names. Readers of Praetorius, for instance, are led to believe not only that the names of the many Regal stops were neatly codified but also that such stops were more important – i.e. common over a wider area and for a longer time – than was indeed the case. Certainly written reports must always have increased the interest of organists and builders in new or foreign stops, particularly perhaps in those cases where writers expressed doubt as to the success of a certain builder in imitating such sounds as the human voice, sea waves, orchestral horn and so on. Few stops new in name, sound or construction originated during the 18th century, and many of those so popular in the 19th century (overblowing stops, string-scale flues) were known in some form in the 17th.

The definitions or descriptions that follow have been compiled with certain points in mind: (*a*) transliterations of stop names (e.g. Kwinta for Quinte) are not given, nor Nordic variants of German names (e.g. Spetsfloït for Spitzflöte) unless they indicate a different kind of stop (e.g. Baarpijp and Bärpfeife); (*b*) a short phrase indicates the family of stops which a name indicates, flue or reed, open, closed or semi-closed, metal or wood; two stops of the same name can have a different combination of such factors, as they can also serve quite different purposes from organ to organ (chorus/solo; principal/flute/mutation); (*c*) examples are taken from typical instruments, and no attempt has been made to list every maker's fanciful name or wayward invention; (*d*) examples may refer to a stop whose pipes are constructed in the manner normally associated with the name even when the builder's own term is unknown; (*e*) only a few names are included of those families of stops invented at different periods for purposes of little relevance to idiomatic organ music, particularly Renaissance and Baroque toy stops (birds, tinkling bells, etc.), late 18th-century free reeds of the harmonium type, late 19th-century high-pressure flue or valvular reed stops; (*f*) stop types with names in several languages (e.g. Querflöte, Flauto traverso) are entered under the most commonly used name unless a difference in construction is implied (e.g. Nachthorn, Cor de nuit).

Cross-references within this article are indicated in the form 'See under *Cornett*'; cross-references to other articles are in the usual form '*See* CORNETT'.

Aeolina, Aeoline. (1) A narrow metal flue stop of soft tone first found in Germany *c*1820, and still found in many modern organs.
(2) A free reed of gentle tone, invented *c*1815 (?by Eschenbach) and popular in central Germany (Schulze etc.).
(3) With free reeds with derived names: 'Claveoline' 8′ or 16′, sometimes with wooden resonators (by Beyer, *c*1820), 'Aeolodikon' 16′ (Walcker, *c*1840).

Baarpijp (Dut.). (1) Barem was a soft Gedackt stop during Praetorius's period (*c*1620).
(2) 'Baarpyp' at Haarlem (1735–8) and other Dutch organs of that period was a soft stop of tapered pipes. In earlier sources (from the late 16th century), often the same as Quintadena. The name may come from *baar* (Middle Dutch: 'bright') or *barem* ('to scream'), or from the German *Baar* ('pole' or 'rod'). But see under *Bärpfeife*.

Bajete, Bajón (Sp.). Late 17th-century Spanish reeds: a 4′ Bajete was gentle in tone, often a bass-half stop only, sometimes *en chamade* (projecting from the case front); Bajón was an 8′ Bassoon stop (the 4′ version called 'Bajoncillo'), stronger in tone, usually with flaring metal resonators. 'Bajoncillo y Clarín' was a single 4′ rank in two halves.

Bärpfeife (?Ger., ?Dut.). A reed stop of the mid-16th century (name first used by Niehoff ?*c*1540), the predecessor of Regal stops with fanciful resonators, strong in tone. The term probably has nothing to do with growling bears, however coarse the tone.

Bassflute. A 19th-century 8′ pedal stop, usually of stopped wood (like the 16′ Bourdon), sometimes open; 'Flötenbass' is an older German equivalent, of various constructions.

Basson (Fr.). See under *Fagotto*.

Bassoon. (1) An English reed stop of quiet tone, once found frequently from *c*1680 onwards (R. Harris), particularly on the CHAIR ORGAN; most examples probably had small-scaled flaring resonators.
(2) An English 19th-century reed stop, usually called Fagotto, of the same construction but at 16′ pitch on the Swell organ.
(3) A French 18th- and 19th-century reed stop (*Basson*), serving as the bass half to a treble Hautbois.
(4) On 19th-century English and American organs, the separately drawing bass octave of an Oboe or Hautboy.

Bauernflöte (Ger.: 'peasant's fife'). A penetrating 2′ or 1′ flue stop of open wide scale, sometimes stopped or as a Chimney Flute, found especially in the Brabant organ of *c*1550, the Fritzsche-Compenius organ of *c*1620 and organs of Saxony *c*1690; popular as a 1′ solo pedal stop for cantus firmus music.

Bazuin (Dut.). See under *Posaune*.

Bell Diapason (Fr. *flûte à pavillon*). Originating in France in the 1840s, it has cylindrical pipes with a flaring cone soldered at the top; a loud Flute.

Bell Gamba. A tapered flue stop of 16′ or 8′ with a short, conical section at the top of the pipes, found on 19th-century continental and American organs.

Bifara, Biffaro. (1) A double Flute whose pipes have a dividing wall and two mouths at different heights, producing a soft tremulant sound; it was popular in south Germany and Austria from *c*1660.
(2) In Walcker's organs (*c*1830) a double rank of 8′ stopped and 4′ open, producing a soft, string-like tone.

Blockflöte (Ger.). A wide conical metal flue stop imitating the recorder; it can be open, closed or overblowing (*c*1620), sometimes made of oak (late 17th-century Friesland and England), usually at 4′ pitch.

Blockwerk (Ger.; Dut. *blokwerk*). Not strictly a stop name, it denotes the undivided chest of the medieval organ based on a 'double Principal' without other 'stops' separated off. *See* BLOCKWERK.

Bocktremulant (Ger.). See under *Tremulant*.

Bombardon (Fr. *bombarde*; Ger. *Bombard, Pommer*). (1) In France, the basic manual or pedal 16′ reed, from at least 1587 (Arras), of importance to the larger French classical organs, with strong tone, metal or wood resonators and sometimes its own keyboard (Notre Dame, Paris, 1733).
(2) 'Pombarda', according to Praetorius, was a 16′ or 8′ reed of strong tone and two-thirds length resonators.
(3) 'Bombarda' signified long pedal reeds on the enlarged Italian organ of *c*1820 (Serassi).
(4) 'Bombardon' was the name given to a rather mild-toned English Bombarde of *c*1850.

Bourdon (Fr.). (1) The earliest 'Barduni' were low-compass bass pipes not always played by keys but sometimes held on as a drone by a kind of latch (Arnaut de Zwolle, *c*1440) (see under *Trompes*).
(2) Occasionally, 'Perduyn' or 'Pardoenen' indicated case-front pipes (*c*1550), more often inside pipes an octave below the case pipes.
(3) The most important use of the term was for the stopped pipes of either 16′ or 8′ pitch in the French organ from the 17th century onwards. The scaling was narrow to medium – stopped wood for lower octaves, stopped or chimneyed metal for the upper – and such stops had a broad musical application.
(4) A medium- to large-scale 16′ manual or pedal stop of stopped wood, often found in English and American organs from *c*1820 onwards.

Buzain (Dut.). See under *Posaune*.

Campanello (It.). (1) See under *Carillon*.
(2) A high repeating wide-scaled mutation, giving a bell-like effect (England, Germany, *c*1850).

Carillon. Various stops achieving bell-like effects. (1) Real bells of 4′ or 2′ pitch, played by hands or feet, on many organs, especially in central and south Germany from 1737–50 onwards; there were trackers to small striking hammers.
(2) A common Italian stop of the same type, popular in the early 19th century.
(3) A Dutch Tierce Mixture found *c*1750–1850 as a kind of Echo Cornet.

Celeste. See under *Unda maris* and *Voix céleste*.

Celestina. (1) A soft 4′ open wood Flute, sometimes found in English organs after the middle of the 19th century.
(2) In late 19th-century American organs, often a soft 4′ string.

Chalumeau (Fr.). (1) The same as Schalmei in some German sources of the 18th century.
(2) A small-scaled flaring reed stop in central Germany *c*1750, sometimes cylindrical.

Cheio (Port.). A chorus Mixture of the same type as Compuestas de lleno (Sp.).

Chimney Flute (Fr. *flûte à cheminée*; Ger. *Rohrflöte*; It. *flauto a camino*; Sp. *espigueta*). The name of an important pipe form known throughout Europe. The pipes are 'half-stopped', the metal canisters or stoppers pierced to allow a narrow tube to pass through. The length and width of the tube have varied from builder to builder. The resultant tone is very charming, the stopped Flute sound modified by several faint overtones. The pipe form probably originated in the Rhineland at the end of the 15th century; some early Netherlandish examples were called 'Hohlflöte' in the sources. Praetorius noted that such stops could be at 16′, 8′, 4′, 2′ and even 1′; Adlung (1768) added the mutations: $10\frac{2}{3}$′, $5\frac{1}{3}$′, $2\frac{2}{3}$′ and $1\frac{1}{3}$′. In France and Spain certain pipes (e.g. the lower octaves) in a Flute rank might be Chimney Flutes, as could a complete rank in Cornets; Mersenne (1636–7) noted that the length of tube affected the sound. Some early 20th-century builders, especially in the USA, made use of internal, inverted chimneys, thought to be more stable.

Chirimía (Sp.). A kind of 4′ or 2′ Schalmei, imitating the shawm in 17th- and 18th-century organs, sometimes *en chamade*.

Choralbass, *Choralflöte* (Ger.). An open metal or wood 4′ Flute found on the pedals of 17th- and 18th-century German organs for playing cantus firmus melodies; rarely an open manual 8′ Flute.

Cimbala (Sp.), *Cimball* (Eng.). See under *Zimbel*.

Clairon (Fr.). See under *Clarion*.

Clarabella. The early 19th-century English and American name for an open wood Flute (used by Bishop, *c*1825), often in the treble only, originally replacing an 18th-century mounted Cornet and useful for solos.

Claribel Flute, *Claribel*. A mid-19th-century name for a fairly strong Great organ 4′ Flute (Willis, *c*1860), sometimes harmonic for the top octave; it is also often found at 8′ pitch in late 19th- and early 20th-century English and Australian organs.

Clarín (Sp.). Spanish Trumpets of various kinds, originating mostly in the later 17th century. (1) An 8′ Clarín was a standard Trumpet, vertical inside the organ or horizontal at the case front. 'Real' Trumpets (Clarines, Trompetas) were usually vertical (not horizontal), the name indicating 'real' in the sense of 'full-length resonators'; but by *c*1750 'Trompeta Real' often meant 'royal trumpet'.
(2) 'Clarín de eco' was a smaller-scaled Trumpet in an Echo or Swell box.
(3) 'Clarín fuerte [suave]': a strong [soft] Trumpet. Both the strong and soft stops had flaring tin resonators.
(4) Clarines usually indicates a 2′ reed of soft Trumpet tone, sometimes a bass-half stop only.
(5) 'Clarín de batalla', 'Clarín de compaña': military-like Trumpet stops *en chamade*.

Clarinet. A reed stop of many different types and purposes. (1) Clarinette (little Clarín) was a Spanish Regal, sometimes *en chamade*, found in the heyday of Iberian organs (*c*1750).
(2) Clarinetto: an Italian Regal (18th century); or a German pedal Clarin 2′ stop (*c*1830) or 4′ (*c*1775).
(3) Clarinetto was occasionally a clarinet-imitating reed stop (*c*1790, south Germany).
(4) 'Clarinet', 'Clarionet' or 'Cremona' are names frequently found in English and American Choir organs from the early 19th century onwards. Having cylindrical resonators, such stops are related to the Cromorne [Krummhorn].

Clarino (It.). See under *Clarion*.

Clarion (Ger.; Fr. *clairon*; It. *clarino*). Reed stops. (1) A 4′ Clairon is a French chorus Trumpet, supplementary to the Trompette 8′, common on the main manual from at least *c*1580, and as such found elsewhere both in frenchified organs (England, Alsace) and those quite independent (central Germany).
(2) Clarino: a rare Italian Trumpet, of metal or wood; Trombetta and Clarone were other Italian terms used here and there from *c*1600.
(3) See under *Clarín*.

Claron (Sp.). A Nasardos or Tierce Mixture.

Compensationsmixtur. See under *Mixture*.

Compuestas (Sp.). A Mixture or Lleno, like the Fourniture but more varied in content.

Contra (Lat.). Used with the meaning 'an octave below': found especially in the latinized stop-lists of *c*1800. (1) Contrebasses were 19th-century French strong-toned pedal stops imitating the double bass (Cavaillé-Coll).
(2) Contrabass more generally indicates a (pedal) stop an octave below the open Principal.

(3) Contras are Spanish pedal ranks of open or stopped pipes, often without their own stop-knob; thus Contras en Bombardas denotes the 16′ pedal Bombarde.

Coppel, Koppel (Ger.; Lat. *copula*). (1) A coupler.
(2) A stopped 16′, 8′ or 4′ rank in eastern Europe, sometimes called 'Koppelflöte'. In many organs, the equivalent of the Gedackt, and made of metal or wood. However, some Koppelflötes, especially in modern organs, are cylindrical metal stops, having a cone-shaped top, and usually of 4′ pitch.
(3) Coppel elsewhere sometimes indicates a Gemshorn, Spillflöte or even Principal (*c*1540), probably so called because it was coupled to or drawn with Principals, Flutes or reeds.

Cor anglais (Fr.; It. *corno inglese*). 19th-century reed stop with narrow resonators shaped like the orchestral instrument (*c*1850); in Italy the stop is older (used by Serassi, *c*1820) and of coarser tone, and has wide, cylindrical resonators.

Cor de nuit (Fr.). An open or stopped flue rank of wide scale, at 8′, 4′ or 2′, found in French organs *c*1850 and in those in England and the USA that they influenced, where it is usually anglicized to 'Night Horn'.

Cornamusa (It.). A Regal toy stop once common (*c*1600) and producing the drone sound of two held reed pipes, thus leaving the hands free to play 'zampogna' or 'musette' music.

Cornet (Eng., Fr.; It. *cornetto, corneta*; Sp. *corneta*). Various stops imitating the CORNETT. (1) A very important French solo Mixture stop, one to three examples of which were found on every classical organ from 1650 to 1850; it was treble only, from *c*′, with five wide-scaled ranks (1.8.12.15.17) often placed on their own small chests ('mounted Cornet') from *c*1640. Examples during the second half of the 16th century were often given a distinguishing name, such as 'Cornetz à boucquin', 'Nachthorn', 'Cornet d'Allemagne', or stop 'imitating the zink'. The term is not to be confused with the organ stop Cornett, though sources are often unclear on this point. Also an important stop in 18th-century English organs.
(2) Cornetto and Corneta were Italian Flute mutation ranks, from *c*1680 – primo might be the Tierce, secondo the Nasard, terzo the Quarte de nasard, etc.
(3) Spanish Cornet stops ('Corneta clara', 'reale', 'tolosana', i.e. 'from Toulouse') were also common but not so stereotyped in pipe content.
(4) Cornets often had fewer ranks in the late 19th and early 20th centuries (two-rank Cornettin in Sweden), or were built up of string-scaled pipes (France, England, USA).

Cornett, Kornett (Ger.). A reed stop imitating the Zink or CORNETT, usually in the pedals, of 4′ or 2′ pitch, and found throughout central and northern Germany from 1600 to 1800. Praetorius noted that the flaring resonators are only just longer than those of the 'Trichterregal'. 'Singende Kornette' were so called partly because of the smooth tone, partly because such stops were used for melodic cantus firmus lines.

Corno (It.). A name found fairly frequently for various stops. (1) Italian Cornetto, a reed stop in old sources.
(2) Corno dolce is either a soft reed stop (built by Serassi, *c*1810) probably developed from Venetian Regals, or a wide Flute stop in Italy (*c*1750–1900), sometimes in the form of an inverted cone.
(3) Corno di bassetto, like the Corno inglese, is an imitative reed stop of the 19th century, with cylindrical resonators (used by Willis).

Corno inglese (It.). See under *Cor anglais*.

Cornopean. An English reed stop (Hill, Willis) imitating the *cornet à pistons*, of rather thin tone and 8′ pitch, found in Swell divisions after the middle of the 19th century.

Cremona. See under *Cromorne*.

Cromorne (Fr.; Ger. *Krummhorn*). Reed stops imitating the crumhorn; later versions of the name (Cormorne, Cremona) are corrupt. (1) German Krummhorn stops were of varied construction (Praetorius, 2/1619): they had metal or wood resonators and were open or stopped, short or half-length, cylindrical, double-cone-shaped, etc.
(2) French Cromornes appeared somewhat later, i.e. late in the 16th century, becoming the standard *Positiv* reed in the classical organ; usually they had medium-scaled, cylindrical, half-length, metal resonators. The tone was modified as builders in *c*1800 began to make it resemble the clarinet.
(3) English Cremona stops date from *c*1680 and presumably copied French models. They were fairly narrow in scale and appeared in English and American organs until superseded by the Clarinet in the mid-19th century.

Cymbal, Cymbale. See under *Zimbel*.

Decem, Decima (It.: 'tenth'). A mutation rank sounding the 10th or 17th; largely a theorist's term (Samber, 1704–7; Adlung, 1768).

Diapason (?Gk.). (1) Octave stops, sounding an octave above the case pipes, according to theorists (Werckmeister, 1705; Hess, 1774); found in organs with graecized stop names *c*1790.
(2) In England, the term may have denoted Trompes in *c*1500, but by 1613 it had its present meaning of Open Diapason (main Principal (or foundation) rank, usually 8′) and Stopped Diapason (Gedackt). As a term, 'Diapason' may be derived from Dutch Doif (*c*1450) and only later taking on a quasi-Greek form. As a registration direction 'Diapasons' is an indication to use the Stopped Diapason, whose mild but harmonically rich tone has a strong emphasis on the quint, to colour the Open Diapason. English builders prided themselves on their Diapason tone, Renatus Harris's examples (*c*1690) being already richer than those of his French models.

Diaphone. One of Hope-Jones's valvular reeds, useful in cinema organs. The construction was also adapted to create a powerful nautical fog signal, the 'fog horn'. *See* ORGAN, §III, 4.

Diez (Sp.: 'ten'). Hence 'Diez y novena' is the 19th or Larigot 1⅓′ (sometimes chorus Quint).

Doef, Doif, Doff, Doof (Dut.). Terms denoting the Principal stop in those early sources that used the word 'Prinzipal' to mean 'plenum' or main chorus, from *c*1450; e.g. 'le prestant ou doeuf' at Namur, 1598. Spellings are sometimes confusing, e.g. Praetorius's 'Doiflöte' is a Doppelflöte, not a Doef.

Dolcan (Ger.). See under *Tolkaan*.

Dolce (It.; Fr. *douce*). The verbal coincidence of Dolce, Dolcan, Dulciana and Dulzian has led to much confusion; probably all terms derive from Dulcis, a stop with 'sweet' tone. Dolce or Flauto dolce was

common for any soft stop from *c*1600 to 1800, whether wood or metal, and whether narrow and cylindrical or conical. Adlung gave other spellings and versions: Dulzfloit, Dolzflöte, Dulceflöt, Süssflöte.

Doppelflöte (Ger.). A fairly large-scaled Flute with two mouths, differing from the earlier *Bifara* in that it has no dividing wall. Late 19th-century German and American examples are of stopped wooden pipes with a powerful fundamental tone; the stoppers are occasionally bored.

Double. A prefix indicating pitch an octave lower than usual (Double Trumpet, Double Diapason).

Doublette (Fr.). The 2′ Principal rank of the French classical organ. The name was often used in the larger organs of the more cosmopolitan English builders of *c*1860, under the influence of Cavaillé-Coll's large 2′ ranks.

Douce (Fr.). See under *Dolce*.

Dulcian, *Dulciana*. Gentle flue stops of various form, found in the non-Latin countries of Europe from at least *c*1640, and in name deriving presumably from *dulcis* ('sweet'). Early examples in Austria and hence, through Snetzler, in England, were as likely to have been small-scaled Dolcan stops in the form of an inverted cone as the narrow, small-mouthed, miniature Diapason ranks familiar in most 19th-century organs, either as single ranks or in Mixtures. The earlier examples, especially *c*1725, seem mostly to have been at 4′, not 8′; by the mid-19th century, 16′ stops were also found in larger English organs, particularly on the Choir manual.

Dulzian (Ger.; Dut. *dulciaan*; Sp. *dulcayna*; Cz. *dulceon*). A reed stop of fairly gentle tone, with cylindrical resonators incorporating a conical foot, of 16′ (pedal, manual) or 8′ (secondary manuals), found in the Netherlands and north Germany. Early forms of the name were Touzyn, Toussein, Douseynen (*c*1510), showing a different origin from Dolcan–Tolkaan, despite Praetorius's confusion. Some Dulzians had fanciful resonators, some were similar to Cromornes. Iberian Dulcaynas were short conical reeds (*c*1740), often *en chamade* below the Trompetas, closer as an imitation of the medieval instrument DOLZAINA than the northern types.

Echo. (1) A small-scaled Cornet in many 18th-century German organs.

(2) A prefix indicating a soft colour-stop (Echo Flute, Echo Gamba, etc.) in 18th- and 19th-century organs throughout northern Europe.

English Horn. An imitative, double-belled reed stop, developed in the 1920s by the American builder Skinner; it is smoother in tone than the older Cor anglais, and different in construction.

Erzähler (Ger.: 'narrator'). A narrow, tapered flue stop of soft tone, developed by Skinner in the early 20th century and still popular with American organ builders; it is often accompanied by a Celeste rank.

Espigueta (Sp.). See under *Chimney Flute*.

Euphone. One of the free reeds invented *c*1820 and found on French and Italian organs, often with no resonators.

Faberton (?Ger.). Possibly a corruption of 'faburden', but apparently a stop producing a high, tinkling, bell-like tone, perhaps a Mixture (*c*1490), a high Principal rank (*c*1550) or a high, wide mutation stop (*c*1700).

Fagotto (Fr. *basson*; Dut., Ger. *Fagott*). (1) The German 16′ or 8′ Fagotto was a fairly soft-toned reed with long narrow resonators, from *c*1575 onwards; it could be open, stopped (Niedt, 2/1721), or fanciful in shape (Praetorius, 2/1619).

(2) 'Basson' by Bédos de Celles' period (*c*1775) was a French reed with short conical pipes, sometimes capped with a double cone.

(3) In Italy, a rare wooden Regal (*c*1675); in Spain, a short reed with half-length resonators, sometimes *en chamade*; in England, the name occurs only in the bigger organs *c*1860 for a narrow conical 16′ Swell reed.

Feldpfeife, *Feldtrompete* (Ger.). 'Feld' here means 'field' in the military sense. (1) A narrow, open flue stop of assertive Flute tone, usually at 2′ or 1′, found occasionally in 17th-century German organs.

(2) The German imitative Trumpet, not *en chamade* as in Spain but often held in the case vertically; others were interior Trumpets, all of a thin, strong tone.

Fernflöte (Ger.: 'far-away flute'). Found in a few English and American Echo organs, in imitation of the *Kronwerk* Flutes of south Germany *c*1750 or (more directly) their successors in the large organs of *c*1840.

Fiffaro (It.). See under *Bifara* and *Piffaro*.

Fifteenth. The Principal 2′ rank on English organs (any manual), so called from at least *c*1610, although early contracts qualify it as 'small principal'. *See also* SUPEROCTAVE.

Flachflöte (Ger.). Probably a corruption of 'flageolet-flute' rather than 'flat-flute' (i.e. one made of wide, shallow, wooden pipes). The name was used for several pipe forms: 8′, 4′ or 2′ conical pipes (Praetorius, 2/1619), perhaps like a Spillflöte (Zang, 1829), with strong, round tone.

Flageolet (Fr.). See under *Flachflöte*. (1) Also a name very common in 19th-century England (used by Willis) for a round, wide, rather discreet rank of metal 2′ pipes.

(2) French Flageolets of the early 17th century were usually 1′ or 1⅓′ ranks of open cylindrical pipes (see under *Larigot*).

Flautado (Sp.). The Principal or Diapason pipes, 32′, 16′ or 8′ (52, 26 and 13 *palmos*) in the organs of Spain, Roussillon, etc., from *c*1475. The name probably originated in Flauto, etc., but later became more specific: 'Flautado de violon', the Spanish Gedackt rank (usually of wood) in the 17th and 18th centuries; 'Flautadito', the 4′ Principal or Octave stop.

Flautino (It.). 19th-century name in Germany, England, USA, etc., for a soft 2′ open Flute.

Flauto (It.). See under *Flute*.

Flauto a camino (It.). See under *Chimney Flute*.

Flötenbass (Ger.) See under *Bassflute*.

Flute (Fr. *Flûte*; Ger. *flöte*; It. *flauto*). Originally a generic term for foundation stops (organ pipes other than the Mixtures) when the *Blockwerk* was divided into 'stops'; later a word applied throughout Europe to stopped or open pipes of 8′ or 4′ (as in 18th-century England) or to colour-stops with prefixes denoting shape (Spitzflöte, etc.), sound (Sifflöte, etc.) or function (Flûte majeur, etc.). Thus 'driifach fleiten' at Hagenau in 1491 indicated the three-rank Principal (8′ 8′ 4′); 'verdeckt floutwerk' indicated the Gedackts at the abbey church Einsiedeln in 1558; 'flauto coperto' indicated a stopped Flute rank (a Nasard 2⅔′) at Orvieto Cathedral in 1591;

and 'flauto reale' an open Flute rank in Venetian organs *c*1800. Other terms would indicate department ('flûte de pédale' was an 8′ or 4′ stop in the French classical organ, sometimes stopped, but usually an 8′ open metal stop of principal quality), construction ('flûte à fusée' was a Spitzflöte at Bordeaux, 1627), imitation ('flûte a neuf trous', the 16th-century French Recorder stop), compass ('dessus de flûte', a treble, open, imitative Flute stop of French organs *c*1740), etc. In addition, there were many attempts at imitating the recorder or transverse flute, usually specified in the name, e.g. 'Flauto allemano' or 'travesiera' in Spain, 'Querflöte' or 'flauto traverso' in Germany, 'flûte d'amour' in 18th- and 19th-century organs anywhere; on the other hand, 'Flet' was the usual eastern European name for stopped ranks of ordinary 4′ or 8′ Gedackt type. Some of the flute imitations were highly ingenious, involving overblowing (central Germany, *c*1610; France and England, *c*1850), fanciful construction or exotic woods (south Germany, *c*1725; southern Italy, *c*1725; the Netherlands, *c*1775), and in some cases with conduits leading the air under pressure to strike a flute-like lip in the pipe mouth (Westphalia and Spain, *c*1775, and some 19th-century orchestrions and 20th-century 'symphonic' organs. See also *Querflöte*).

Flute à cheminée (Fr.). See under *Chimney Flute*.

Flûte à pavillon (Fr.). Used *c*1850 for a large-scaled metal 8′ flue stop, whose cylindrical pipes are capped by inverted conical *pavillons*; found in some large organs *c*1875–1925. It is of wider scale and smoother tone than the similarly constructed *Bell Diapason*.

Flûte d'amour (Fr.). A mild 4′ Flute of wood, sometimes stopped, often found in American organs from the late 19th century onwards. It probably derives from the 18th-century central German *Flauto amabile*, usually a 4′ open flute.

Flûte harmonique (Fr.). The term was first used by Cavaillé-Coll, and hence his disciples in England and the USA, to describe the large-scaled, open, metal Flute rank of 8′ or 4′ pitch. A small hole is bored halfway along each pipe cylinder and the resulting 1st harmonic tone is strong. It is sometimes anglicized as 'Harmonic Flute'.

Flûte Triangulaire. Name given by E.M. Skinner to a softly voiced, three-sided, open, wood stop, usually at 8′ pitch. Stops of this type, although not so named, can be found at 4′ and 2′ pitch from the 1860s onward.

Fourniture (Fr.). The basic French Mixture stop, its name probably derived from the fact that in the 16th century, when the higher pitches were being separated from the foundations of the *Blockwerk*, it 'furnished' the higher pitches to the chorus; see also under *Mixture*. In the typical 18th-century organ, the Fourniture broke back only once in each octave, the Cymbale (see under *Zimbel*) twice. The term was also to be found in England in the organs of the French-influenced Renatus Harris (*c*1680 onwards), where, however, they frequently contained a Tierce rank, particularly by *c*1740.

French Horn. An imitative reed stop, made in England and the USA *c*1875–1950, often of high-pressure reeds with thick tongues; also occasionally found in 18th-century England, where the pipes took the form of a large-scaled, smoothly-voiced Trumpet.

Fugara. A term derived from Slav words for a shepherd's pipe (e.g. Polish *fujara*) and denoting a soft, rather slow-speaking string-toned stop of 8′ or 4′; first known in 17th-century Silesia, soon after in Bohemia, Austria, Switzerland, Swabia, etc. The pipes were usually long, narrow, cylindrical and metal, but slightly tapered forms were also known – both types reminiscent of the German Viola da gamba stop.

Gaitas (Sp.). A Regal with short resonators, imitating the bagpipe with its thin, nasal but quiet tone, known in Spain from *c*1600.

Gamba. See under *Viola da gamba* and *Geigen*.

Gedackt (Ger.). A rank of 'stopped' pipes, usually of wood; more specifically the Stopped Diapason of German organs, in Austria called Coppel, in France Bourdon, etc. In England the term was first used *c*1850 in connection with the narrow-scaled Lieblich Gedackt.

Geigen (Ger.). A 'string-toned' or narrow-scaled stop, usually of open metal pipes, found in central Germany *c*1620 and becoming indispensable in all national types of 19th-century organ. 'String-toned' is only a comparative or analogous term. The Geigen Diapason of the 19th century is a narrow-scaled Principal.

Gemshorn (Ger.). A sharply tapering, wide metal Flute stop, with a tone between that of flute and string (more towards the flute) and known from at least 1500 in the Rhineland, where it imitated the GEMSHORN. The shape and tone were more widely known than the name, and many mutation stops in France and Spain have pipes of this kind. 19th-century organs have narrower, more string-toned Gemshorn stops than the classic ranks of 16′, 8′, 4′, 2′, 5⅓′, 2⅔′ and 1⅓′ noted by Praetorius; the modern Gemshorn is almost always of 8′ or 4′ pitch.

Glockenspiel (Ger.). Usually a row of steel, copper or bronze bars hit by hammers activated by pedals or the keys of a secondary manual; in organs of 1720 (Swabia, Silesia, Saxony) of soprano or bass compass only, in organs of the 1920s often complete. See under *Carillon*. Some Glockenspiels were called 'Stahlspiel' ('steel instrument').

Gravissima (Lat.). A 64′ 'Acoustic Bass' stop whose tone was produced by a 32′ pipe sounding with a softer pipe of 21⅓′; made by several 19th-century builders (Schulze, Willis, Walcker).

Gross. A prefix generally indicating a stop of large scale (Grossflöte, Gross Gamba), but also applied to a mutation stop pitched an octave lower than usual (Gross Tierce).

Harfa, *Harfe*, *Harp*. (1) A Regal toy stop found on some 16th-century organs, probably giving a kind of bagpipe drone effect. Some complete Regal ranks of 16′ or 8′ were also so called, in central Germany (Harfenregal) *c*1620, Spain *c*1750, etc.

(2) A marimba-like percussion stop found in early 20th-century organs, especially residence and cinema organs.

Harmonia, *Harmonika*. Although these terms occasionally appear in early contracts, they were chiefly used by certain 19th-century builders for soft stops of various kinds: Harmonia aetheria, a soft Echo Mixture as in Schulze's instruments; Harmonika, a soft open flue stop of indeterminate tone (Walcker) or a free-reed stop (*c*1830).

Hautbois, *Hautboy*, *Oboe*. Like Cornet, Hautbois has indicated stops of several kinds over the centuries, all presumably imitating the instrument which itself changed and inspired builders in various ways. (1) In

early 16th-century French organs, Hautbois was probably a registration (i.e. Flutes and mutations), not a stop; by *c*1600 the stop called Hautboy-Cornet was probably a strong-toned reed stop.
(2) The French classical Hautbois originated as a soft *récit* Trompette, with small-scaled flaring metal resonators; called 'French Schalmei' by Mattheson, and found on most French organs and those they influenced elsewhere, notably England (Harris).
(3) In Germany, stops of this name had various constructions, from fanciful Regals to small-scaled Schalmeien.
(4) 19th-century attempts to imitate the tone varied from free reeds (*c*1840, France, central Germany) to the ubiquitous, ultimately French-inspired English Swell Oboe.

Hintersatz (Ger.). The ranks of pipes 'placed behind' the case pipes in the late medieval organ, thus one of the names of the Mixture of the *Blockwerk* remaining when the Prestants were separated off. Schlick (1511) assumed that it would contain at least 16–18 ranks. To some extent, the name remained as an occasional alternative for 'Mixtur'.

Hohlflöte, Hohlpfeife (Ger.; Dut. *holpijp*). (1) Rather wide, open, cylindrical metal pipes between Principal and Nachthorn in scale, found in organs of central and north Germany from *c*1500. The name is probably derived not from *hohl* ('hollow') but from *Holunder* ('elder-tree'; see under *Salicet*). Many German contracts of the 18th century confuse *Hol, Hohl* and *Holz* (wood) as stop-name prefixes, and the popular 19th-century stop can usually be assumed to be of wooden pipes.
(2) During the 16th century, the name in its various forms often indicated a stopped rank of wide scale (Rhineland, south Germany). In the Netherlands, it might be a Gedackt, Rohrflöte or even Quintatön, many 18th-century examples being simple stopped Flutes.

Horn, Hörnli (Ger.). (1) Several kinds of imitative reed stop (see under *French Horn*).
(2) Suffix for a group of stop names (Gemshorn, Nachthorn), like the related term 'Cornet' popular with 16th-century builders expanding organ colours.
(3) More specifically, the Hörnli was a 16th-century stop found in the upper and lower Rhineland, composed of the same ranks as stops elsewhere called Cornet and Sesquialtera, i.e. a solo (or solo and chorus) Tierce Mixture.
(4) Horn Diapason was a late 19th-century stop whose Diapason-scaled pipes had a vertical slot cut at the top and back, which influenced the tone.

Kalkant (Ger.). An accessory stop-lever found in Germany over the centuries, which when pulled caused a bell to ring and communicated with the bellows-blower. Similar devices were found in all countries until mechanical blowing was introduced in the late 18th century.

Keraulophon. A quasi-Greek term invented by Gray in *c*1820 to denote a stop type long known by other builders, i.e. a quiet, reedy-toned 8′ Flute stop. The pipes usually have a hole near the top.

Kinura. A keen-toned reed stop with very narrow, cylindrical resonators, often used in cinema organs.

Koppel (Ger.). See under *Coppel*.

Kornett (Ger.). See under *Cornett*.

Krummhorn. See under *Cromorne*.

Kuckuck (Ger.). See under *Vogelgesang*.

Kützialflöte (Ger.). An open Flute of 4′, 2′ or sometimes 1′ pitch, occasionally found on German organs from Praetorius onwards, evidently imitating a Slav instrument (*cewzial*: 'flute').

Larigot (Fr.). A term possibly derived from 'l'arigot' ('flageolet' – cf *haricot*) and used in the 16th century (and hence the later French classical organ in general) to denote the 1⅓′ wide mutation rank found in large and small organs and used for both chorus and solo registrations. Outside France, other terms like Superquinte, Quintanus and Flageolet were used.

Lieblich Gedackt (Ger.). (1) The 'pleasant stopped rank' known from at least Praetorius onwards to refer to the Stopped Diapason used for continuo playing or for soft (often echo) effects.
(2) More specifically, the smooth-toned Gedackt made popular by 19th-century builders (Walcker, Schulze, etc.), of metal or wood, with a high cut-up and characteristic tone. It is found at both 16′ and 8′ pitches.

Lleno. See under *Compuestas*; *Mixture*; *see also* FULL ORGAN.

Major, Minor. Terms denoting the size (rather than function) of a stop. Flöte major [minor] were common in 18th-century Habsburg Europe for 8′ and 4′ Gedackts; 'Majorbass' was fairly common in Germany between 1650 and 1900 for the 16′ or 32′ open or stopped pedal rank.

Melodia. A medium- to wide-scaled, open, wood Flute stop of 8′ pitch; the pipes usually have reversed mouths and sometimes sunken blocks. It was widely used in England and the USA from the middle of the 19th century.

Mixture (Fr. *fourniture*; Ger. *Mixtur*; Sp. *lleno*). Names for the collected ranks of the *Blockwerk* when the Principals and Flutes had been separated off. 'Mixture' was normally used to denote the Principal-scaled chorus Mixture as distinct from the high-pitched Zimbeln or the solo Cornets. The 'true Mixture' is often said to contain Octave and Quint ranks only, but Tierces have been found in many national types of Mixture (17th-century Spain, 18th-century England and central Germany), some of which were highly influential during the 19th century. Early names for the stop, which was presumably activated by levers, were 'Position', 'Locatio' and 'Starkwerk', all known before 1520; late types, introduced in some organs in the early and mid-19th century, were the 'Compensationsmixtur', which decreased in number of ranks, strength and volume as it ascended, and 'Progressio harmonica', which increased as it ascended. Mixture stops are never used without the foundations (8′, 4′, 2′, sometimes 16′).

Montre (Fr.). The case pipes of the French organ, corresponding to the English Open Diapason, the German Prestant, the Italian Principale, etc. Early alternative names were 'le principal de devant', 'devanture en monstre' (Reims Cathedral, 1570). The tone of the classical French Montre was somewhat more fluty than the various English Open Diapason types or German Principals.

Nachthorn (Ger.). A term possibly derived from *Nachhorn* or *Nachsatz*, i.e. a rank of pipes distinguished from the *Hintersatz*, and nothing to do with Cor de

nuit in origin. (1) Nachthornen were frequently the same as Cornets in the 16th century, more particularly in northern France and the Netherlands, cf the Spanish term Nasardos.

(2) By Praetorius's time, the name denoted a rank of very wide-scaled 4′ or 2′ pipes, stopped like the Quintatön and more horn-like than the Hohlflöte, owing to its Quint partial. The familiar 17th-century Nachthorn useful in the north German repertory was a very wide, metal, open Flute, used for cantus firmus in manual or pedal; a similar stop later appeared in English-speaking countries as 'Nighthorn'.

Nachtigall (Ger.). See under *Vogelgesang*.

Nasard (?Fr.; Ger. *Nasat*). Terms possibly derived from *Nachsatz*, i.e. the rank or ranks between the Principals and the *Hintersatz* of a separated *Blockwerk*. Early usages of the name refer to a registration or effect rather than a single rank of pipes (*c*1530, France), and *nazard* meant the rank helping to produce the characteristic sound, i.e. $2\frac{2}{3}'$ or $1\frac{1}{3}'$ Flutes. The form could be open or stopped, Chimney Flute or tapered. The French classical Nasard was usually a stopped rank of $2\frac{2}{3}'$, often a Rohrflöte for some or all its compass, that on the *Grand orgue* usually different in type from that of the *Positiv* manual. In Germany, there was frequently no distinction drawn in stop-lists between Quinte and Nasard, nor were the differences in form, volume, tone and function between the two so clear-cut as in France.

Nasardos (Sp.). A term probably derived from 16th-century French and Flemish usage to denote either the single mutation ranks (Octave, Quint or Tierce) making up the Corneta or, more importantly, the chorus/solo Mixture; a kind of bass version of the treble Corneta and found over the centuries on most Iberian organs.

Nason (?Eng.). A stopped Flute introduced to England at the end of the 17th century by Smith and copied by many builders for two centuries. It is very often of oak, with a characteristic sweet tone. The origins of its name are unclear.

Night Horn. In Anglo-American organs of the 18th and 19th centuries, usually a wide-scaled, 4′ open Flute. See under *Nachthorn*, *Cor de nuit*.

Nineteenth. The English term is meant to indicate the Principal-scaled $1\frac{1}{3}'$ rank, something more like the Italian Decimanona than the classical French Larigot.

Octave (Ger. *Oktave*; It. *ottava*; Sp. *octava*). (1) The 4′ Principal of an organ based on an 8′ Open Diapason, or 8′ of one based on a 16′ Diapason, etc. In England, 'Octave 4″ implies a strong Principal 4′ rank, such special meaning originating *c*1850.

(2) A prefix indicating pitch an octave higher than usual (Octave Flute).

Octavin (Fr.; It. *ottavino*). Open metal Flutes made by Venetian builders *c*1790 and Cavaillé-Coll *c*1860; often used in late 20th-century organs to denote a wide-scaled 2′ Principal.

Open Diapason. See under *Diapason* and *Principal*.

Ophicleide. Strong reed stop supposedly imitating the OPHICLEIDE and popular as a pedal rank in Willis organs.

Orchestral. A prefix denoting a stop of particularly imitative tone (Orchestral Oboe, Orchestral Flute), found in many early 20th-century organs.

Orlos (Sp.). An 8′ Regal with short cylindrical resonators, sometimes *en chamade* and common in Iberian organs by *c*1730.

Pauke, *Trommel* (Ger.; It. *timballo*; Sp. *tambor*). Drum stops were popular in the larger organs of all European countries until the early 19th century, and the percussion varieties in theatre organs *c*1920 were only revivals. Sometimes real timpani were provided, tunable and played by *putti* activated by pedal levers (Berlin, *c*1730), but more usually the many drum-effects were produced by two or more large-scaled wooden pipes out of tune with each other. Frequently the quasi-pitches produced were A and D, allowing realistic 'trumpet-and-drums' music: 'with trumpet, shawm or fife' according to the Trier Cathedral contract of 1537 (P. Briesger).

Philomela. An open, metal Flute of strong and fundamental tone, found in the Solo division of large Anglo-American organs in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

Physharmonika. A free-reed stop with resonators introduced to Germany in the mid-19th century by builders such as Walcker and Ladegast and widely used for a time in large organs. It was also briefly popular in England and the USA.

Piccolo. A 19th-century 2′ or 1′ Flute stop made by English builders to a design labelled Octavin, Flöte, Flageolet, etc., by other builders; pipes are sometimes of harmonic (double) length.

Pífano (Sp.). Open or stopped Flute 4′ or 2′; the name was used over the centuries and was possibly a corruption of Pfeife or Piffaro.

Piffaro, *Fiffaro* (It.). Although in other musical contexts Fiffaro often denoted a reed instrument, organ stops of this name fall into two different classes. (1) An open Flute found in Rhineland organs of the 16th century, high-pitched and later overblowing or double-mouthed, producing a tone imitative of the cross-blown fife.

(2) An important Italian stop of the 16th century onwards; it had treble compass Principal-scaled pipes mistuned with the Principale 8′ and thus producing an undulating effect, more singing and less reedy than 19th-century *céleste* stops. It was sometimes called Voce umana. See under *Voce umana*.

Pommer (Ger.). See under *Bombardon*.

Portunal (*Portunalflöte*) (Ger.). A term, probably a corruption of Bourdon, denoting in 17th- and 18th-century German organs a rank of 8′ or 4′ open, wood or metal pipes (sometimes in the form of an inverted cone), producing a modified Open Flute colour.

Posaune (Ger.; Dut. *bazuin*, *buzain*). A common name for 16′ or 32′ pedal reed stops of varied construction in certain areas and periods. Resonators two-thirds long were generally considered desirable, but they could be of wood or metal. The 'stille Posaune' seems, from Praetorius, to have been a stopped reed, but many builders used 'Posaune' in general for their big reed other than the Bombarde, from at least *c*1580 onwards.

Praestant (Lat.; Fr., Ger. *Prestant*). Pipes 'standing in the front' of the organ case. (1) In the Netherlands, since 'Principal' denoted the main chorus as a whole in *c*1525, 'Praestant' was used to refer to the case pipes or Open Diapason itself. German builders *c*1550–1800

used Praestant and Principal as synonyms, depending on local custom.

(2) In France, 'Prestant' soon came to denote the 4′ Principal rank distinct from the Montre 8′, as 'Principal' in England has always indicated the 4′ Principal rank distinct from the Open Diapason 8′; both French and English usage was established by 1600.

Principal (Ger. *Prinzipal*). See also under *Praestant*. The term first arose soon after 1500 in the Netherlands (and hence probably in England) to denote not a single rank of pipes but the Diapason chorus as a whole, i.e. the undivided Mixture or *pleno*; in English and American organs from the 18th century onwards, however, it usually denotes a 4′ stop. By Praetorius's time, the 'stop formerly called Praestant or Doeff' was called Prinzipal in Germany. In the 20th century, Prinzipal has become useful as a term denoting the relatively colourless German basic 8′ rank as opposed to the French Montre or the various English Diapason tones.

Quartane. In the 20th century this term has been used as a substitute for Quarte de nasard. See under *Rauschpfeife*.

Quarte de nasard (Fr.). The stop a 4th above the Nasard on the French classical organ, i.e. a 2′ Flute mutation rank rather than the chorus Doublette. Usually open, the bass octave was sometimes a Chimney Flute.

Querflöte (Ger.). The transverse flute has been imitated in various ways. The organ stop so called is properly an open cylindrical metal or wood stop, usually 4′, overblowing to the 1st or 2nd overtone because of the narrow scale and small mouth; a small hole halfway along the pipe facilitates the overblowing (cf Cavaillé-Coll's Flûte harmonique). Such overblowing Schweizerpfeifen seem to have been known in late 15th-century south Germany. Construction can vary: stopped and wide-scaled (Praetorius, 2/1619); long, narrow pipes overblowing at the 12th (Compenius, Fritzsche); conical (Snetzler); 'blown from the side' (Wagner); simple, stopped 2′ Flutes (*c*1600); fanciful, large-scale pipes (*c*1840), perhaps of turned hardwood (*c*1730).

Quint. Like Nineteenth, Fifteenth, etc., Quint has usually since about 1550 indicated chorus ranks (not Flute mutations) sounding $10\frac{2}{3}'$, $5\frac{1}{3}'$, $2\frac{2}{3}'$ and $1\frac{1}{3}'$. *See also* QUINT (iii).

Quintadecima (It.). The Fifteenth or 2′ Principal chorus rank, sometimes perhaps doubled or paired in Italian organs before *c*1500.

Quintadena, Quintatön (Ger.). A stop of narrow-scaled, stopped, metal pipes, often of a high tin content, producing a quiet tone with a marked 5th (i.e. 2nd overtone) in it; the pipes are near overblowing. Like other basic organ-pipe shapes, it was known by 1500 and more commonly used throughout Europe than the name itself. The origin of the term is uncertain, all the variants (e.g. Quintade, Quintaden, Quintiten) suggesting the '5th-tone' nature of the sound. Schällenpfeifen ('bell-pipes', referring to the tone) was an early 16th-century alternative name; a Gedacktpommer was a strong-voiced 4′ Quintatön in the 17th century. Many types of Stopped Diapason before *c*1775 have much of the tonal quality of a Quintadena, but with more fundamental.

Rankett, Rackett (Ger.). A 16′ Regal with short resonators and gentle tone, found fairly often from the end of the 16th century in northern Europe, particularly in small organs and the secondary manuals of large ones. Shape and materials varied, but the pipes were always short. Such Regals were entirely out of fashion after 1710, but have been revived in the late 20th century.

Rauschpfeife, Rauschquint, Rauschwerk (Ger.). Words of doubtful origin – probably unconnected with *rauschen* ('to murmur') – properly denoting three distinct kinds of chorus Mixture in the various German organ types from *c*1575. (1) Rauschpfeife of two ranks (15.19 or 2′ + $1\frac{1}{3}'$); other additional ranks would be the 12th and 22nd.

(2) Rauschquinte of two ranks (12.15 or $2\frac{2}{3}'$ + 2′), otherwise called Quartane. Neither term was used reliably by builders until recently.

(3) Rauschwerk is frequently used to replace one or other term; but for early sources (e.g. Schlick, 1511), 'Rauschwerk' was a term denoting either a semi-Flute solo compound stop imitating a reed instrument, or a reed stop itself or a collective term for reeds, probably of more refined tone than the Trompete. 'Rauschende Zimbel' (Russzimbel, etc.) seems to be an early term for high Mixtures.

Recorder. In England, the term appears in a few 17th-century contracts to refer to a Flute stop, probably of 4′ pitch ('unison to the Principall': York Minster, 1632). It could be a stopped metal rank (Worcester Cathedral, 1613) or of wood (St John's College, Cambridge, 1635), and both forms are encountered up to the beginning of the 18th century.

Regal. A term of uncertain origin (*see* REGALS) denoting a family of reed stops probably descending from the late medieval instrument; the small or very small resonators made such ranks useful in the subsidiary chests of larger organs. Early 16th-century names were frequently specific, at other times more cumbersome, such as 'Regal to make the human voice' (Vox humana). Fanciful names and pipe forms were found chiefly in northern Germany from *c*1575 to *c*1700 and should not be overestimated: Apfelregal (short resonators with a little round perforated ball at the end), Geigenregal (delicate 4′ Regal, treble sounding as a violin when drawn with a Quintatön, according to Praetorius), Harfenregal, Jungfernregal (thin tone 'like a girl's voice'), Knopfregal and Kopfregal ('knob-' and 'head-shaped Regal'), Messingregal (short brass pipes), Singendregal ('singing Regal' of light tone, useful for cantus firmus melodies), Trichterregal (important type with 'funnel-shaped' or conical resonators like small trumpets). In other countries, Regals usually had freer names, e.g. Orlos, Tromboncini, Vox humana; this was true everywhere after the 17th century.

Repeating. When applied to a mixture or mutation, this term indicates that the entire compass of the stop consists of a repetition of the same octave (or half-octave) of pitches.

Resimbala (Port.). See under *Zimbel*.

Ripieno (It.). (1) The full chorus, i.e. either a registration of drawn stops or the *Blockwerk* itself.

(2) The classical Italian chorus Mixture, after single ranks became less the norm on the Italian organ than they had once been (*c*1800).

Rohrflöte (Ger.). See under *Chimney Flute*.

Rosignolo, Rusignolo, Rossignol. See under *Vogelgesang*.

Sackbut. A term occasionally used in various periods for big reed stops.

Salicet, Salicional. A term derived from Latin *salix* ('willow tree') during the later 16th century to denote a rank of open cylindrical pipes of narrow (sometimes conical) scale giving a fairly delicate, almost string-like tone. The most common pitch may have been 4′, as it was for the early Dulciana. The stop was a speciality of eastern Europe, and it became very popular in the 19th century at both 8′ and 4′ (Salicet) pitches). The small mouths made side ears advisable. In central Germany around 1725, 'Sollicinal' was a two-rank Sesquialtera.

Schalmei (Ger.). (1) From *c*1550, a short-length reed stop with narrow, flaring resonators giving it a tone closer to a smooth trumpet than a real shawm. The tone must have varied over the centuries, but the stop seems to have been particularly associated with cantus firmus playing. It was rare from 1750 to 1930.
(2) In some central European sources of *c*1775, Schalmei seems to have been an auxiliary 8′ flue stop.

Scharf (Ger.; Dut. *scherp*). Narrow-scale chorus Mixture of 'sharp' penetrating tone, found throughout northern Europe from *c*1500 onwards. (1) Early Dutch and German Scharf Mixtures were high-pitched like the Zimbel, and properly distinct from the Terzzimbel.
(2) The basic Mixture of subsidiary manuals was often called Scharf whether or not it was Zimbel-like. Those of the mid-19th century frequently contained a high Tierce rank.

Schnarrwerk (Ger.). 17th-century term for the 'rattling stops' or Regals, but not used to designate a specific stop.

Schwebung (Ger.). An undulating stop composed of two slightly detuned ranks of pipes; it is usually called 'Celeste' in English and French. *See also* TREMULANT.

Schwegel, Schweigel (Ger.). A term derived from the High German *suegela* ('flute') to denote a delicate Flute stop of fairly narrow scale, common in south and central Germany from 1550 to 1850, chiefly on subsidiary manuals. Some 'Schwegli' were $1\frac{1}{3}'$, others 4′, 2′ and even 8′ (the last especially *c*1750); some open, wide pipes, others conical, yet others in the form of a double cone or overblowing. 19th-century Schwegels are usually wide Flutes.

Schweizerpfeife (Ger.). To play a flute 'in the Swiss manner' in early 16th-century sources meant to play it cross-blown, like a fife. (1) Organ imitations of the period took various forms (see under *Querflöte* and *Flute*).
(2) In the 18th century, the name often denoted an 8′ or 4′ rank, in the form of an inverted cone or narrow and cylindrical, either way resembling the so-called Viola da gamba in tone.

Sedecima (?It.). A term found in eastern Europe of the 17th and 18th centuries to denote a $1\frac{1}{3}'$ Sifflöte.

Septième (Fr.). Cavaillé-Coll's name (hence that used by English builders) for the 'Seventh' or $4\frac{4}{7}'$, $2\frac{2}{7}'$ and $1\frac{1}{7}'$ mutation series, first known as an idea in Prussia *c*1780 but coming into prominence as an extra colour in a large organ of *c*1860, and as a sharply colourful rank in the *Oberwerk* of a neo-Baroque organ of *c*1950, particularly in Germany.

Seraphon. Weigle's name for a group of high-pressure flue and reed stops popular in Germany during the early 20th century.

Sesquialtera. A term perhaps derived from the Latin sesquialtera ('one and a half') and used to denote a two-rank solo/chorus mutation stop containing the 12th and 17th ($2\frac{2}{3}' + 1\frac{3}{5}'$), written carelessly as 'Quinte 3′ + Terz 2′ = 3:2 = $1\frac{1}{2}'$'. Other forms of the name suggest clever etymologies: 'Sexquialter' (England, late 18th century) apparently referring to the 6th contained between the $2\frac{2}{3}'$ and $1\frac{3}{5}'$ pipe. 'Sex quintaltra' and 'Sexquintalter' (ditto), 'Flautt in 6ta' (Italy, late 17th century), etc. F. Hocque's phrase 'Sesquialtera called by some Vox humana or Nasard', for what was in fact a Cornet stop (Trier Cathedral, 1590), shows the interdependence of names at that period. (1) The classic two-rank Sesquialtera was a flute-like semi-Cornet solo stop, often treble only, found in north-west German organs of *c*1630–1790.
(2) The English Sesquialtera was, during the late 17th century, a bass complement to the treble Cornet stop; during the 18th century a complete chorus Mixture including a narrow-scaled Tierce rank; and during much of the 19th century often the only Mixture (still with a Tierce) in the whole organ.

Seventeenth. See under *Tierce.*

Sifflöte (Ger.). A term probably derived from *siffler*, 'to whistle', although many German spellings suggest a wider derivation: cyvelet (Amsterdam, Oude Kerk, 1539 – cf zuffolo: 'shepherd's fife'), Sufflet (Dresden, 1563), Schufflet (Münster, 1579), Suff Flöte (by Christoph Donati, 1683), Suiflöt/Duiflot and Subflöte (Praetorius, 2/1619). (1) A high-pitched Flute stop, narrow, wide or conical; good examples have a characteristic sibilant tone.
(2) Throughout its period of popularity, the stop could be either 1′ or $1\frac{1}{3}'$, some builders (e.g. G. Silbermann) preferring the first, others (e.g. Schnitger) the second. Much the same was true of the Sedecima, the Sifflöte of eastern European countries.

Sordun. A very short stopped Regal imitating a woodwind instrument, soft (cf sordino) and somewhat thin in tone, popular during the 17th century in north central Germany.

Soubasse (Fr.). See under *Sub-Bass.*

Souffleur (Fr.). See under *Kalkant.*

Sperrventil (Ger.). The 'blocking valve' for preventing wind reaching a chest, saving it for other chests or keeping it from sounding a ciphering note. Such valves were the first means of dividing the *Blockwerk* in some instances; they remained a common accessory in northern Europe until *c*1850. During the 19th century, the valve's potential as a registration aid was exploited by such builders as Cavaillé-Coll who (like certain 17th-century builders) made several chests for each department or manual, each of which could have prepared stops that would sound only when the valve was activated.

Spillflöte (Ger.). Probably a corruption of 'spindleflute', a rank of open, wide cylindrical pipes which suddenly taper towards the top. The pipe form could be used for an 8′, 4′ or 2′ stop (north Germany, 17th century) or for part of a mutation rank (various countries) of discreet tone.

Spitzflöte (Ger.). The 'pointed flute' stop whose pipe form – gently tapering or conical from mouth to top – was more common than the occurences of its name suggest, especially outside Germany, the Netherlands and Scandinavia. The taper is more pronounced than that of the Gemshorn, and the tone is that of a reedy or breathy flute, good for blending either at 8′ pitch or as a mutation. Such pipe forms are known from the late 15th century (8′ at Lübeck Totentanzorgel, 1492) and frequently had a part in a French mutation rank, a Spanish Corneta or an Italian Flauto; the name itself appears to be late 16th-century. 19th-century examples in Germany and England tend to be more string-like in tone.

Stentorphone. One of Weigle's late 19th-century open flue stops of very loud tone, popular in larger German and American organs *c*1890–1920.

Stopped Diapason. Unique to Britain and its colonies until the late 19th century, this medium-scaled, low cut-up, thin-walled, stopped wood stop has a mild, blending colour, quite distinct from that of the German Gedackt or French Bourdon. See also under *Diapason* and *Gedackt*.

Suavial, Suabe Flöte (?Ger.). A term probably derived from *suavis* ('sweet'; not from Swabia, 'schwäbisch') and used to denote a narrow-scaled 8′ or 4′ metal stop popular in southern Germany, Switzerland and the Habsburg countries from *c*1710 to the 19th century. Burney described one in Frankfurt as 'meant for that sweet stop in Mr Snetzler's organs which he calls the Dulciana'.

Sub-Bass (Ger.; Fr. *soubasse*). An unspecific term that usually denoted a stopped wooden rank of 16′ pedal pipes of average scale. During the 19th century, some German and French builders used it for the 32′ Bourdon rank.

Superoctave. See under *Fifteenth*; *see also* SUPEROCTAVE.

Tambor. See under *Pauke*.

Tapada, Tapadillo (Sp.; It. *tappato*). Prefix denoting 'stopped' pipes. Tapadillo was the Spanish 4′ Flute of the 17th and 18th centuries, usually stopped but on occasion open, and either conical or a Rohrflöte.

Tenori (It.). An occasional 16th-century name for the Principal 8′.

Tenoroon (?Eng.). The name applied in some early 19th-century sources to describe a flue or reed stop, usually of 16′ pitch, and generally going no lower than C.

Terpodion. A quasi-Greek name for delicate stops of 'delightful' tone in early 19th-century German organs.
(1) A free reed (*c*1830).
(2) A small-scaled, open, metal flue (Schulze).

Tertian, Terzian (Ger.). Properly a two-rank solo and chorus Tierce Mixture, found more especially in northern Europe during the 17th and 18th centuries and consisting of the ranks 17.19 ($1\frac{3}{5}'$ + $1\frac{1}{3}'$) as opposed to the 12.17 of the Sesquialtera. Theorists have pointed out that it could contain 15.17 ranks (Werckmeister, 1705) or 10.12 (Adlung, 1768), and many examples did break back an octave around *c*′. The scaling was somewhat wider than Principal.

Terza mano (It.). The 'third hand' or octave coupler found on late 18th-century and 19th-century Italian organs, feasible in view of the often long compass of the main manuals.

Terzzimbel. See under *Zimbel*.

Theorbe (Ger.; Sp. *tiorba*). (1) German reed stop of the 17th and 18th centuries, rare but of a distinct type, i.e. gentle 16′ tone imitating, in some way, the theorbo.
(2) More familiar Spanish reed with short resonators, often *en chamade*, *c*1750.

Tibia (Lat.). General name for 'pipe', used in the Latinate contracts of the late 18th century and by the technician-inventors of the late 19th century. Thus Tibia angusta is a narrow Flute, Tibia clausa a Gedackt, 'cuspida' a Spitzflöte, 'sylvestris' a Waldflöte, etc. In 20th-century cinema organs it is a loud, wide-scaled Principal.

Tierce (Fr.; Ger. *Terz, Tertia*). The $1\frac{3}{5}'$ Flute mutation rank, more particularly of the French classical organ. Such third-sounding ranks were contained in Arnaut de Zwolle's Cymbale of *c*1440, but evidently their scaling widened over the centuries, achieving a characteristic horn tone by 1750. Some Parisian organs *c*1630 had two such ranks, one wide the other narrow, the latter thus used in one or other *pleno*. The Double Tierce $3\frac{1}{5}'$ (Grosse Tierce) was first known *c*1660 and contributed to the array of melodic colours in French organ music. Outside France the stop was found as a single mutation rank only in organ types influenced by the French, e.g. those of the Rhineland, Saxony and England. Besides French terms, 18th-century names for it were Ditonus, Decima, Sixtil (all in various northern European countries) and Corneta (Italy).

Tiratutti (It.). A mechanical device known in 18th-century Italian organs whereby the organist could 'draw all the pleno ranks' at once.

Tolkaan (Dut.; Ger. *Dolcan*). A term of uncertain origin denoting a rank of open inverted conical metal or wood pipes, often confused with Dulzian, Dulciana, etc. As in other instances, the pipe form was known in more versions and over greater areas than the name itself. The Tolkaan was a speciality of large Dutch and Hanseatic organs of *c*1580, as was the Trichterflöte ('funnel-shaped flute') early in the next century. The pipe form was also found in the case of Spanish flutes, Austrian Dulcianas, Neapolitan Voci umani (all of *c*1750) and many soft or fairly soft colour-stops in German organs *c*1825.

Tremulant (Fr. *tremblant*; It. *tremolo*; Sp. *temblor*). An important accessory stop contained in most larger European organs from *c*1500 to the present day, although not always specified in the contract; *see* TREMULANT.

Trichterregal. See under *Regal*.

Trombone. See under *Posaune*.

Tromboni, Tromboncini (It.). (1) A 'small-large trumpet' reed stop introduced now and then into Italy by various Flemish or German builders.
(2) Tromboni were long and strong-toned 16′ or 8′ reed stops on many national types of organ *c*1820.
(3) Tromboncini were an important type of Regal on Venetian and Tuscan organs of the late 18th century, with very small-scaled square-sectioned metal resonators standing in front of the case pipes.

Trommel (Ger.). See under *Pauke*.

Trommet, Trompete, Trompette. See under *Trumpet*.

Trompes (Fr.). The large open bass pipes placed apart from, and on either side of, the *Grand orgue* of many large French and Dutch organs of the later 15th century. A set of ten was fairly common. Other names (e.g. *turres* at Angers Cathedral in 1416) are also

sometimes found; 'trompe' may signify the 'pendentive', or carved, wooden, semicircular console on which the pipes were placed.

Trumpet (Ger. *Trommet*, *Trompete*; Fr. *trompette*; etc.). A very familiar imitative reed stop with long resonators either flaring or in the form of an inverted cone, of metal or wood, found in most organ types since *c*1500 and taking various forms. (Organs without a Trumpet were the classical Italian organ of *c*1600, the English pre-Restoration organ, and the mature eastern European organ of the 18th century.) The resonators should be about two-thirds long (6′ for 8′ C). German and English Trumpets from 1650 varied from builder to builder; 17th-century German Trumpets were often short, especially if the flaring was marked and the pipes placed vertically in the case front. 18th-century French Trumpets developed great power and attack, especially in the bass, often using wider tongues and bigger resonators. Spanish Trumpets also followed certain conventions: the Trompeta real was a full-size vertical reed within the organ; Trompeta bastarda had shorter resonators, often *en chamade*; the Trompeta magna, Trompeta de batalla and Trompeta imperial were horizontal Trumpets, often of suboctave pitches (16′, even 32′, in the treble). During the late 19th century, exceptional organs in any city of Europe might have had highly imitative Trumpet stops, with higher pressures, perhaps brass resonators, arranged as a fan or *en chamade*, etc.

Tuba. Except in the Latinate contracts of *c*1800, 'Tuba' as a stop name is found almost entirely in the 19th and 20th centuries, and denotes a louder reed stop than the usual Trumpet, taking whatever form the builder found useful for increasing volume. The Tuba Mirabilis was an unusually loud Tuba, often on a separate chest.

Twelfth. The rank of $2\frac{2}{3}$′ open metal pipes forming part of the Diapason chorus. Some early Twelfths, however, were more Nasard-like, especially in England *c*1725.

Twenty-second (It. *Vigesimaseconda*). A Principal stop of 1′ pitch.

Uccelli (It.). See under *Vogelgesang*.

Unda maris (Lat.). A term applied in south and central Germany during the 18th century – and hence through Walcker (*c*1830) to most major builders of the 19th century – to denote a rank of narrow, open 8′ metal pipes, tuned slightly sharp or flat (either to a second rank standing with it or to the organ as a whole) and so producing an undulating effect. In some 18th-century central German organs it was a double-mouthed pipe with an internal divider (see under *Bifara*). The effect was known more widely than the name, being mentioned by Mersenne (1636–7), found in the classical Italian organ as Piffaro, and impressing the many 18th- and early 19th-century builders looking for colourful Flute and string stop varieties.

Untersatz (Ger.). The term for pipes placed on a chest below (and at the back of) the main chest of organs in north and central Germany *c*1575–1825, i.e. pipes of the larger pedal stops. In practice, the term thus denotes various 16′ or 32′ pedal stops, particularly stopped wood 32′ ranks.

Viejas (Sp.). The 'old women's voice', or thin Vox humana of Spanish organs *c*1750, often *en chamade*. Other fanciful names for particularly thin Vox humana stops were Viejos (Spain, *c*1750), Jungfernregal (Germany, *c*1625) and Vox pueri/tauri (Italy, *c*1600).

Viola da gamba. The name for a large number of stop-types whose only common characteristic is their claiming to imitate the string instrument. (1) In *c*1620, often a Tolkaan.

(2) During the 17th century in central Europe as a whole, many narrow cylindrical stops bore the name Viola da gamba or Viol d'amour as well as Salizional, Dulciana, etc.

(3) Many Gamba stops contained conical pipes, like narrow Spitzflöten – Saxony *c*1725, England and south Germany *c*1850, northern Italy *c*1800.

(4) Many Gamba stops of the 18th century are either very flute-like (south Germany) or soft stops of sweet, breathy Diapason tone (G. Silbermann), but 19th-century examples are often stronger in tone.

(5) In Italy and Spain from *c*1750, 'Viola' often denoted a regal stop of one or other kind.

Vigesimaseconda (It.). See under *Twenty-second*.

Viola pomposa. A broad and fairly strong string-toned stop, developed by G.D. Harrison in the 1930s, and used since in American organs.

Viole d'orchestre. A very narrow-scaled, keen-sounding string stop, found mostly in organs built in the first half of the 20th century.

Violetta (It.; Sp. *violeta*). (1) Regal stops, with very small, open, conical resonators of 4′ or 2′, made in the late 18th century.

(2) Miscellaneous string-toned flue stops, 8′, 4′ or 2′, on various of the later 19th-century organ types.

Violina. A medium-scaled 4′ stop of string tone, frequently found in the Swell division of 19th-century English and American organs.

Violón (Sp.; Ger. *Violon*). (1) In Spain, an important term for the Stopped Diapason on the Baroque organ, manual or pedal. Thus 'Flautado violón' was the Bourdon.

(2) A common German open, wood, pedal stop of medium volume and nondescript tone, found during the 18th and 19th centuries. Often a substitute for the Prinzipal 16′.

Violoncello (It.). (1) A Venetian regal stop at 8′, with small rectangular cross-section resonators of boxwood or pine, placed vertically in front of the case pipes, and in use from *c*1750 onwards.

(2) Narrow flue stops of various periods and areas in Germany, *c*1700–1900.

(3) An 8′ pedal stop frequently found in 19th- and 20th-century English and American organs.

Voce umana (It.). A very important stop in Italian organs from the 17th century to the 19th. Composed of one or two mildly voiced Principale ranks tuned to undulate gently, it was usually of treble compass only, and intended for use with the Principale 8′, especially in the playing of music for the Elevation.

Vogelgesang, *Kuckuck*, *Nachtigall* (Ger.; It., *rusignolo*, *uccelli*; Fr. *rossignol*). National names for the bird-imitating toy stops popular from at least 1450 to 1800 and again in theatre organs from about 1925. Each builder had his own way of planning such quasi-automata; if the tiny pipes were suspended in water, the twittering was thought to resemble a nightingale; if two were involved and stood a 3rd apart, a cuckoo resulted; if air supply allowed it (and often so much air

was taken that no other stops could be drawn), moving statuary might complete the picture; and so on. An important example was the 'Vogelgesang durchs ganze pedal' (Praetorius) which was not a toy stop so much as either a tiny high Mixture of indeterminate pitch adding a soft glitter, or a regular, high Flute stop. *See* BIRD INSTRUMENTS.

Voix céleste (Fr.). A term apparently dating from the 1840s to denote a long-familiar effect achieved in the same way as Unda maris and Piffaro. Narrow-scaled pipes are usual for such stops from the late 19th century onwards.

Vox angelica (Lat.). (1) Small reed stops of 2′ found in the organs of some German builders *c*1750 (Stumm).

(2) Soft, small-scaled, 8′ flue stops on various 19th-century organ-types, including Italian ones.

(3) A free-reed stop used by Walcker and other 19th-century German builders.

Vox humana (Lat.; Fr. *voix humaine*; Sp. *voz humana*). The name for numerous stops whose common characteristic is the claim to imitate the human voice, particularly its thin, undulating quality, and always at 8′. (1) The Renaissance Voce umana was the same as Piffaro. See also under *Piffaro* and *Voce umana*.

(2) Some 16th-century builders used the term for a registration (e.g. Regal + Nasard + Larigot) or for the Regal 'helping to make the Vox humana effect'.

(3) Many Regal types during the 17th and 18th centuries were invented for the purpose, with resonators open, closed; of brass, hardwood; short, half-stopped, cylindrical, capped and pierced, double conical, bulbous, etc. Some had their own tremulant.

(4) During the late 19th century and the early 20th the standard Vox humana was a quarter length cylindrical reed, sometimes enclosed in its own expression box.

Waldflöte (Ger.). A 'forest flute' stop. (1) A wide-scaled, conical, metal Flute of 2′ (sometimes $2\frac{2}{3}$′ or $1\frac{1}{3}$′) in 17th-century German organs. Praetorius referred to open pipes, although instruments in Eastern European countries have stopped ones; most were wide-scaled.

(2) Open Flutes, of 8′ or 4′ pitch, in English and German and American organs of the 19th century, sometimes metal but usually wood.

Zimbel (Ger.; Eng. *Cimball*, *Cymbal*; Fr. *cymbale*; Sp. *cimbala*, *zimbala*; Port. *resimbala*). The high chorus Mixture separated from the basic Mixture as the *Blockwerk* became divided; in many cases the same as Scharf. (1) Some early Zimbeln contained a Tierce (Terzzimbel), *c*1450–1550 or later, Praetorius recommending such high Mixtures (15.17.19).

(2) The classical French Cymbale was a high Mixture of octaves and 5ths, the ranks breaking twice per octave (*cymbalisée*) (compare with *Fourniture*).

(3) The 'repeating Zimbel' was a single-rank or compound stop repeating the same pitches in every octave, *c*1600–1750 in Germany, perhaps in reference to the medieval cymbala or small, tuned bells. This type of Zimbel was a colour stop, rather than a chorus stop.

Zimbelstern (Ger.). A very common toy stop, found mostly in northern Europe *c*1490–1790 but occasionally elsewhere, and consisting of a revolving star placed towards the top of an organ case to whose wind-blown driving-wheel behind the case is attached a set of bells, tuned or (before *c*1700) untuned. Mattheson (1713) thought the effect good for feast days.

Zink (Ger.). Like Cornet, Zink denotes an imitative stop achieving a cornett-like tone either with reed pipes or as a compound flue stop. (1) A Tierce Mixture of the latter type in some early 16th-century contracts.

(2) A reed or Regal stop in others of the same period; later, 'Zinken oder Cornett' was normally a reed stop of the Schalmei kind, particularly a pedal 2′ reed stop useful for cantus firmus melodies in Lutheran Germany.

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Organum (Lat., from Gk. *organon*: 'instrument', 'implement', 'tool'). A type of medieval polyphony. Early meanings are connected with the organ, but later only with 'consonant music'. While retaining the collective meaning of 'polyphony' in general, from the 12th century it was used specifically to refer to music with a sustained-note tenor (usually a pre-existing part) and more mobile upper part or parts.

1. ETYMOLOGY, EARLY USAGE. The Greek word 'organon' ('tool', 'means', 'organ of the body') was also used for musical instruments, and for the various organs of speech of the human voice. Its first known usage specifically as 'organ' in the musical sense occurred in the first half of the 5th century CE in a commentary on the psalms by Hesychios of Jerusalem (*PG*, xxvii, 1341C). The Latin word 'organum' on the other hand was current in the restricted sense of 'organ' as early as *c*400 according to St Augustine, and this was its 'true' Latin meaning (Psalm commentary: *PL*, xxxvii, 1964). In Latin the primary word for 'musical instrument' in the general sense since classical times had been 'instrumentum'.

In the biblical allegories of the church fathers the musical instruments referred to in the Bible were interpreted as 'inner' (i.e. vocal) instruments because the use of instruments in Christian worship was forbidden. The word 'organum' was also taken over and applied to that which was produced by instruments, and produced in particular by the human voice. Thereafter it was used not only for forms of verbal discourse (equivalent to 'sermo',

'praedicatio' and 'evangelium'), but also for a song of spiritual praise (as a synonym for 'canticum' and 'laus'), often in phrases such as 'in hymnis et organis'. This usage persisted into the late Middle Ages, particularly in religious poetry. Consequently, there is no compelling reason for treating references to 'organa' or 'cantica organica' in the texts of sequences and tropes as allusions to instrumental performance or to polyphony. In the late 13th century the theorist Anonymus 4 attested to the usage of 'organum' still for monophonic song, generally sacred ('Quandoque simplex organum dicitur ut in simplicibus conductis'; ed. Reckow, i, p.70).

From the 9th century onwards the word existed as a technical term in the theory of polyphony. It came to be used equally for a 'voice' which was added to a pre-existent chant melody (*vox principalis*), or for a single note within such a voice (both of which were termed *vox organalis*), and also for the polyphonic fabric as a whole.

Scholars have drawn many analogies between early polyphony and musical instruments, their construction or manner of playing. It is to these analogies that the choice of the word 'organum' in the early Middle Ages has until recently generally been attributed. They have included the analogy between parallel movement of voices and the mixture rank of the organ (Husmann); between long-held notes and an instrumental drone (Waeltner); between the accompanimental role of the *vox organalis* with regard to the *vox principalis* and the accompanimental role of instruments with regard to singing; or between instrumental embellishment (which by its nature was wordless) and the melismatic vocal decoration which occurred in the *vox organalis*, especially after about 1100 (Eggebrecht). Other inferences from the term 'organum' have been that polyphony was instrumental in origin (Georgiades) and that it was intended for purely instrumental performance (Krüger).

Assumptions such as these may go some way to accounting for particular characteristics in early polyphony. At the same time, nowhere do they receive support in the literature of music theory itself as statements about terminology. The sole indication of a possible connection between musical instruments and terminology for polyphony occurs, in about 1100, in a vague attempt at etymological definition by Johannes Cotto ('Affligemensis'), of which the Latin reads: 'Qui canendi modus vulgariter organum dicitur, eo quod vox humana apte dissonans similitudinem exprimat instrumenti quod "organum" vocatur' ('A manner of singing commonly called "organum", because the human voice, aptly dissonant, bears a likeness to an instrument which is called "organum"': CSM, i, p.157). And this explanation, significantly, is ignored, even contradicted, by later theory.

On the other hand, a number of passages in early polyphonic theory can be taken to imply that the term 'organum' refers to the consonant relationship between *vox principalis* and *vox organalis*. Therefore, in the central theoretical source, entitled *Musica enchiriadis* and dating from the second half of the 9th century, the *vox organalis* is also called the *cantilena simphoniaca* (ed. Schmid, p.48). This interpretation finds its strongest support, however, in a number of observations in the theoretical literature – all admittedly rather elliptical – on vertical sonority. In the Cologne organum treatise (*c*900), notes in the *vox organalis* that form a 3rd or 2nd with the *vox principalis* are ranked as 'abusivum organum' (ed. Waeltner, p.54). The author of the Paris organum treatise (10th century) went so far as to say that with such vertical sonorities *legitimum organum* 'falls silent', or that *responsum organi* 'is lacking' (ed. Waeltner, p.76). This does not mean that the creation of these sonorities is itself 'improper' or impossible – they are indeed expressly taught and demonstrated. It should be taken as conveying rather that such effects would be designated improper (i.e. contrary to proper word-usage) only as organum; in other words, that such (in themselves entirely legitimate) sonorities are not organum in the strict sense of the term. Logically then, the term 'organum' must at first have been reserved exclusively for consonant sonorities. Indeed, in the definitions of organum that occur in music theory up to the 12th century only 4ths and 5ths are mentioned as constituent intervals.

This conception of organum seems to be associated with a specialized use, current from late classical times, of the adjective *organicus*. It comes through particularly clearly in expressions such as 'organicum melos' and, from the early Middle Ages onwards, 'instrumentum organicum'. An *organicum melos* is a *melos* the pitches of which – whether monophonic or polyphonic, vocal or instrumental – are precisely measured. (It is in this sense, and not as evidence of polyphony, that a famous passage by John Scotus Erigena should be interpreted – see *NOHM*, ii, 1954, p.273.)

By analogy, an *instrumentum organicum* is a musical instrument which by virtue of its construction is capable of being exactly tuned, and thus lends itself to theoretical demonstration. Its pitches, each represented by one or more pipes, strings, keys or bells, exist in a consonant relationship to one another – as a result of the circle of 5ths, which forms the basis of tuning.

This conception of *organicus* probably derives from the Greek *kataskeuē organikē* of geometric construction. The organa in geometry were compasses and straight-edges which, in contrast to stencils with their imprecision, were considered scientifically reliable. It was on these grounds that the Greek adjective *organikos* had come to be used also in the abstract sense of 'mathematically exact' and 'theoretically sound' in geometrical theory as early as late classical times. The organa that lie behind the early medieval polyphonic term were thus in the last analysis not musical instruments at all: they were compasses and straight-edges as the guarantors of quadrivial order and exactitude. The term 'organum' can itself probably be seen as defining a prior condition for polyphony. This condition refers to the exact measurement of pitch which is so essential to the fitting together of parts, and at the same time expresses verbally the fact that consonance itself comes to audible reality as the 'temperamentum modulationis' (Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae*, iii, 20.3).

In the early medieval sources the word 'diaphonia' was also used, along with 'organum', to designate polyphony. This word is not to be taken as signifying dissonance. Much more likely, it conveyed – as did its successor 'discantus' from the 12th century onwards – the striking effect of 'sounding apart', in contrast to the 'uniformis canor' of a monophonic melody.

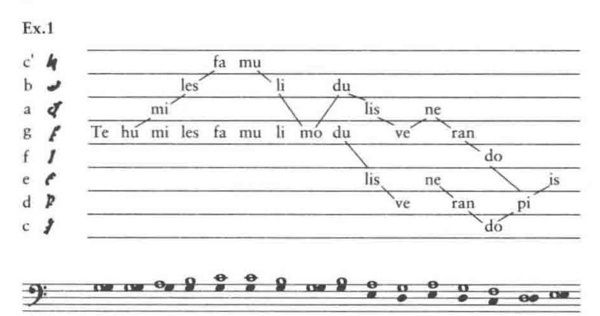
The term 'discantus' from the 12th century onwards stood, as a general rule, for note-against-note counterpoint. The term 'organum' itself did continue as a collective word for all types of polyphony (*organum generale*); but at the same time it took on a special

meaning in the 12th century as the new type of sustained-note counterpoint – a type that was at first for two voices, and in which a melismatic upper voice was constructed above long-held plainchant notes (*organum in speciali*; see §6 below). From the latter part of the 13th century, 'organum' came to be used to describe plainchant setting in general (above all that of the Notre Dame composers), in contradistinction to the categories of motet and conductus.

2. 9TH-CENTURY THEORY. The concordant intervals were an essential element in early polyphony. This is clear from the way in which polyphonic treatment was at first frequently discussed under headings such as 'De symphoniis'. The technique of polyphony was based on two practices, both of them probably very old: that of parallel singing in concordant intervals, and that of the use of a drone. At any rate, regular instruction in the form of a systematic course of teaching had become a necessity at just about the time when performance in pure and unornamented parallel motion, and performance using a drone, were on the decline. This decline took the form of a combination of the two practices. In it the new elements of polyphony since the 9th century had their origin – and not only in the decline itself, but also in the way in which musical theorists presented and accounted for it. For only now could the *vox organalis* be thought of as an increasingly independent moving 'voice'; only now did alternative ways of singing polyphonically become thinkable and feasible; only now could different ways of shaping a counterpoint be tried out in practice and formulated as theory, and hence the 'history' of polyphony really begin. And it was a history at whose beginning there was very little by way of prescriptive theoretical writing. Nevertheless, by about 1100 a measure of freedom had been achieved in the fashioning of counterpoint. Music theory could do little more than give a general idea of this, in the form of contrived examples; and in turn, from the 13th century onwards there are specific references to individual compositions which the reader is expected to have in his mind as models. These, apart from elementary rules of part-writing, take the place of the examples and now serve to stimulate or to corroborate what has been said.

In the organum of the early Middle Ages the *vox organalis* generally lies beneath the *vox principalis* (ex.1; *see also* SCORE, fig.1). The latter, as the melody pre-existing in its own right, placed as it is in the prominent register, is still heard as the primary voice. Organum theory begins with performance in either parallel 5ths or parallel 4ths. Free interchange between these two intervals

Ex.1

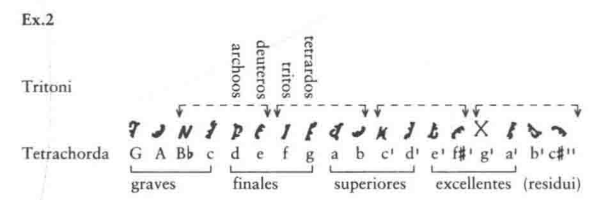


o = vox principalis (cantus) • = vox organalis

was not expressly permitted until about 1100. In even the earliest sources the 4th was favoured. This must have been partly because it was the concordant interval which would most perceptibly have the effect of 'sounding apart', and partly because the two voices were then closer together and could most easily converge on to a unison. The Daseian notation used in *Musica enchiriadis* was, as will be seen later, obviously designed with organum at the 4th in mind.

In the discussion of organum in *Musica enchiriadis* a crucial role is played by the tritone. It is the tritone's *inconsonantia* or *absonia* which makes deviation from strict parallel movement necessary. It is that also which brings about a change in texture to one in which the *vox organalis* often clings to a particular note and produces a drone-like effect. Since the writer of *Musica enchiriadis* was clearly very concerned with such deviations, he found that a system of disjunct tetrachords offered the means whereby the occurrence of tritone intervals in organum at the 4th – and the need for avoidance – could by comparison with the normal octave system be doubled. This system was built of identical tetrachords grouping themselves around the tetrachord of the finals D, E, F and G (ex.2:

Ex.2



note the brackets under the letter names; the four degrees of the main tetrachord appear with their Greek number names *archoos*, *deuteros*, *tritos* and *tetrardos*). Adjacent tetrachords were always separated by a whole tone – hence they were disjunct. Because of this they cut across the octave structure of the normal tonal system; the pattern of intervals repeats at the 5th rather than at the octave. Thus it is possible to sing in parallel 5ths in this system without disturbance. A critical factor was, however, that when singing in 4ths a tritone now occurred on every fourth degree of the scale, between the *tritos* of one tetrachord and *deuteros* of the next tetrachord up: *B♭–e*, *f–b*, *c'–f♯'*, *g'–c♯''* (see ex.2, the brackets above the letter names). By contrast, the tritone in the octave system arises only between *B♭* and *e*, and between *f* and *b*. Each of the four degrees of the tetrachord has its own sign, and this sign is modified with its reappearance in each higher tetrachord by being reversed, inverted and reverted respectively – the sign for the *tritos* being slightly modified in shape also. The practice of changing a sign by turning it round is reminiscent of Greek instrumental notation and is possibly directly influenced by that. The signs themselves were named Daseia signs after their basic sign, which was the Greek for the *prosodia daseia* (cf Schmid, pp.5–7).

If the teaching of *Musica enchiriadis* is followed, organum takes shape as a result of the joint operation of the tetrachord system and the law prohibiting the tritone. In order to avoid each tritone the *vox organalis* must constantly avoid the *sonus tritus*. To cope with this there is one prime rule: the *vox organalis* must not, in the course of a phrase, descend beyond the *sonus tetrardus*; nor, where the *vox principalis* begins a melodic ascent, must the *vox organalis* approach the *tetrardus* from below

(cf Schmid, p.49: 'ut in quolibet tetrachordo in qualibet particula nec infra tetrardum sonum descendat positione nec inchoatione levetur obstante triti soni inconsonantia, qui tetrardo est subsecundus'). The *vox organalis* is only allowed to 'stray' into the register of a neighbouring tetrachord if the *vox principalis* changes its register correspondingly (ed. Schmid, pp.51–2; cf ex.1: from the syllable -lis onwards the *vox organalis* shifts into the next tetrachord down). In practice each *sonus tetrardus* (*c*, *g*, *d′*, *a′*) functions as a lower limit of pitch to which the *vox organalis* clings like a drone. The *vox organalis* quits this limit in the upward direction only if the *vox principalis* itself moves beyond a 4th above it, or if the *vox organalis* moves to a unison with the *vox principalis* at the end of a section (the latter, as the pre-existing and hence unchangeable melody, thus drawing the *vox organalis* towards it, as it were). The second of these situations arises in ex.1 at the syllables pi-is; the first does not occur until after the dip down into the tetrachord below at the syllable -lis, the *vox organalis* therefore having to cling to the same *tetrardus* for the first nine syllables.

Put negatively, this way of shaping the end of a section, which applies analogously also to the beginning of a section (e.g. the unison opening of ex.1), suggests that a section was supposed never to end on a non-consonant interval. (Without the convergence of voices (*convenire*) ex.1 would have ended on a 3rd.) This is indeed the argument of *Musica enchiriadis*: it is because the *vox organalis* must not go below the *sonus tetrardus*, and because at the same time a section must not end on a 4th, that a unison is selected (ed. Schmid, p.50: '[vox organalis] subtus eundem [tetrardum] non valet positione progredi et ob hoc in finalitate positionum a voce principali occupetur, ut ambae in unum conveniant'). Admittedly examples do also occur in *Musica enchiriadis* in which the *vox organalis* does go below the *sonus tetrardus* and ends on a 4th. But such cases were probably counted as transitional – in accordance with the methodical way of setting out organum theory – though not in fact forbidden (ed. Schmid, pp.36ff). Put positively, this way of ending sections manifests a very strong desire to point up by musical means the structure and phrasing of chants that are to be sung polyphonically. The *vox organalis* is in truth no more than an 'ornament', but it is a great deal more than a mere 'doubling' of the chant. It creates sonorous tension by 'singing apart', heightens this tension by changing the vertical intervals, and dissolves the tension at each of the caesuras as it establishes a point of rest in the sonority.

3. 10TH- AND 11TH-CENTURY THEORY. The teaching in *Musica enchiriadis* is characterized by the search for a thoroughly 'automatic' process in polyphonic performance. Thanks to the particular nature of the tetrachord system, organum arose more or less of its own accord so long as certain rules and constraints were consistently observed (the only entirely optional factors were the doubling or tripling of both voices at the octave, and their reinforcement by instruments: cf Schmid, pp.38–40). The performers were not directly answerable for the musical effect; nor would they find in this treatise the necessary aesthetic grounding. It was thus possible to perform a *vox organalis* extempore at any time and to any chant for which it might be desired, after agreement on only a very small number of technical points. Moreeover, the greatest possible uniformity was automatically guaranteed for the polyphonic end product. This very disregard of aesthetic considerations, and of evaluation, saved polyphonic practice from having to think in terms of alternatives, improvements or refinements. The teaching in *Musica enchiriadis* must surely be conceived in so cryptically codified a fashion precisely because the uniformity of liturgical chant had to be preserved even in polyphonic performance – that wholesale uniformity which had been a prime goal of all reforms in church music ever since Pépin and Charlemagne. This suggestion is supported by the extraordinarily wide distribution of the treatise, for it survives today in more than 40 manuscripts.

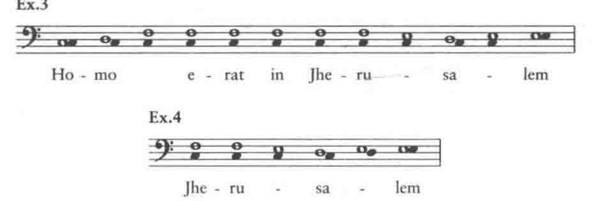
However, the future lay in a type of polyphonic teaching that emerged for the first time in the Cologne organum treatise of about 900. This type of teaching gradually began to spread in influence from the time of Guido of Arezzo's *Micrologus* (early 11th century). This is a method of teaching that, while firmly based on *Musica enchiriadis* in its subject matter, differs strikingly in its manner of presentation and argument. Its starting-point was still a set of definitive rules, but now in addition it allowed for 'exceptions'. In matters of detail it was content to lay down guidelines. It relied on the singers' experience and judgment; by means of aesthetic argument it strove to analyse current practices, to experiment and develop new methods. The theory of polyphony thus became something like an introduction to the subject, describing possible ways of creating polyphony, and putting forward rules but never expecting blind observance.

The abstract tetrachord system was abandoned along with Daseian notation. The Cologne organum treatise no longer used Daseian notation; Guido criticized the 'moderns' openly for having introduced these innovations very carelessly, and at the same time disregarded the early theorists' recognition of the octave as the only interval that makes perfect consonance ('perfecte consonat') rather than the 5th (CSM, iv, pp.112–3). The pitching of the *vox organalis* a 4th lower than the *vox principalis*, and also its parallel movement, were retained in essence, as was the principle of pitch limits that the *vox organalis* must not overstep. Indeed, these were now positively reasserted. The *vox organalis* no longer had to converge to unison ('in unum convenire') with the *vox principalis* as a matter of necessity just because an artificially produced tritone stood in the way. Rather the contrary: so that the two melody lines 'can come together in a suitable manner' at the end of the line – and this is the crux of the matter – the pitch limits should be obeyed merely as rules of thumb ('ut in finalitatibus vox ad vocem apte convenire possit ..., organum inferius descendere non possit': Cologne organum treatise, ed. Waeltner, p.54).

The determination of the pitch limits was governed by the tonality of the chant. However, their deployment now became transparently clear on aesthetic grounds also. According to Guido, the whole tone and major 3rd (together with the 4th and unison) were the favoured sonorities. The minor 3rd on the other hand was no more than tolerated, the semitone not accepted at all. For this reason the bottom notes of the hexachords, C, F and G, with the particular pattern of intervals that surrounds them, turn out to be the ideal pitch limits, because all the favoured sonorities could be sounded above them ('Aptissime vero, qui saepissime suaviusque id faciunt, ut tetrardus et tritus in .C. et .F. et .G. Haec enim tono et

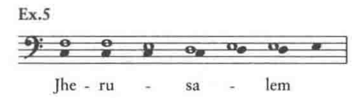
ditono et diatessaron obsequuntur': CSM, iv, p.202). The tritone that arises in Guido's system, between F and B natural, was avoided quite pragmatically by shifting the *vox organalis* on to G to produce a major 3rd (CSM, iv, p.206).

Guido went significantly beyond *Musica enchiriadis* in his refining of the way in which cadences were formed. He also for the first time allowed brief crossing of parts. The *vox organalis* was no longer simply 'occupied' at the close by the chant (cf Schmid, p.50) but could now 'come to meet' it in what was called the *occursus* (literally 'meeting'). Guido viewed the two voices as approaching each other by step, so that they could converge on to unison as far as possible *e vicino* ('from nearby': CSM, iv, p.204). He demonstrated this by means of two examples, significantly presented together as alternative and equally acceptable possibilities (exx.3 and 4). In accordance with

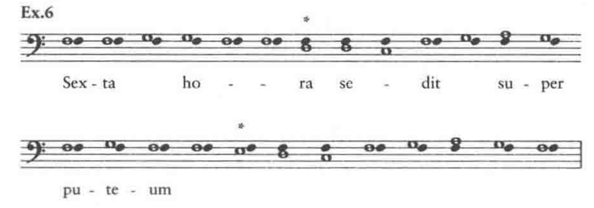


traditional practice, the *vox organalis* in ex.3 (CSM, iv, p.211) clings to the lower pitch limit right through to the penultimate note on the grounds that its distance from the chant is less than a 4th. This is called *occursus simplex*. Following the new practice, the interval of the major 3rd *c–e* in ex.4 is passed over by step in the *vox organalis* via a penultimate *d*. This is called *occursus per intermissas* [*voces*].

When convergence by step in this way is not possible, it is preferable for a phrase to close on a 4th rather than converge on to a unison by leap in the *vox organalis* (CSM, iv, p.204). This does not apply, however, when the phrase concerned is the last of the whole piece. The progression towards a close may be further refined by a kind of cadential extension of the chant, this being also optional. Against the last note of the chant there occur two notes in the *vox organalis*, the first being a 2nd below – thus in effect prolonging the penultimate note – and the second note providing a resolution on to the unison (CSM, iv, p.205: 'Item cum occursus fit tono, diutinus fit tenor finis, ut ei et partim subsequatur et partim concinatur') (ex.5, based on exx.3 and 4).



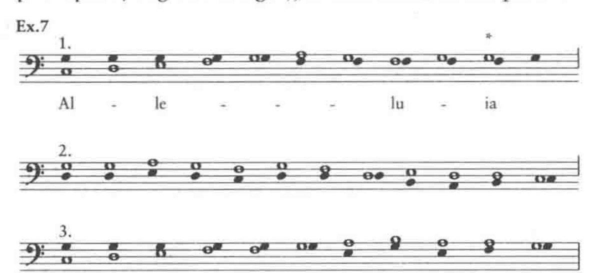
The rule that the *vox organalis* must lie always beneath the chant was also first modified by Guido: if the chant went only briefly below the lower pitch limit (Guido demonstrated it with a limit of *f*) then the organum voice could remain unchanged. This was called *organum suspensum* (CSM, iv, pp.205, 212) (ex.6, at the asterisk).



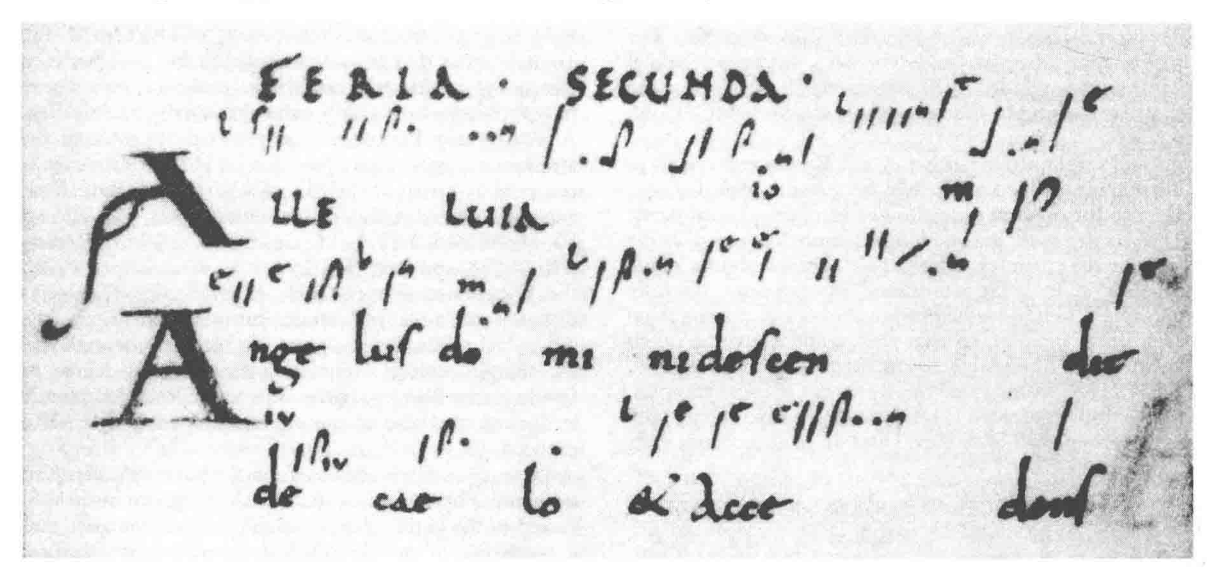
4. Practical sources: changes of style about 1100.
To the extent that there were now alternatives between which the performers could freely choose, extempore polyphonic performance became that much more difficult. A way of relieving the difficulty was to fix some of the alternatives in written-down form. The earliest known practical sources of polyphony do in fact date from around the time of Guido (*see* Sources, ms, §§IV, 2 and VI; also RISM, B/IV/1, M. Gushee (E(iii)1963), Rankin (H(i)1993), and Arlt (H(i)1993). In what is now called the Winchester Troper (early 11th century) numerous different versions of certain turns of phrase in the individual *vox organalis* parts are recorded expressly in the margin: this is some indication of the degree of freedom that had been gained meanwhile in polyphonic treatment, and also of the interest that each alternative aroused.

The early written sources are unfortunately difficult to decipher. They evidently assume the singer to be so well versed in the basic rules of polyphonic performance that a rendering in mostly staffless neumes would suffice. (Scribes did occasionally later in the Middle Ages resort to letter notation again; when they did so it was precisely in order to counter difficulties of reading that might arise.) Despite the uncertainties of deciphering these notations, it is possible, even in the earliest of practical sources, to determine certain characteristics that go beyond the teaching of Guido; they help to put the compulsoriness of the traditional rules into perspective.

Ex.7, from *Alleluia, Angelus Domini* in the Winchester Troper (f.164*v*; Holschneider, p.110; the *vox organalis*, in a different part of the manuscript from the *vox principalis*, is given in fig.1), is traditional in the parallel



movement at the 4th below in its second phrase, and typically Guidonian in the close of its first phrase (at the asterisk). Similarly, the switch of lower pitch limit from *g* to *f* (first phrase) had already been authorized by Guido. By means of this switch the chant, which descends to *f*, does not have to cross the *vox organalis*; also, an *occursus* on to the final *g* is only possible via *f* (cf Guido's example, CSM, iv, p.213). Among the new features that occur in this piece are the formation by the *vox organalis* of a 5th above the *vox principalis* at the beginning of the first and third phrases (assuming the transcription to be reliable). Evidently the tessitura of the *vox organalis* is regulated by the prevailing final; even in a chant of wider range the drone effect – which was still obviously much liked – is partially retained (according to *Musica enchiriadis* the *vox organalis* ought, by analogy with the melodic movement of the chant, to begin in unison on *c*: cf ex.1). As a result, the notion of a lower pitch limit in the strict sense scarcely applies any longer, so habitually is it exceeded (see for example the *e* at the end of the third phrase). Moreover, according to the movement of the

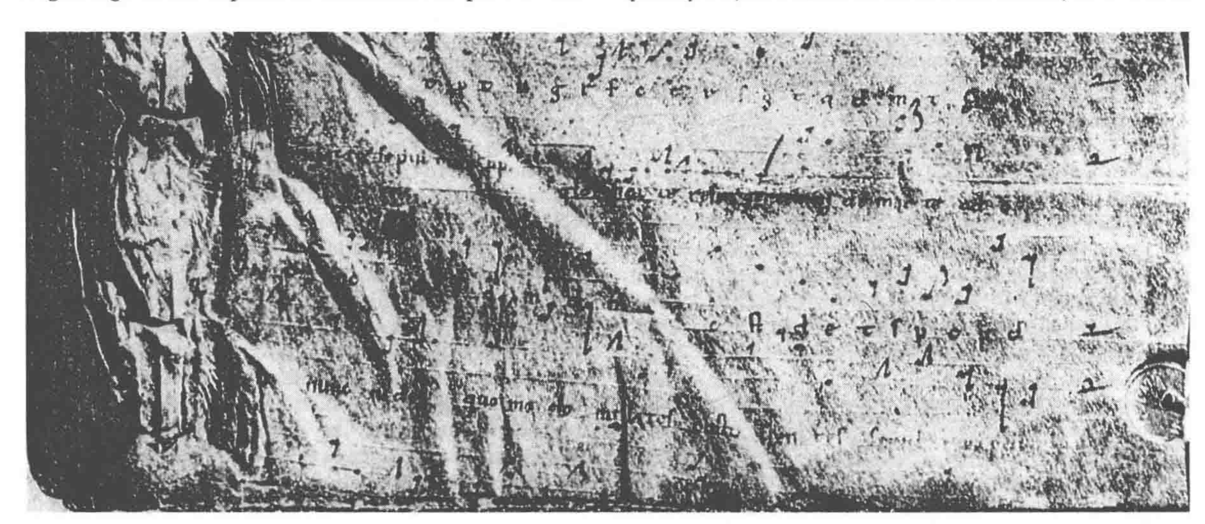


1. Vox organalis for 'Alleluia, Angelus Domini' from the Winchester Troper, early 11th century (GB-Ccc 473, f.164v; from A. Holschneider: 'Die Organa von Winchester', 1968)

chant, other notes, besides *c*, *f* or *g*, appear as organal holding-notes (as one might call them to distinguish them from the lower pitch limit, and also from the long-sustained notes of organum from the 12th century onwards): see for example the *d* in the second phrase of ex.7.

The principal requirements for the formulation of a 'new organum' about 1100 were by now fulfilled. Parallel movement and holding-notes were now so loosely applied that they could readily be replaced by a completely free use of intervals, including a free interchange between 4th and 5th. The 4th, which was for Guido the widest distance of 'singing apart', had evidently already been exceeded, and the two parts crossed as often as it seemed melodically or harmonically sensible for them to do so. In the light of Guido's teaching on *occursus* the principle of contrary motion gradually emerged and took on significance; and in his extending of cadences there lay already the beginnings of an impulse to ornament the penultimate note, which after about 1100 became melismatic in character.

The new style of organum is evident as early as the latter part of the 11th century in one of the three Chartres fragments (*F-CHRm* 109). This fragment contains five two-voice pieces which can be accurately transcribed because they are notated on staff lines (fig.2 and ex.8, upper line). The principle of holding-notes is here completely abandoned. Even simple repetition of a note is avoided in the *vox organalis*, with the result that there is very little difference of melodic character between the two voices. With the exception of several parallel 3rds, which always converge onto a unison and function like a prolonged *occursus* (phrases 1–2, 5 and 7), contrary motion is prevalent, with the voices extending to a 6th apart (phrases 3 and 4) and occasionally as far as an octave apart (phrases 4 and 8). The *vox organalis* still tends, as in traditional practice, to lie below the *vox principalis*; but the two do nonetheless cross, as is natural



2. Beginning of the verse 'Dicant nunc iudei', in two-voice organum, from the processional antiphon 'Christe resurgens' in a MS from Chartres, second half of the 11th century (F-CHRm 109, f.75r; from PalMus, 1st ser., xvii, 1958)



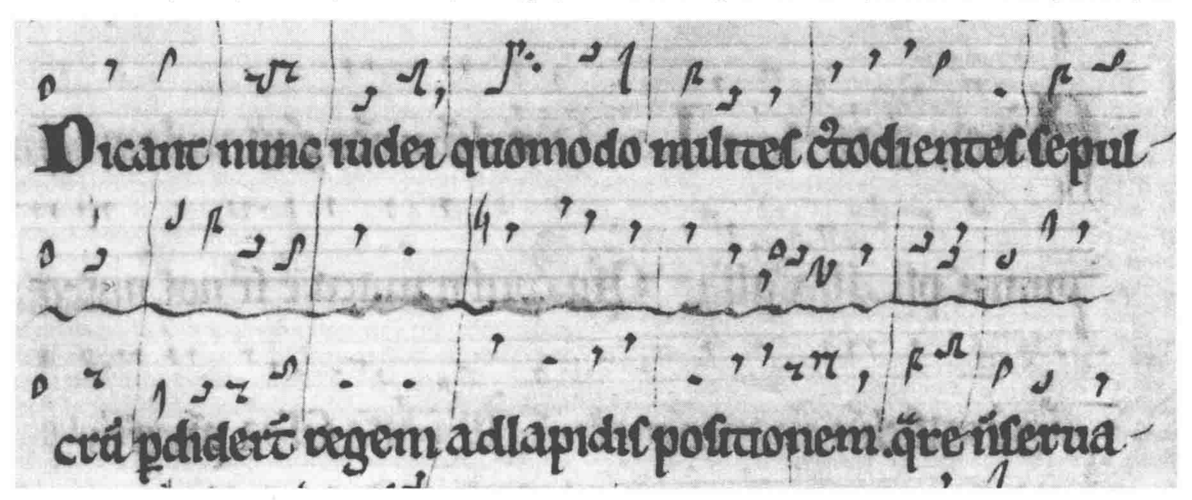
when contrary motion is in force. In general the two voices seem to centre their movement on the final *d*. Caesuras (taken here as the points at which the two voices converge to unison, and in later sources as marked also by vertical strokes) occur not merely at each genuine *distinctio* in the chant but in practice at the end of each word of text. The price of emancipation from parallel movement and from drone effects is first and foremost sectionalization into small phrase units – the breaking-up of the chant into short harmonic progressions. The fact that almost all these progressions end on the final *d* means that the piece is, from the tonal point of view, remarkably homogeneous.

It is historically interesting to note that a second version of this piece has survived. It appears in a manuscript from the latter part of the 12th century, now in Oxford (*GB-Ob* Rawl.*c*.892, f.67*v*; see ex.8, lower line, and fig.3). The piece as it survives in Chartres 109 is evidently already a distinctive enough product to be worthy of preservation. For it is hard to imagine how, considering the great range of possibilities that had meanwhile evolved in polyphonic treatment, the two versions could so closely correspond simply by the application of analogous rules.

At the same time there are differences of detail that indicate that the first version was not thought to be absolutely definitive. Complete definitiveness is not found before the compositions of the Notre Dame repertory in the late 12th century: a repertory within which fixity had become a goal towards which composers might rightfully strive. In the first and sixth phrases there appear interchangeably an archaic initial 4th and a modern unison. Where Chartres lets the counterpoint expand to the octave Oxford on one occasion presents only a 5th, clearly preferring conjunct melodic movement (phrase 4, at the asterisk). Also, the author of the Oxford version is more concerned with contrary motion where Chartres has parallel 3rds. As the interchangeability of 4th and unison at the beginnings of phrases shows, the two versions were probably not far apart in time, despite certain differences. Rather, they are as the imprinting of two divergent stylistic tendencies upon the common basis of an established polyphonic solution.

5. Organum and liturgical chant. The examples cited by polyphonic theorists up to Guido are drawn from the *Te Deum* and also from the sequence, hymn and antiphon. Scholars have often concluded from this that early medieval polyphony was a practice that 'stood outside the official Roman liturgy and its Gregorian chant' (Stäblein, *IMSCR IX: Salzburg 1964*, ii, p.72). At first, supposedly in recognition of the 'inviolability of liturgical chant', it was performed only 'where the liturgy allowed a certain freedom' (Waesberghe, *AMw*, xxvi, 1969, p.264). Also its terminology is said not to include 'the names of Gregorian chant types', but rather 'unaccustomed terms' such as 'canticum', 'carmen' and 'cantio'.

In reality, nowhere in theoretical literature, or indeed in any other relevant writings of the time, is an express distinction to be found between more and less 'inviolable' chants. The most that occurs is reprimand for deviations from liturgical conformity. Even this occurs primarily on



3. Beginning of the verse 'Dicant nunc iudei', in two-voice organum, from the processional antiphon 'Christe resurgens' in a gradual from Downpatrick, second half of the 12th century (GB-Ob Rawl.c.892, f.67v)

political grounds. What is more, it is very difficult to conclude from the terminology of early medieval polyphonic theory that 'official' plainchant was excluded from polyphonic treatment. If theorists were to deal not with individual chant types but with the various chants of the liturgy in general ('ecclesiastica cantica', 'sacra cantica', 'ecclesiastica carmina', etc.), it was only logical that they should use correspondingly general terms. For Gregorian chant itself, for instance, 'carmen gregorianum' was a current overall expression (see *MGG1*, Stäblein: 'Choral', §1).

More conclusively still, as early as the first half of the 11th century, in the very earliest surviving practical sources of polyphony, categories of Gregorian chant are included that can in no sense be called 'extra-liturgical' or even 'half-liturgical'. There is no evidence that in the earlier time of *Musica enchiriadis* any other standards, liturgical or ideological, would have applied in polyphonic practice. The problem comes down in the end to the choice of examples in early polyphonic theory. And for this purely pragmatic reasons can be adduced.

In the first place, what the theorists needed above all to demonstrate was the construction of beginnings and ends to phrases. These were not placed arbitrarily, but coincided with the natural caesuras of the chant. Hence it was sensible to fall back on chants with relatively short phrases. Other rules for the *vox organalis* could all be clearly demonstrated with comparatively few notes of chant, as in ex.1: parallel movement, adherence to the lower pitch limit and transfer to a neighbouring tetrachord in the course of a phrase. The extended melismas that feature in the main species of chant would have offered no appreciable gain in information, and would have wasted costly parchment. Moreover, the means of writing down that was first used was hardly suited to recording melismatic chant. It involved the placing of syllables on a grid of horizontal lines (see ex.1). Each note therefore had to have the syllable to which it belonged separately written out. If melismatic music examples were to be cited they would not only take up a great deal of space but would also suffer a great reduction in the legibility of the text: the notation of a Martianus Capella text, for example, although only lightly melismatic, appears in notation as: 'su-ub-i-i-re cel-sa po-os-cit a-as-tra iu-up-pi-ter' (the Bamberg Dialogue, ed. Waeltner, p.46).

If the selection of examples for early polyphony can be explained on pragmatic grounds alone, then the possibility should not be ruled out that polyphonic treatment was at least permissible, even as early as the 9th century, for the whole range of liturgical chants. The Winchester Troper transmits polyphony for the whole range of chants, solo and choral, responsorial and antiphonal, 'old' and 'newer', 'standard' and 'local'. If the Chartres repertory reveals a preference for responsorial chant settings (and even suggests that Chartres may have developed a cycle of polyphony for the liturgical year analogous to the later *Magnus liber* of Notre Dame), the liturgical inclusiveness evident in the Winchester polyphony continued to be cultivated elsewhere for centuries to come.

6. 'ORGANUM' AND 'DISCANT': NEW TERMINOLOGY. Two improvisatory styles of performance are separately discussed in a group of early 12th-century treatises known as *Ad organum faciendum*, marking changes from the styles of the repertories discussed above (§4). Until then they had been regarded as a single improvisatory form: *Diaphonia vulgariter organum*. These two styles grew further apart as they developed, and became independent musical forms. In theoretical writings it became necessary to distinguish them by name. Two anonymous treatises (ed. Schneider and ed. La Fage) used the term 'organum' for one and 'discantus' for the other; but they continued to use 'organum' as a generic term to cover the two together. The ambivalent nature of the term 'organum' was first taken account of by Johannes de Garlandia, who qualified them as *specialiter dictum* and *generaliter dictum* respectively.

Immediately striking is that, of the two general terms traditionally used to signify polyphony, one ('organum') was taken over directly for use in a more specialized sense, and the other ('diaphonia') was merely taken over by analogy or by straight translation into Latin as 'discantus'. The term 'diaphonia' quickly disappeared as a result. Thus both new designations, organum and discantus, were really more specialized usages of terms already previously in existence; and their new meanings rested on convention. This was possible because the specific meaning of the word 'organum' was still hardly known or understood at this time.

The real difference between organum and discantus at this stage lies purely in the relative amount of movement between the given part and the matching upper voices (which goes against Riemann's theory that it is to be found in contrary motion in discantus). In organum the upper voice (*vox organalis*) is a melisma over the sustained single notes of the *vox principalis*; in discant on the other hand it forms a more or less strict note-for-note (or melisma-against-melisma) counterpoint.

It was not, therefore, the newer of the two terms, 'discantus', which was applied as one would expect to the newer style. It was the older term, 'organum', which was used for the style furthest from tradition. The reason for this is by no means obvious. Eggebrecht (III(3)1970, p.27) pointed to 'discantus' as a translation of 'diaphonia'. 'On the one hand', he argued, 'it retains the implication of a note-against-note progression, and indicates that the *vox organalis* is still plainchant-like in character. At the same time, it is a scientific term which reflects the transparency and rational nature of a note-against-note texture'. By contrast, organum, 'as a word, was much less restricted in meaning, and could thus be applied much more easily to something that theory could not cope with and yet was successfully established in performance and in practical teaching: namely, the practice of singing melismas against single notes'. Another factor may have played a part in this. The 12th century was an era that believed in progress. It may be that the term 'organum' was kept for the style which was then considered most up-to-date. This would have been florid sustained-note organum, offering completely new scope for development which was being fruitfully exploited.

7. FLORID ORGANUM OF AQUITAINE AND COMPOSTELA MANUSCRIPTS. This more advanced style of organum is in evidence from the early 12th century onwards. It is no coincidence that, for the first time with such a repertory, numerous examples of the style survive fully written out, especially in the manuscripts of ST MARTIAL (*see* SOURCES, MS, §IV, 3). Despite the fortuitous transmission of the manuscripts, which date from between the late 11th century and the early 13th, their contents may be regarded as representative. They contain 94 two-voice pieces. Of

these approximately half are based on a pre-existing melody; the rest have apparently newly written text and melody. Most are non-liturgical strophic songs known as *versus*, and only a small minority are liturgical chant settings. The distinction that was normally made between organa, conductus, sequences and so on in theoretical writing from the time of the Notre Dame composers onwards had not yet been created, neither had they yet been separated in practical sources. Contrapuntally the melismatic style is clearly predominant over the syllabic.

Very close in style to the Aquitaine repertory are some compositions in the Codex Calixtinus. This was a slightly later manuscript which originated at Santiago de Compostela (*see* SOURCES, MS, §IV, 3). It was compiled in its present form about 1170.

We can see very clearly how this type of polyphony developed out of the old organum. It derived specifically from one of the two styles of performance previously embraced by organum: namely, simple note-against-note counterpoint, and a counterpoint whose added voice was ornamented. If all ornamental notes are eliminated, examples of the new organum can be reduced to an underlying counterpoint made up of octaves, 5ths, 4ths and unisons. This counterpoint corresponds to the rules of French discant theory as conveyed consistently in the treatises discussed above. Thus in ex.9, if we allow for the possibility of suspensions from 2nd on to unison and from 6th on to octave – suspensions which were still common in Parisian organum – the basic counterpoint comprises nine 5ths, eight unisons, eight octaves and one 4th. Only on the syllable '-po-' do we have to allow for a couple of extra ornamental notes (assuming the text underlay to be exact). The *vox principalis* proves to be melodically inviolable even when not borrowed directly from plainchant – doubtless because of the very fact that it did traditionally draw on plainchant. On the other hand the notes of the added basic counterpoint are each ornamented. Thus the progression from one chord to the next which in discant was still a direct step came to be replaced in organum by short bursts of melodic movement in the upper part, causing each note of the *vox principalis* to be drawn out correspondingly in length.

The new *vox organalis* unfolded above its *vox principalis,* moving below it only very occasionally in brief crossing of parts. Because of its exposed position in the texture the upper voice naturally became increasingly prominent. What was originally an added voice became the really essential feature and the *vox principalis* on the other hand now seemed only to support it. It was for this very reason, as well as because it contained the plainchant melody, that this voice became known by the name of 'tenor' in the 13th century. The overall range used for the two voices was initially almost identical. Nonetheless there was a clear preference for different tessituras. Moreover, in the manuscripts the use of different clefs clearly distinguished lower voice from upper.

The notation of the two voices was laid out in score and this remained the rule until the end of the Notre Dame era. Initially, at any rate, this arose out of practical considerations in performance. In particular, the length of each single tenor note could only be gauged by the length of the melisma in the upper voice above it. Apart from this the phrasing of melismas in performance was conditioned very much by the harmonies they made with the tenor. For organum throughout most of the 12th



century was still not thought of as unique and definitive. Rather it came into being as a result of collaboration between the person who wrote it down – the notator – and the person who actually performed it – the cantor. Thus it still retained, in spite of being written down, a strong element of improvisation.

One fact in particular marks this organum out from all improvised forms of organum: that when stripped of all ornamentation the succession of its underlying harmonies very rarely makes independent sense as satisfying progressions, that is, the result does not accord with the laws of discant. In other words, the melismas are essential to harmonic coherence. Here, then, is a further sense in which the melismatic voice achieves independence. The underlying harmonies seem little more than aids to the performers, insofar as they can be determined with any certainty at all, and insofar as the word 'harmony' is legitimate. As such they make possible, and justify, the union of the voices in a new totality. But their progressions show little sign of obeying predetermined rules, just as the melismas show little sign of exploiting certain harmonies and avoiding others. Rather the opposite: within the course of a phrase the intervals that are concordant with the tenor tend not to be approached directly but are delayed. They are reached irregularly and

in an almost casual manner. The voices then come together in consonance all the more clearly in the cadences.

Despite the freedom of ornamental movement and the free choice of harmonies, there are nonetheless a number of short, distinctive melodic formulae and turns of phrase that occur frequently (*see* in this connection CENTONIZATION). These consist of only a few notes and can be made to pivot around a central note or to span across an interval. Accordingly, melismatic groups of notes are still relatively short: up to ten notes, but on average only three or four to one tenor note. Despite this, the groups are marked off with vertical strokes at the ends of sections, these corresponding to ends of words or groups of words; they are generally also marked off with strokes between syllables. These strokes are a practical aid in performance, and serve also to show up the structure of the music clearly.

8. PARISIAN ORGANUM: THE 'MAGNUS LIBER'. The last two pieces of the latest St Martial manuscript tend to use rather longer melismas (thus ex.10 has on average 12 notes of melisma to one tenor note, as compared with four in ex.9 and ten in ex.11). It is in completing this

Ex.10

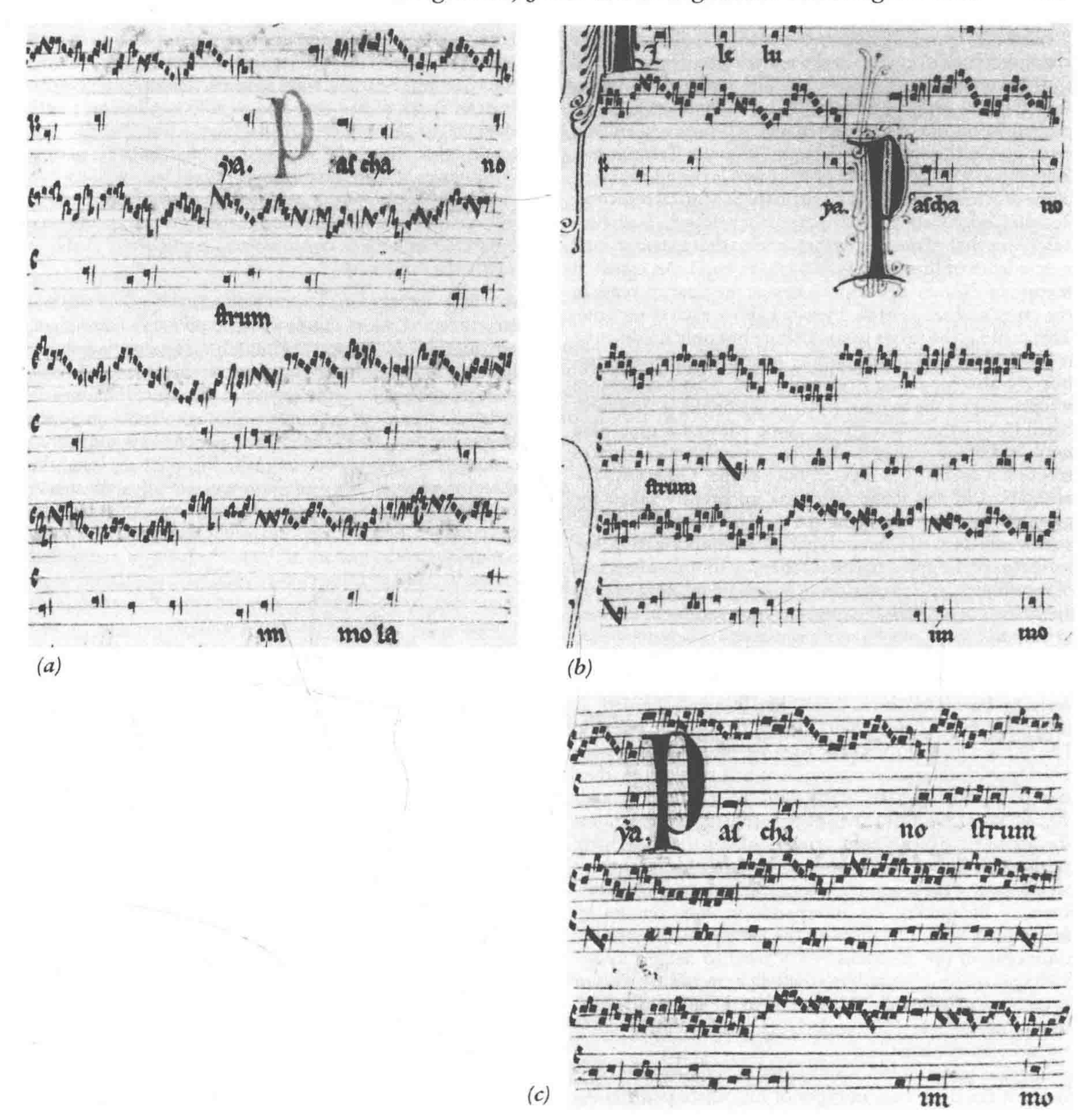


Ex.11



development that the most significant achievement of the so-called Notre Dame school seems to lie, and it can be readily observed in the MAGNUS LIBER, the most important work of the period. This is a collection of two-voice plainchant settings for liturgical use, arranged for the church year in two cycles containing, respectively, the solo sections of the most prominent responsorial chants of the Office and of the Mass. The sheer consistency with which it was carried through, from all points of view, makes possible a much more precise understanding of its nature. The very selection of chant material itself constitutes a conscious limitation when compared with the diversity of material in the St Martial manuscripts.

The *Magnus liber* was attributed by Anonymous IV (*CoussemakerS*, i, 342; ed. Reckow, i, 46) to the *optimus organista Leoninus*, who is now identified with the poet LEONINUS. The original version of the *Magnus liber* was liturgically designed for Notre Dame, Paris (Husmann, *MQ*, 1963), and was therefore probably compiled in Paris about 1170 (*see* MAGNUS LIBER, §2). Stylistically the original form of the work is very difficult to determine because it survives only in versions that date from the 13th century. These versions differ from one another in certain ways, revealing a general tendency for existing organum sections to be replaced by discant sections in a more recent style and hence in modal rhythm. This has been seen as evidence of a historical process whereby organum style – already regarded as outmoded towards the end of the 12th century – was superseded by the more fashionable discant. Even if this thesis be rejected as too linear a view of history there are nonetheless several grounds on which it can be argued. In the first place, it is widely accepted that modal rhythm was not an 'invention' at a single point in time, but resulted from several lines of development which were then formulated as a system, apparently after the model of the School of Grammarians in Paris (Flotzinger, *AMw*, 1972). There is no evidence of the complete system of six rhythmic modes before about 1180. Secondly, the procedures of *extensio* and *fractio modi* (*see* RHYTHMIC MODES) were clearly not components of modal theory to begin with, but were connected with later attempts to subordinate other phenomena, including organum, to the system; indeed, they did much to hasten the obsolescence of the modes towards the end of the period of Notre Dame music. Finally, square



4. Three versions of the organum duplum 'Alleluia, Pascha nostrum', 12th–13th centuries: (a) D-W Helmstedt 628 [W1], f.28r (old 31r), (b) I-Fl Plut.29.1, f.92r (old cix), (c) D-W Helmstedt 1099 [W2], ff.72r–72v; (a) is the more archaic setting where organum is used almost throughout the long melisma on 'nostrum', while in (b) and (c) this is replaced by discant, with copula for the penultimate note 'f' of the cantus firmus

notation, the basis of modal notation, which apparently developed in the Ile de France from the northern and central French neumes, did not appear in recognizable form before the last third, if not the very end, of the 12th century.

It is clear that this development resulted from a specific need. Stäblein's suggestion that this development can be observed in the St Martial manuscripts, and that the beginnings of a modal rhythmic interpretation are already detectable in the later versions of these, does not call for an earlier sequence of dates above – if anything, it calls for the contrary. Thus it ought to be clear that the *Magnus liber* cannot have been conceived with modal rhythm in all sections; equally well, the sustained-note sections as they survive sometimes exhibit series of ligatures characteristic of modal rhythm, but are at other times far more ambiguous. This stage of development seems to correspond with the threefold classification of polyphony made by Johannes de Garlandia about 1240 as organum, copula and discantus. These three categories were abstracted with two considerations in mind: the relative amount of movement in the two voices, and the rhythm of the upper voice. On this basis, the three categories can be characterized thus: organum as a sustained-note style without modal rhythm, copula as a sustained-note style with modal rhythm, and discantus as a style in which both voices move in modal rhythm (fig.4).

9. The style of Parisian organum. The decisive changes which occurred in the early Notre Dame period thus become clear in retrospect. The repertory is represented by the *Magnus liber* (with due reservation as to the composite nature of the form in which it survives) and the examples in the so-called Vatican Organum Treatise (ed. Zaminer, 1959). This style of organum is the natural outcome of certain tendencies found in the St Martial repertory and the Codex Calixtinus. Discantus developed a new characteristic, that of modal rhythm, and to that extent gained a new lease of life (cf Magnus liber, ex.1). An essential feature of the new developments was the clear increase in the range and scope of the melisma above each tenor note. This could go so far as to necessitate not only holding the tenor note for a corresponding length of time, but frequently also repeating it several times. This was seldom written out in the manuscripts; occasionally it was indicated by placing a rest stroke alone without a preceding note, and in some cases by drawing several vertical strokes through a specially elongated note shape. Otherwise the reiteration of the tenor note was apparently taken for granted. For the time being the general character of the setting still derived from polyphonic extemporization: the melismas of the upper part seem to enjoy complete freedom of movement, and to constitute an ornamentation or paraphrase of an underlying note-for-note setting of the *vox principalis*.

However, there are distinct and interesting points of contrast with St Martial practice. First, the notes of the underlying harmony were sometimes clearly regarded as either starting- or end-points, linked by melodic phrases. The phrases may be formulaic or more extended; they may develop with reference to a mode or to a single note; they may be associated particularly with the openings or with the cadences of sections. It also seems that more importance was attached to meaningful progressions in the underlying harmony, fulfilling the requirements of the old discant theory. Whether these are real developments or merely differences of quality or interpretation has yet to be determined. Secondly, there was an increase in the melodic autonomy of the melismas. They seem to delight in unfolding around an underlying melodic framework. This in its turn is frequently directly related to the sustained tenor notes and suggests other underlying constructions within the melisma or clausula.

Another feature of this music that is important for the future is the difference in types of melodic repetition. In earlier times, if they operated at all they preferred to do so with melodic particles that were only similar rather than identical. But then there occurred a sudden increase in the use of identical phrases, repeated, moreover, either at the same or at a different pitch. Melodic movement still included wide leaps, acceptable as a legacy from plainsong tradition; they might be upward or downward leaps, perhaps several in succession, compensated by movement in the opposite direction through the intervening notes, by *currentes*, etc.

It goes without saying that copula, with the upper voice in modal rhythm above a sustained tenor note, had a completely different melodic structure, dependent on the new rhythm. But this in itself elucidates the close interdependence of melody and rhythm.

The motion of the upper voice, or duplum, was largely restricted to the range above the tenor, which emphasized the tenor's supporting function even more. Its range expanded somewhat, tending particularly to centre on a higher register which often necessitated a fifth or even a sixth staff line. The relationship of the duplum to the tenor part was nearly always that of a flanking movement. One can speak of contrary and parallel motion only with reference to the underlying harmonic framework. One should note here the succession of identical perfect consonances, which were quite permissible at a time when it was neither obligatory nor customary to disguise them with ornamentation. One should also note the appearance of parallel imperfect consonances, particularly 3rds, in exactly the same way.

10. The rhythmic interpretation of Parisian organum. One of the most basic problem complexes, and one which is most intimately connected with the above considerations of structure, involves the rhythmic interpretation of Leonine organum. For this, Johannes de Garlandia (also, later, Franco of Cologne and Anonymus 4) gave the so-called law of consonance. This states that consonances (octave, unison, 5th, 4th, 3rd) are long, the other intervals short, and *currentes* equally fast where possible. The question then arises: can this law be evaluated as being based on older tradition (i.e. corresponding with 'historical' data, bearing in mind that Garlandia was writing two generations later)? Or is it, conversely, to be regarded as a retrospective attempt to minimize the differences between *organum per se* and copula, a calculated interpretation after the event? Eggebrecht (1960, p.60) would adopt the latter view. At any rate, the law of consonance hardly seems practicable if the formulation that has survived is rigidly applied: it should probably be narrowed down so that only structurally important consonances are interpreted as longs, as Reckow has done (Anonymus 4, 1967, ii, p.80ff).

One argument which is usually adduced in the problem of rhythm, and which is also secretly at work here, is that *organum purum* should be in totally free rhythm, or 'Gregorian, in equal (or nearly equal) values'. Either this wrongly implies an interpretation of plainchant in completely equal note values, or else it is irresponsibly imprecise, to say the least. Rather, let us reflect that each phrase operated with points of emphasis and longs, and also that the distinction 'non-modal'/'modal' should not automatically be equated with 'not susceptible to rational interpretation'/'measurable in a rational way'. It then begins to seem more credible for the concordance law to be a throwback to an earlier tradition. One might argue also that the values 'long' and 'short' might not have been fixed proportionally, but might have been relative concepts, i.e. 'longer than short', 'shorter than long'. Finally, however the law might originally have been formulated, in both discant and organum pieces it would naturally have resulted in a rhythm generally similar to the so-called 1st mode. So here as well we may have one of the lines of development which, in the second half of the 12th century, led to the principal of modal rhythm (ex.11, last phrase).

In certain circumstances, therefore, the above factors (and others to be considered below) might directly have affected the melodic structure of the 'classical organum', without mediating influences from discant composition.

11. Organum of the 13th century and later. Judging by the extant sources, the non-modal sustained-note style lasted for only a limited time and on a small scale. At any rate, the surviving versions of the *Magnus liber* are witness both to the obvious climax of organum

composition and to its relatively swift fall from a favoured position in the centre of musical development after the appearance of modal rhythm. This quickly gained a hold on and modified all musical forms of the period. With it arose quite new forms and possibilities (such as three- and four-part music) important for the future. In the field of two-voice plainchant settings it first affected the upper voice the more noticeably. This was for structural reasons, and perhaps also because the inviolability of the sacred tenor was still respected. Only after this were the tenor parts affected.

In the 13th century, however, all polyphony that was not in modal or mensural rhythm soon came to be regarded as unsatisfactory. Organum too was seen in this light, and was finally actually rewritten. It is only in the sense of a 13th-century interpretation that a transcription such as that of Waite (C(iii)1954) can be justified. Waite saw the *Magnus liber* as a work wholly in modal rhythm. His interpretation may correspond to the time from which the sources date, but cannot satisfy the attempt to come closer to the work's original rhythmic style. This situation corresponds with what Franco (*c*1280) said: he contrasted all polyphony, as being *musica mensurabilis*, with monophonic plainchant, *musica plana*. He subsumed Garlandia's concepts of *organum per se* and copula under a new notion, *organum purum*, and defined copula anew. Thus, as in the 12th century, but on a new level, the only distinction made was between sustained-note and note-for-note composition. However, this time the future lay in the hands of the note-for-note style, and this was the case away from the centre of musical development as well.

Apart from the interpretation of older compositions mentioned above, the sustained-note style played a specific role in the 13th century only in the field of three- and four-part compositions. Yet here the upper parts were necessarily joined one above the other in modal rhythm. To a certain extent, they formed their own discant among themselves. For this reason the expression 'copula' was not used for this phenomenon. Similarly, Anonymus 4 called plainchant settings for more than two voices simply 'triplum' and 'quadruplum', according to the number of parts, omitting the generic term 'organum'. Together with the parallel formulation *organum duplum*, this meant that the word 'organum' could continue to stand (as it did in the 12th century) as a general term for polyphony based on plainchant (Ger. *Choralbearbeitung*); this was in contrast with the conductus, which was independent of plainchant. Thus an actual method of performing liturgical chant became an expression signifying the technique of composition itself. And now, once again through common practice, the word came to mean a musical form and genre.

In areas adjacent to France, away from the centre of these developments, matters stood differently. Apart from the peripheral, partly derivative tradition, particularly that of England (the Notre Dame manuscript *D-W* 677 is probably of insular origin), and excepting a few, easily identified, borrowings of individual pieces, the French 12th-century development of organum was not copied or adopted elsewhere. In England it is rather the case that there were special traditions of improvised and composed discant. In Spain there were more influential contacts with France.

In Germany, however, polyphonic practices that invariably corresponded to pre-12th-century French developments did not arise until the 13th century. This late start was compensated by an existence lingering into the 16th century (see Geering, 1952). It was occasioned by the persistence of the technique of doubling a given cantus, which produces not genuine but only apparent polyphony, and other primitive techniques.

Without doubt this was not a simple case of meaningless and outmoded customs in cultural backwaters. It could also be a vital, albeit tradition-based practice, in definite cultural layers and for specific purposes, co-existing with the more universal developments. It is a phenomenon rather like the similarities between early German organ music of the 15th century and French organum, to which scholars have frequently drawn attention. Here, according to Göllner (K1961), are found the same elementary ideas of doubling displayed instrumentally. Admittedly, the full potential of these ideas was not to be felt historically until a later period, with the perfection of an autonomous instrumental musical art.

See also DIAPHONIA and DISCANT, §I.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

This bibliography is designed in the first place to serve the two articles ORGANUM and DISCANT, whose bibliographies, if separate, would have overlapped to a great extent. It goes further than this, however, and attempts to provide a bibliographical coverage of Western polyphony from its beginnings to the end of the 13th century that is representative of all but trivial secondary literature.

A General. B Origins and terminology. C Theory to *c*1300: (i) Catalogues (ii) Editions (iii) Studies. D Musical sources: general catalogues. E French music before *c*1150: (i) Catalogues, inventories (ii) Facsimiles, editions (iii) Studies. F France: Notre Dame: (i) Catalogues, inventories (ii) Facsimiles, editions (iii) Studies. G France: other sources. H British Isles: (i) Polyphony to *c*1300 (ii) 'English discant': 14th and 15th centuries. I Spain, Portugal. J Italy. K Germany, Low Countries, Switzerland, Austria. L Scandinavia. M Eastern Europe. N Parallels with popular and non-European polyphony.

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B: ORIGINS AND TERMINOLOGY

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C: THEORY TO *c*1300

This section presents catalogues of treatises and theory sources, editions of treatises, and modern studies of medieval theory. For a general survey covering all periods, *see* THEORY, THEORISTS. *See also* ANONYMOUS THEORETICAL WRITINGS, and articles on individual theorists.

(i) catalogues

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(ii) editions

This sub-section lists treatises in approximate chronological order, citing modern editions. Where no edition exists, the manuscript source is cited. Where no author is cited, the treatise is anonymous. Abbreviated entries are given for works cited later in this section.

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D: MUSICAL SOURCES: GENERAL CATALOGUES

This section lists only catalogues which are unrestricted by country or medieval repertory. Catalogues of more limited scope (such as Ludwig's *Repertorium* and Gröninger's *Repertoire-Untersuchungen*) are cited below, under the appropriate headings.

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E: FRENCH MUSIC BEFORE *c*1159

This section presents the literature about French musical (as apart from theoretical) sources from the beginnings of French polyphony to the time immediately before the *Magnus liber*. It includes catalogues of sources, facsimile editions, modern editions, studies of sources and studies of musical style and technique. For further discussion, *see* SOURCES, MS, §IV, 3, and also ORGANUM, §§4–7 and DISCANT, §2. The two principal repertories are those of Aquitaine and Compostela: for further discussion of these *see* ST MARTIAL (which lists and discusses the monophonic sources as well as those containing polyphony) and SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA. There are also biographical articles on all men to whom pieces in the Compostela manuscript are ascribed.

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N: PARALLELS WITH POPULAR AND NON-EUROPEAN POLYPHONY

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FRITZ RECKOW (with EDWARD H. ROESNER) (1–5), RUDOLF FLOTZINGER (6–11), NORMAN E. SMITH/RUDOLF FLOTZINGER (bibliography)

Organum hydraulicum (Lat.). *See* WATER ORGAN.

Organ verset. *See* VERSE (ii). *See also* ALTERNATIM, ORGAN HYMN and ORGAN MASS.

Orgas, Annibale (*b* probably at Rome, *c*1585; *d* Raciborowice, nr Kraków, 5 July 1629). Italian composer, partly active in Poland. He entered the Collegio Germanico, Rome, as a soprano on 7 July 1594. In 1606 he took minor orders there and in 1610 became a deacon. From early 1607 he studied metaphysics and theology at the Seminario Romano. In due course he became *maestro di cappella* at Avellino. He was still there on 10 April 1613, but by 12 October 1613 he had returned to the Collegio Germanico as *maestro di cappella*, and he held this post until 16 May 1619. He then moved to Poland, where in the same year he became choirmaster of the newly founded instrumental and vocal ensemble at Wawel Cathedral, Kraków, a position he held until his death. From June 1628 he held the additional post of director of the Capella Rorantistarum at the cathedral, in spite of certain regulations restricting the post to Polish musicians. He was also priest of the church at Raciborowice. In the second half of 1628 he visited Italy. He was one of many Italian emigrants to Poland in the first half of the 17th century (among them G.F. Anerio, Asprilio Pacelli and Marco Scacchi) who helped to determine the character of Polish musical culture in the Baroque period. His *Sacrarum cantionum … liber primus* (Venice, 1619), a volume of motets for four to eight voices and continuo, contains all his known music from his years in Italy. Two four-part motets are all that survive from his years in Poland, *Vir inclite Stanislae* (*PL-Kpa*; two parts also in

Kk), dated 26 September 1626, and *Deus noster, cuius gratis beatus Martinus* (*Kk*, inc.), dated 15 June 1628. They are for equal voices and were thus clearly intended for the Capella Rorantistarum; they are conservative works, imitative in style and based on a cantus firmus in equal notes in the tenor. An ode he wrote to commemorate those killed at the Battle of Chocim in 1622 is lost.

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MIROSŁAW PERZ

Orgelbewegung (Ger.). A term sometimes used to refer to the organ revival of the early 20th century. *See* ORGAN, §VII.

Orgelklavier (Ger.). *See* CLAVIORGAN.

Orgéni, Aglaja [Görger St Jörgen, Anna Maria von] (*b* Rimászombat, Galicia [now Rimavská Sobota, Slovakia], 17 Dec 1841; *d* Vienna, 15 March 1926). Hungarian soprano. She studied with Pauline Viardot at Baden-Baden, and made her début in 1865 at the Royal Opera House, Berlin, as Amina in *La sonnambula*. In 1866 she sang at Covent Garden in *La traviata*, *Lucia di Lammermoor* and Flotow's *Martha*. Leaving Berlin, she sang in Leipzig, Dresden, Hanover and other cities. In 1872 she appeared in Vienna and the following year in Munich, where she sang Leonora (*Il trovatore*), Amina, and Valentine (*Les Huguenots*). Her repertory also included Agathe (*Der Freischütz*) and Marguerite (*Faust*). She retired from the stage in 1879, but continued to sing in concert until 1886, after which she taught at the Leipzig Conservatory, where she became the first female professor. In 1914 she moved to Vienna. She had style and great technical proficiency, especially in coloratura.

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ELIZABETH FORBES

Orger, Caroline. *See* REINAGLE family, (6).

Orgiani, Teofilo (*b* Vicenza, *c*1650; *d* Vicenza, Dec 1725). Italian composer and priest. Having received his musical training in Vicenza, he spent the 1680s in the service of Torrismondo della Torre, Count of Duino (Trieste), to whom he dedicated *Il Dioclete* (1687). On 24 August 1688, and with the count's assistance, he became a *mansionario* at Aquileia Cathedral, retaining this position until 4 April 1692. He was elected *maestro di cappella* of Udine Cathedral on 14 July 1690 and, a few days later, singing master to the girls at the *Hospital di S Maria della Misericordia*, Udine. In December 1692 the Aquileia Cathedral chapter requested the repayment of 100 ducats he had had several years earlier for the acquisition of an organ. He made several journeys away from Udine, including three months at the beginning of 1692 'for matters of great urgency', and in August 1696 he was called to the imperial court at Vienna. He was not always given formal permission to travel, and in July 1704 he was strongly criticized by the chapter for his absences and for the negligence with which he had attended to his duties. In 1703 he renounced the post of *maestro di cappella* offered to him at Il Santo in Padua. On 14 December 1711 he left Udine for the last time, and three days later took up the direction of the chapel of Vicenza Cathedral, a post he retained until his death, along with other musical duties in the city.

WORKS

OPERAS

all music is lost

Eliogabalo (A. Aureli, G.B. Pochettini), Bologna, Formagliari, 1671
Il vitio depresso e la virtù coronata (Aureli), Venice, S Angelo, 24 Nov 1686
Il Dioclete (A. Rossini), Venice, S Angelo, 18 Jan 1687
Le gare dell'Inganno e dell'Amore (P.E. Badi), Venice, S Moisè, 1689
Il tiranno deluso, Vicenza, Novissimo di Piazza, 1691 [rev. of Il Roderico (G.B. Bottalino), Pavia, 1684; only new arias by Orgiani]
Li amori e incanti d'Armida con Rinaldo, Treviso, aut. 1698
Li avenimenti di Rinaldo con Armida, Udine, Mantica, 18 Dec 1698
La maga trionfante, Este, Novo Teatro, 1 Oct 1700 (pubd Venice)
L'honor al cimento (G. Colatelli), Venice, S Fantino, 1703
La fedeltà nell'amore, Vicenza, Nuovo, 1707
Le vicende d'amore, Brescia, 1707, mentioned by Guerrini
Armida regina di Damasco (G. Colatelli), Verona, aut. 1711
Euridice (D. Lalli), Padua, Obizzi, 1712

SACRED

Admirabilis est nomen tuum, 3vv, bc, *I-VId*
Exaltate regem regum, 3vv, org, *VId*
Jesus decus Angelicum, 4vv, bc, *VId*
Te gloriosus Apostolorum Chorus, 3vv, *VId*
Cantate per l'academia fatta . . . al sig. Lazaro Foscarini luogotenente (Udine, 1706), music lost, lib *UDc*

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AllacciD; DEUMM; EitnerQ; FétisB; GerberL; RicordiE; SartoriL; SchmidlD; StiegerO
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FRANCO COLUSSI

Orgitano. Italian family of composers.

(1) **Vincenzo Orgitano** (*d* Naples, after 1814; *fl* 1759–1805). Composer. He started his career as a composer of comic operas, writing *Il finto pastorello* on a libretto by Antonio Palomba for Naples (1759) and *La*

pazzie per amore for Rome (1761). He then became active as a harpsichordist and teacher in circles of the nobility. The Orgitano whom Burney heard perform on the harpsichord in Naples in 1770, and called 'one of the best players and writers for that instrument here', must have been Vincenzo (and not his brother (2) Paolo Orgitano as has been assumed). According to Burney, he went to London in 1771 and worked at the King's Theatre. About 1779 he became music master to Maria Teresa and Maria Louisa, daughters of King Ferdinand of Naples. On 9 August 1782 he was appointed *maestro di cappella soprannumerario* of the royal chapel in Naples, succeeding Cafaro as *primo maestro* on 29 October 1787. He also continued to serve Princess Maria Teresa until her marriage to Franz II of Austria in 1790, as appears from numerous dated chamber works dedicated to her, particularly accompanied piano sonatas. In 1805 he retired from his post as chapel master with a royal pension: on 19 July 1815, after the end of the French rule of Naples (1806–15) and with King Ferdinand's return to power, he petitioned in vain for reinstatement.

With over 120 extant instrumental works, most with opus numbers and dedicated to Princess Maria Teresa, Vincenzo Orgitano must be regarded as the most prolific Neapolitan composer of instrumental music of the last quarter of the 18th century. Typically he favours works in two movements, with the first in various types of sonata form, the second almost invariably in rondo form. In the accompanied sonatas the treatment of the violin ranges from mere duplication of keyboard lines to almost equal partnership. Stylistically his piano music for Maria Teresa represents the 'classical' phase of the *galant* style in Italy.

WORKS

VOCAL

Il finto pastorello (ob, A. Palomba), Naples, Nuovo, spr. 1759; lib, *I-Bc, Nc*
Le pazzie per amore (farsa), Rome, Argentina, carn. 1761; 1 duet *US-AUS*; lib, *I-Bc, MAC*
Sacred: TeD, 4vv, 1787, *Fc, Mc*; Litania pastorale, 4vv, 1791, *Mc**; Requiem, *A-Wn*; Stabat mater, 2–4vv, *I-Nc*; 2 Tantum ergo, S, vns, b, 1803, *Mc**; Qui tollis, 5vv, *Mc*; 4 sacred It. arias, *Mc*

INSTRUMENTAL

MSS in A-Wn unless otherwise stated

Sinfonias: 3 with 2 *lire organizzate*, 1786; 6, ?1786–7
Trios (pf, vn, vc): 6 as op.19, 14 April 1783; 3 as op.24, Feb 1784; 3 as op.25, May 1784
String trios (with bc): 6 for vn, va, vc, 1783; 6 for 2 vn, vc, op.27, 28 Aug 1784
Sonatas (pf, vn obbl): 6, *I-Nc*; 6, *F-Pc* (attrib. 'Orgitano'); 6 Duets, op.17 (London, n.d.); 6 as op.18, ?1782–3; 3 as op.26, May 1784, 3 as op.29, ?1784–5; 6 as op.35, 1785; 3 as op.39, 1786; 3 as op.48, 1788; 3 as op.51, 1789; 3 as op.53, 1789; 3 as op.54, 1789; Sonata pastorale, op.55, ?1789–90; 3 as op.14, 19 Aug 1794, *I-Mc*; 6, *Mc*; Pastorale, ?1803
Pf solo: 6 divertimentos, op.28, 7 Sept 1784; 3 sonatas, 2 pf, op.52, 1789; 6 divertimentos, op.57, ?1790
Other kbd (all *I-Nc*, attrib. 'Orgitano'): 10 sonata movts; Toccata, G; Sonata, C

(2) Paolo Orgitano (*b* Naples, *c*1740; *d* Naples, May 1796). Keyboard player and composer, brother of (1) Vincenzo Orgitano. On 9 November 1776 he was appointed to the royal chapel in Naples as substitute for the second organist Niccolò Piccinni. He also became *maestro di cappella straordinario* at the Cappella del Tesoro in Naples Cathedral in 1777. On 2 December 1779 he became first organist of the royal chapel, a post he held until his death. In older literature certain aspects of his brother (1) Vincenzo's life have been attributed to Paolo. A few compositions by Paolo are extant, including a sinfonia (in *I-Mc*), two arias and a cantata performed at S Carlo for the king's birthday, 12 January 1773 (all in *I-Nc*). He also composed sacred cantatas for the celebrations of the translation of the blood of St Januarius in Naples on 1 May 1779 (in *I-Vgc*) and 7 May 1785, and *Il trionfo della fede*, 7 May 1791 (in *I-Nn*).

(3) Raffaele Orgitano (*b* Naples, *c*1770; *d* ?Paris, 1812). Composer, son of (1) Vincenzo Orgitano. He studied under Sala at the Conservatorio di S Maria della Pietà dei Turchini in Naples. In 1790 he joined the Cappella del Tesoro as *maestro di cappella straordinario* and on 20 July 1791 was appointed *organista soprannumerario* of the royal chapel. In 1800 he was in Palermo, where the royal family had taken refuge from the 1799 Revolution in Naples. Between 1800 and 1802 he composed several highly successful comic operas for Venice, Rome and Naples which were also performed in other cities. He then moved to Paris, but was unable to establish himself as a composer there. Two of his operas, *Non credere alle apparenze* (Venice, 1801) and *Amore ed interesse* (Naples, 1802), remained popular for over a decade and were staged by various theatres throughout Italy.

WORKS

OPERAS

Non credere alle apparenze, ossia L'amore intraprendente (farsa, G. Foppa), Venice, S Moisè, 10 Oct 1801, *GB-Lam, I-Fc, Mr, Vnm*
Adelaide e Tebaldo (ob, G. Rossi), Venice, S Benedetto, 27 Dec 1801
Gli amanti al cimento (dg, M. Prunetti), Rome, Valle, carn. 1802, lib *Bc*
Amore ed interesse, ossia L'infermo ad arte (farsa, G. Palomba), Naples, Fiorentini, aut. 1802, *A-Wn* [Act 1], *I-Fc, Nc, PAc*
Arsinoe (op teatrale), Naples, *Nc*
Miscellaneous opera excerpts: *A-Wn, I-Bc, Fc, Mc, Nc, Vnm*

SACRED

La Passione di Gesù Cristo (cant), 3vv, Naples, 1797, *Nc**
Il voto di Jefte (dramma sacro, F. Gonella), Florence, Pergola, Lent 1802, *Fc*
A renderci beati, hymn, solo vv, 8vv, insts, *A-Wn, F-Pc*

Two other Orgitanos, probably relatives, served the royal chapel in this period, both as supernumerary organists. Ignazio Orgitano was appointed on 18 February 1788 and Francesco Orgitano on 8 November 1796. Several works by Francesco survive, including two cantatas, *Perseo in Libia* (in *A-Wn*), composed by 1790, and *Oreste agitato dalle furie* (autograph in *I-Nc*), dated 1804, a Credo and an aria (both in *Nc*). With some manuscripts carrying only the family surname, attribution is often difficult.

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HANNS-BERTOLD DIETZ

Orgonasova, Luba (*b* Bratislava, 22 Jan 1961). Slovak soprano. After studies at the Bratislava Conservatory and a period (from 1979) as soloist at the Slovak National Theatre in Bratislava, she moved to Germany in 1983 and became a member of the Pfalztheater in Kaiserslautern and, later, the Stadttheater in Hagen. Mozart roles

featured in her wide repertory here, and even more so after she appeared at the Vienna Volksoper in 1988 as Donna Anna and Pamina. She repeated Pamina at both Aix-en-Provence and the Vienna Staatsoper in 1989, made her Salzburg début in 1990 as Marzelline (*Fidelio*), and sang Konstanze (the role of her Paris début) around Europe, recording the part to acclaim with John Eliot Gardiner. Orgonasova first appeared at Covent Garden in 1993 as Aspasia (*Mitridate*), and her other Mozart parts include Ilia, Fiordiligi and Giunia (*Lucio Silla*). Her operatic repertory has also embraced Agathe, Offenbach's Giulietta, Amina (*La sonnambula*), Lucia, Gilda, Violetta, Luisa Miller, Mimì and Liù, Gounod's Marguerite, Micaëla, Antonia and Sophie, and Stravinsky's Nightingale. Her first Handel role (Alcina in Barcelona, 1999) and subsequent performances in concert as Armida in *Rinaldo* (a role she has also recorded) showed off the pearly sheen and focussed brilliance of her coloratura. Outstanding among her non-operatic recordings are Haydn's 'Nelson' Mass, Beethoven's *Missa solemnis*, Rossini's *Stabat mater* and Britten's *War Requiem*.

JOHN ALLISON

Orgue à manivelle [de Barbarie] (Fr.). *See* BARREL ORGAN.

Orgue de chambre [orgue de salon] (Fr.). *See* CHAMBER ORGAN.

Orgue expressif (Fr.). An organ containing free-reed pipes with resonators, a precursor of the REED ORGAN. It was exhibited in Paris by G.-J. Grenié in 1810. Its double bellows and reservoir system permitted dynamic variations through control of wind pressure by the player's feet on blowing treadles. The term 'orgue expressif' was later applied to any French harmonium having this kind of expression capability.

Orgue hydraulique (Fr.). *See* WATER ORGAN.

Ó Riada, Seán [Reidy, John] (*b* Cork, 1 Aug 1931; *d* London, 3 Oct 1971). Irish composer. He was educated by the Christian Brothers at Adare, County Limerick, and at University College, Cork, where he read classics and then music (BMus 1952). He also studied music with Aloys Fleischmann (senior), to whose memory he dedicated a short song-cycle in 1964. In 1953 he was appointed assistant director of music at Radio Éireann, and in the same year he married Ruth Coghlan, with whom he was to have seven children. After a brief spell in Paris in 1955, where he performed as a pianist and came under the influence of Messiaen and his circle, he was appointed director of music at the Abbey Theatre (1955–62). During the Dublin Theatre Festival of 1961, Ó Riada presented Ceoltóirí Cualann – his ensemble of traditional Irish instrumentalists, singers and harpsichord – for the first time. From 1963 until 1971 he held the Cork Corporation Lectureship in Music at University College, Cork.

Throughout his career, Ó Riada explored almost every medium of musical life in Ireland: radio, television, theatre and film, concert hall, church and a host of domestic settings. At first, he entered a decisive claim for the significance of an emancipated art music in modern Ireland; he later abandoned this claim in a crisis, personal and professional, through which composition became for him a marginal activity. In his symphonic essays, his music for film and in his cultivation of an original ensemble of instruments for the traditional repertory, he meditated on the question of voice and style in Irish music to the extent that each overlapping phase of his compositional development undermined its predecessor. The early compositions, including *Nomos no.1* (*Hercules dux Ferrariae*) and *Nomos no.2*, signify a preoccupation with art music in the European tradition that is wholly removed from the traditional repertory which was to dominate Ó Riada's later career. These works (and the six *Nomoi* as a whole) suggest the influence of the Irish composer Frederick May whose *Songs From Prison* (1958) establishes an unmistakable precedent for the second *Nomos* in its scoring and language. In both works, the sensibility and technique of European modernism leave the anxiety of local influences far behind. Ó Riada's manipulation of variation technique and modified serialism is especially adept, not withstanding the somewhat bombastic premise of the second *Nomos*, which glosses the history of Western music *in toto*.

In the second phase of his career, he committed himself with extraordinary vehemence to a project which he just as vehemently was to reject in turn. In the film scores *Mise Éire* (1959), *Saoirse?* (1960) and *An Tine Bheo* (1966), he sought to reconcile the 'heritage' of Irish folk music with 'the idiom of an Irish symphonic period that had never happened' (Marcus). Although *Mise Éire* in particular earned the composer a degree of fame hitherto unequalled by an Irish composer in the 20th century, the cultural values which it celebrated were later to be eclipsed by the crisis in Northern Ireland which erupted in 1970. Indeed Ó Riada had already felt himself 'overexposed' to the portrayal of Irish independence which he had been expected to glorify in *An Tine Bheo*. By this time, he had firmly repudiated, too, any notion of reconciliation between the European (art) and Irish (ethnic) traditions in a series of lectures broadcast as *Our Musical Heritage*; he pronounced the second *Nomos* of 1965 as his farewell to European art music. Having exchanged 'John Reidy' for 'Seán Ó Riada', the English language for Irish and European art music for Irish 'traditional' music, he completed this transformation with the exchange of orchestral resources for Ceoltóirí Cualann, an ensemble of virtuoso traditional musicians led by Ó Riada himself. The film scores notwithstanding, his creative energies were devoted in the main to this ensemble during the mid- to late 1960s.

Ó Riada's increasing interest in the music of Carolan towards the end of the decade coincided with his waning commitment to Ceoltóirí Cualann (he announced that the ensemble was to disband in 1969). Although he continued to work with traditional Irish musicians, in performances of liturgical as well as secular music, his last recordings suggest a final attempt to create an inherently Irish art music. The harpsichord improvizations on *Ó Riada's Farewell*, however, are the work of a broken man. Given that he showed the promise of becoming the first Irish composer of truly international significance, Ó Riada's failure as an artist – aggravated by the plaudits of a cultural elite indifferent to European music – was especially tragic. The crisis which he endured was twofold: his own health could not withstand the chaotic plurality of his lifestyle which in turn reflected an abiding unease as to his status and development as a creative artist; although he was the only composer of his generation to be championed as a national figure, his success was inexorably wedded to his brilliant re-deployments of Irish

folk music. The difficulties which he confronted have continued to affect Irish music to the present day.

WORKS
(*selective list*)

Stage: Spailpín, a rúin (play with music), 1960
Film scores: Mise Éire, 1959; Saoirse?, 1960; An Tine Bheo, 1966
Orch: Olynthiac, ov., 1955; The Banks of Sullane, sym. essay, 1956; Nomos no.1 'Hercules dux Ferrariae', 1957; Nomos no.4, pf, orch, 1957–8; Aspects of Irish Traditional Music, 1959; Seoladh na nGamhan [Herding the calves], sym. essay, 1959; Triptyque pour Orchestre, 1960; Nomos no.6, 1967
Other inst: 8 Short Preludes, pf, 1953; Nomos no.3, fl, vn, bn, 1962
Choral: 5 Epigrams from the Greek Anthology, SATB, fl, gui, 1958; The Lords and the Bards (R. Farren), solo vv, reciters, chorus, orch, 1959; Nomos no.2 (Sophocles, trans. E. Watling), Bar, chorus, orch, 1965 [from work for Bar, hpd, 1958]; Requiem for a Soldier, S, T, Bar, chorus, org, 1968
Solo vocal (1v, pf unless otherwise stated): 3 Poems by Thomas Kinsella, 1954; Nomos no.2, Bar, hpd, 1958; In Memoriam Aloys G. Fleischmann (F. Hölderlin), song cycle, 1964; Hill Field (J. Montague), 1965; Sekundezeiger (H. Arp), 1966; Lovers on Aran (S. Heaney), 1968; Mná na hÉireann (P. ó Doirnín), 1968; Serenade, Bar, fl, ob, bn, hn, side drum
Other works incl. many arrs. of Irish folk music, 2 masses, Requiem, incid scores for stage works produced at the Abbey Theatre, Dublin, chamber, pf and hpd pieces

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HARRY WHITE

Oridryus [Orideyns, Oridijrus, Oudryns, van Bergijk], **Johannes** (*b* ?Bergeijk, *c*1510–20; *d* after 1589). Dutch teacher, publisher and music theorist. The classical courtesy-form of his name, Oridryus, is a pun on his probable birthplace, Bergeijk; both names mean mountain-oak, in Greek and Dutch respectively, and his printer's mark was an oak on a knoll. He may have been related to Arnold van Bergheyk (*d* ?1533) or to the Eyck family of Brussels. He was headmaster of the grammar school at Amersfoort in the Netherlands probably from 1542 to 1550. In 1550 he was charged with heresy and was ordered by Charles V to leave the city. He is next heard of as being at the Gymnasium Illustre in Düsseldorf from 1556 to 1572 and according to his *Practicae musicae utriusque praecepta brevia* (Düsseldorf, 1557) he was a teacher there. At this time he set up a printing business there with Albert Buys, his brother-in-law. From 1572 to about 1582 he was head of the Schola Christiana et Reformata at Wesel in the Lower Rhineland; the account books refer to him in 1584–9 as the 'alder Rector' (old headmaster); he probably died shortly after this date.

Oridryus's *Practicae musicae* is his only known work. It comprises the rudiments of *musica plana* and *musica figurata* and provides vital evidence about music teaching in 16th-century schools. For didactic purposes he included many rules and musical examples. In the organization and style of the work it is possible to recognize the influence of such contemporary theorists as Burchardi, Rhau, Ornithoparchus, Spangenberg, Listenius, Heinrich Faber, Gregor Faber and Finck. The classification into *musica theorica*, *practica* and *poetica* is a feature common to the works of most of these men and it recurs in the writings of Lossius, Wilfflingseder and Eichmann. (R. Federhofer-Königs: *Johannes Oridryus und sein Musiktraktat, Düsseldorf, 1557, Cologne, 1957*)

RENATE FEDERHOFER-KÖNIGS

Orientalism. In its strict sense, the dialects of musical EXOTICISM within Western art music that evoke the East or the orient; the latter is generally taken to mean either the Islamic Middle East (e.g. North Africa, Turkey, Arabia, Persia), or East and South Asia (the Far East, e.g. India, Indochina, China, Japan), or all of these together. Broader and more varied uses of the term are discussed at the end of the article.

Orientalism in music first flourished in various operas of the 17th and 18th centuries with Turkish or Chinese settings, notably Mozart's *Die Entführung aus dem Serail* (1782; *see* TURCA, ALLA). In the 19th and early 20th centuries, the Middle East became a prime target for the colonization efforts of the Western powers and, accordingly, a much-favoured locale in which to set operas and other musical works. Various standard 'Middle Eastern' musical gestures were first established in the popular *Le désert* of the French composer Félicien David, who had lived in Egypt for two years, and then exploited by other composers, such as Bizet (*Les pêcheurs de perles*), Verdi (*Aida*), Massenet (*Thaïs*; see illustration); and Richard Strauss (*Salome*). The 'Middle East' was also a favoured setting for ballets (*La source*, with music by Delibes and Minkus) and modern-dance works (e.g. by Ruth St Denis). Many successful works were also set in East Asia, notably Puccini's *Madama Butterfly* and *Turandot*.

Works set in the Middle and Far East are often placed in ancient times or portray 'timeless' rituals; temporal displacements heightened the sense of escapism and also avoided the risk of having an opera comment in too parochial or potentially uncomfortable a manner on current political or imperial realities. Social ideology was nonetheless strongly conveyed, not least through what might be called the archetypal orientalist opera plot: a Western male becomes romantically involved with a local female, who is portrayed as sexually inviting and thereby at once attractive and threatening. (Bizet's *Carmen* played this story out on European soil; dark-skinned gypsies were understood to have migrated from vaguely eastern regions such as Egypt or India.) How such love relationships were worked out in the course of the opera depended on attitudes at the time towards the possible mingling or



Poster by Manuel Orazi for Massenet's 'Thaïs', Paris Opéra, 1894

inherent incompatibility of different 'races' (see Parakilas, 1993–4).

Russians and Poles showed a special fascination with relatively nearby (to them) portions of the 'greater Middle East', for example Central Asia (Borodin's *Prince Igor*) or the Arabian penisular or Persia (Rimsky-Korsakov's *Sheherazade*; Szymanowski's Symphony no.3 'Piesn o nocy', 'Song of the Night').

The similarities between musical works about the Middle Eastern 'orient' and travel journals or other literary works describing the region (see Hunter, 1997) or between music and orientalist painting (for example Ingres and Gérôme; see Locke, 1991) are particularly striking. The stereotyped characters seen in these writings and paintings, including the (male) tyrant or Muslim fanatic and the seductive *almée* (dancing woman), find repeated echoes in musical works, for example in Beethoven's *Die Ruinen von Athen* (with its Turkish March and Chorus of Dervishes) and in Saint-Saëns's *Samson et Dalila* and Strauss's *Salome*, each of which features an extended dance that alternates sultry languor and violent pounding.

As a more general term within musical and other writing, 'orientalism' can carry a variety of meanings. The noun 'orientalist' is the traditional label for a scholar of Middle Eastern languages, culture and archeology; but the term 'orientalism' (and the adjective 'orientalist') have frequently been applied (since Said, 1978) to the entire imperialist system that in the past few centuries has defined, ruled or 'spoken for' the Middle East. The diverse manifestations of orientalism are now defined to include not just scholarly treatises but also Western colonial regulations, journalistic writings, school textbooks, travel posters, poetry, paintings and operas. Most recently, the term has been used to refer to European or European-derived attitudes towards any other culture, not just one located in North Africa or Asia. Lipsitz, for example, speaks of Paul Simon's and David Byrne's 'orientalist' fascination with the musics of sub-Saharan Africa or the Caribbean; Kramer does the same for Ravel's evocation of ancient Greece (the very cradle of Western civilization) in *Daphnis et Chloé*. In such writings, the term sometimes becomes a near-synonym for 'exoticist'.

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RALPH P. LOCKE

Original Dixieland Jazz [Jass] **Band** [ODJB], **the.** American jazz band. Its original members, all from New Orleans, were Nick LaRocca (1889–1961; leader and cornet), Larry Shields (1893–1953; clarinet), Eddie Edwards (1891–1963; trombone), Tony Sbarbaro (1897–1969; drums) and Henry Ragas (1891–1919; piano, later replaced by J. Russel Robinson). After playing in Chicago in 1916 the five musicians moved to New York, where they enjoyed sensational receptions during their residency at Reisenweber's Restaurant from January 1917. During the same year the group became the first jazz band to make phonograph recordings. In the mid-1920s, when the vogue for jazz dancing temporarily subsided, the group disbanded; it re-formed in 1936, but the reunion was brief and only moderately successful.

No member of the Original Dixieland Jazz Band was particularly talented as an improviser, and the group's phrasing was rhythmically stilted; but even so, its collective vigour had an infectious spirit. When black jazz bands began to record regularly it soon became apparent that many of them were more adept at jazz improvising and phrasing than was the Original Dixieland Jazz Band. Detractors of the band maintain that it merely simplified the music of black New Orleans groups, and cite specific antecedents for its compositions *Tiger Rag* and *Sensation Rag* (both 1918, Vic.). Casual listeners were intrigued by its repertory, however, which was unlike anything else then on record. The group presented a new sound rather than a new music; this sound, and the rhythms in which it was couched, appealed to young dancers, who were eager to break away from the rigidly formal dance steps of the era.

The most passionate advocate of the Original Dixieland Jazz Band's importance to jazz history was LaRocca himself, who never ceased claiming that his group had played a vital role in the 'invention' of jazz in New Orleans during the early years of the 20th century. The fact that there is no evidence to support LaRocca's contention has caused many jazz devotees to ignore the merits of the band's music. But it is indisputable that the group played a major part in popularizing the dixieland style of jazz throughout the USA and Europe.

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JOHN CHILTON

Orinaga, Joaquín de. *See* OXINAGA, JOAQUÍN DE.

Oriola, Pietro [Orihuela, Pedro de; Pere] (*b* Valencia; *fl* *c*1440–1484). Spanish composer. He was a singer at the court of Alfonso V of Aragon in Naples, where his presence is first recorded in November 1441. His name reappears in the surviving registers for 1444 and 1455, and he was still living in the city in 1470, when he wrote two letters to Ludovico III Gonzaga, Marquis of Mantua. He is almost certainly identifiable with the Pedro de Orihuela, native of Valencia, who was appointed a singer and chaplain in the chapel of King Ferdinand of Aragon in October 1484, but his name does not appear in the household accounts thereafter, and he may have died at about that time.

The manuscript *I-MC* 871, which contains repertory from the Neapolitan court, has two works attributed to Oriola (both ed. in Pope and Kanazawa): a four-voice setting of the psalm *In exitu Israel de Egypto* in *fabordón* style, and *O vos homines qui transitis*, a parody, in the manner of a courtly love poem, of the antiphon sung on Holy Saturday; the ornamented melody of this work bears no relation to the Roman plainchant. The text is also included in an anthology of poets active at the court (*F-Pn* f.it.1035). Two more songs, *Trista che spera morendo* and a textless piece, are attibuted to Oriola in *I-PEc* 431. Both are for three voices; the textless work (ed. in Atlas) appears to be in the form of a canción with a five-line *estribillo*, and uses imitation fairly consistently in the two upper voices.

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ISABEL POPE/TESS KNIGHTON

Oriscus (? from Gk. *horos*: 'limit', or *ōriskos*: 'little hill'). In Western chant notations a special neume signifying one note. It is usually found added to another neume as an auxiliary note (? forming its 'limit'), perhaps rising to anticipate the succeeding note (hence the second possible derivation of the name). It is not clear how the *oriscus* should be performed. Wagner believed that intervals of less than a semitone were involved; but in the Dijon tonary (*F-MOf* H.159), although special signs possibly signifying quartertone steps are used, they are not used to represent the *oriscus*. For Cardine it implied 'tension vers la note suivante'. The *oriscus* is the central element in the SALICUS and the PRESSUS; added before a VIRGA it gives rise to the *pes* QUASSUS; added after a *virga* it gives rise to

a VIRGA STRATA or *gutturalis*. (For illustration *see* NOTATION, §III, 1, Table 1.)

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Oristagno, Giulio d' (*b* Trapani, Sicily, 1543; *d* Palermo, Dec 1623). Italian composer. According to Di Ferro he studied in Palermo at an early age; he spent the rest of his career there and on 7 June 1574 was appointed temporary fife player to the senate. His position, which he held until 21 March 1586, was made permanent on 29 July 1581. The dedication of the now lost *Primo libro de madrigali a sei voci* (Venice, 1586; *MischiatiI*; *JoãoIL*) stated that he was then *maestro di cappella* of the Accademia degli Uniti in Palermo. On 31 August 1593 he was appointed, by viceregal decree back-dated to 3 April, organist to the royal Palatine chapel, a post he held until his death.

Oristagno's *Primo libro de madrigali a cinque voci* (Venice, 1588), his only complete surviving publication, closes with an *Airo* [*sic*] *sopra il pass'e mezo* and a ten-voice echo madrigal. The style is characterized, as in the music of Pietro Vinci, by continuous variations of mode and final. But Oristagno's melodies are shorter-breathed than Vinci's and are often broken up into short motifs that can assume thematic importance, as, for example, in *Amatemi ben mio*. Of a volume of four-part sacred music, *Responsoria nativitatis et epiphaniae Domini* (Palermo, 1602) only the cantus part survives (S Paul Cathedral, Malta, see Ficola). The lost anthology *Infidi lumi* (Venice, 1603) also contained one madrigal by Oristagno.

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Orkes. A term (from the Dut. *orkest*: 'orchestra') used throughout Indonesia and parts of Malaysia for a variety of relatively recent instrumental groups. It is most common in Minahasa, North Sulawesi, where it refers to any kind of instrumental ensemble. The *orkes bambu melalu* or *orkes bambu suling* comprises about 12 to 20 *suling* (bamboo flutes) and trumpets. It has become known as a national Indonesian ensemble under the name 'Musik bambu'. Similar ensembles are called *pompang* in Ambon, Maluku, and *bas-suling* in the Toraja area of Central Sulawesi. The *orkes bambu seng* consists of about 20 bamboo and zinc flutes and trumpets. Other ensembles found in Minahasa include the *orkes bia*, an ensemble of about 20 conch-shell trumpets of various sizes, which have holes pierced in the shells to control pitch and volume; *orkes kolintang*, an orchestra of xylophones; *orkes oli*, comprising two *oli* (jew's harps), one *arababu* (fiddle), two *sasahaeng* (bamboo idiophone-aerophones) and two *bansi* (duct flutes); and the *orkes papurungan*, an ensemble consisting of *bia*, *rebana* (frame drum) or *gendang* (double-headed cylindrical drum), *kolintang*, *bansi* and six sizes of *momongan* (gong). In the Ngada area of Flores and on Lembata island, the *orkes suling* consists of at least 40 bamboo ring flutes in six sizes and two drums.

Ensembles are often used on specific occasions such as accompanying theatre performances, festive occasions and weddings. Theatre ensembles include the *orkes Abdul Muluk*, which accompanies Abdul Muluk theatre shows on the South Sumatra and Jambi coasts, and the *orkes lenong*, which accompanies all-night *lenong* theatre performances in Jakarta, Java.

The *orkes penggual* of the Karo area of North Sumatra is used to accompany festive outdoor occasions, such as Independence Day celebrations. It consists of one large *sarune* (oboe) or *biola*, two *gung* (gongs), of which one is a *gung penganak* (small gong), two *gendang Melayu* (double-headed Malay drums) and a singer. It plays mostly popular Karo or Malay songs, often to accompany the Karo version of the Malay *ronggeng* dance as it is practised on the east coast of North Sumatra. The *orkes gambus* is found in Muslim areas of Malaysia and Indonesia, including the northern coast of Java and the coast of West Sumatra. It consists of *gambus* (lute), other string instruments, percussion and vocalists. The repertory consists of religious and love songs which generally show Middle Eastern influence.

The *orkes Melayu* plays harmonic music developed in the past few centuries in Malay-speaking coastal areas of Indonesia and Malaysia. It is also often referred to as *dangdut* (*see* INDONESIA, §VIII, 1) after the most common sound pattern of one of its drums; other recently developed ensembles include the *orkes talempong* of Padang Panjang, West Sumatra, a large modern orchestra mainly of bronze instruments, which was specially created for the academy and conservatory there.

MARGARET J. KARTOMI

Orkest van de Achttiende Eeuw [Orchestra of the Eighteenth Century]. Orchestra based in Amsterdam, founded in 1981 by Frans Brüggen. *See* AMSTERDAM, §3.

Orlandi, Camillo (*b* Verona; *fl* 1616). Italian composer and musician. In 1616 he was a musician in the service of the Archbishop of Salzburg, Markus Sittikus, a devotee of the latest Italian music. The only surviving music certainly by him, *Arie* op.2, for one to three voices (Venice, 1616), is of this sort. Nearly half the book is taken up with two long dialogues for three characters, conducted almost entirely in recitative seemingly influenced by early operatic music but generally of no great distinction; yet one passage in *Hor già che 'l cielo* is strikingly reminiscent of Peri at his best (Whenham, i, 195). The rest of the volume consists of eight monodies and six duets, in the form of

either the madrigal or the strophic aria, the latter including strophic variations. Again the music, except for some sturdy bass lines, lacks interest. Three sets of strophic variations are built on the same bass, giving a total of 13 stanzas over it. After the first ten bars the bass of the trio that ends the second dialogue is not written out: the implication is that the piece is founded on a ground bass.

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NIGEL FORTUNE

Orlandi [Orland, Orlando], **Ferdinando** (*b* Parma, 7 Oct 1774; *d* Parma, 5 Jan 1848). Italian composer. He learnt the first elements of music from Gaspare Rugarli, organist at Colorno, a small town near Parma. He continued his studies at Parma under Gaspare Ghiretti and Paer, and later in Naples at the Conservatorio di S Maria della Pietà dei Turchini in 1793–9 under Sala and Tritto. In 1800 he was summoned back to Parma to a post in the ducal chapel, and he produced his first opera, *La pupilla scozzese*, at the Teatro Ducale. Between 1806 and 1822 he taught singing in Milan, firstly in the Reale Casa dei Paggi, then from 1814, as a result of the success of his operas at La Scala, at the conservatory. He also taught with great success in Munich (1822–3) and Stuttgart (1823–8). He returned to his native city of Parma, where he assumed the post of honorary *maestro di cappella* at the court and director of the school of singing of the Teatro Ducale from 1834 until his death. Orlandi composed 25 operas between 1800 and 1820, which show him as a facile melodist and imitator of the typical forms of 18th-century opera; he also wrote church music, chamber music and cantatas.

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25 ops, incl.: La pupilla scozzese (L. Da Ponte), Parma, Ducale, carn. 1801; Il podestà di Chioggia (dg, A. Anelli), Milan, Scala, 12 March 1801, *B-Bc*, *I-Fc*; Il fiore, ossia Il matrimonio per svenimento (farsa giocosa, 2, G.M. Foppa), Venice, S Benedetto, 20 Sept 1803; Le nozze chimeriche (A. Locrence), Milan, Carcano, 27 Nov 1804, as Le nozze poetiche, Genoa, 1805; I raggiri amorosi, Milan, Scala, 30 May 1806; La donna [dama] soldato (melodramma giocoso, 2, C. Mazzolà), Milan, Scala, 20 Sept 1808, *D-DS*, *I-Fc*, *Nc*, *US-Wc*, 1 aria (Munich, ?1810); Il cicisbeo burlato (dg, Anelli), Milan, Scala, 2 May 1812; Il quid pro quo (melodramma comico, G. Rossi), Milan, S Radegonda, 1812
Sacred music, incl. 4 masses, motets, pss

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GIOVANNI CARLI BALLOLA/ROBERTA MONTEMORRA MARVIN

Orlandi, Santi (*d* Mantua, 1619). Italian composer. He was employed in at least May and September 1596 at S Maria Novella, Florence. His next known appointment was as *maestro di cappella* in the household of Prince Ferdinando Gonzaga at Florence. In 1608, when Ferdinando was created a cardinal by Pope Paul V, he followed him to Rome. On the death of Duke Vincenzo Gonzaga I in February 1612, Ferdinando's brother Francesco succeeded to the duchy of Mantua, and he appointed Orlandi temporarily to the post of *maestro della musica* from which he had dismissed Monteverdi. Orlandi was recalled to Rome by Cardinal Ferdinando in October 1612, but on 22 December Duke Francesco II died, and the cardinal became duke. Orlandi seems to have spent the rest of his life in his service at Mantua. He may have been employed as a singer at S Pietro there; a list of singers in a partbook (in *I-Mc*) refers to a tenor by the name of Orlandi from S Pietro. He published five volumes of five-part madrigals. The first, third and fifth, none of which survives complete, appeared in Venice in 1602, 1605 and 1609 respectively. The other two books are effectively lost. The fourth may have been published in Venice in 1607; the only surviving (bass) partbook is fragmentary. One six-part madrigal by him survives (in RISM 1613[10]). He also composed an opera, *Gli amori di Aci e Galatea*, which was performed at Mantua in March 1617 as part of the festivities celebrating Duke Ferdinando's marriage to Caterina de' Medici; this is also the first opera known to have been performed in Poland (in 1628). The libretto was by Chiabrera; the music is lost. Bonini surveyed the history of composition between the time of Willaert and about 1645, and divided composers into three 'orders': Orlandi he placed in the third, together with Monteverdi, Filippo Vitali and others, and recommended his works as models.

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IAIN FENLON

Orlandini, Giuseppe Maria (*b* Florence, 4 April 1676; *d* Florence, 24 Oct 1760). Italian composer. His early years appear to have been spent in Florence; oratorio librettos of 1711 and 1712 claim for him the title of *maestro di cappella* of Prince Giovanni Gastone of Tuscany. In 1719 he was made a member of the Accademia Filarmonica of Bologna. His name figures on the title-page of Benedetto Marcello's *Il teatro alla moda* (*c*1720), so it must have been well known to Venetian opera audiences of that time. Between 1717 and 1731 he resided principally in Bologna. When Giovanni Gastone succeeded his father as Grand Duke of Tuscany in 1723, Orlandini continued to style himself *maestro di cappella* to that sovereign, although he was not confirmed in this position until April 1732. In the same month he was named *maestro di cappella* of Florence Cathedral. Since all his serious operas after this date were first performed in Florence, it may be assumed that Orlandini remained in his native city after that year. During the 1730s he served as resident composer at the Florentine Teatro della Pergola, functioning as impresario during the 1722 and 1751 seasons. From 1734 to 1757 he carried out, in addition, the duties of *maestro* at S Michele Berteldi in Florence.

The large number and wide spread of performances of his operas confirm the opinions of Burney, La Borde, Martini and Quadrio that Orlandini was highly celebrated as a composer of dramatic music. He was best known for his comic intermezzos, in which genre his importance almost certainly outweighs that of Pergolesi. Indeed, Orlandini's *Bacocco e Serpilla* (under various titles and with added music by various composers) appears to have been the most frequently performed piece of musical

drama in the entire 18th century. His fashionable and forward-looking operatic style can be seen as early as *Antigona* (1718), in which one finds light accompaniments, often with drum basses, simple, slow-moving harmony, frequent use of regular phrasing in two-bar units and reverse-dotted rhythm. *Bacocco e Serpilla* uses short, simple arias, with syllabic setting, wide leaps, repeated notes, lively recurring rhythms, static harmony and rudimentary accompaniments, all of which became standard in that genre during the following decades.

WORKS

STAGE

drammi per musica, in 3 acts, unless otherwise stated

Artaserse (P. Pariati ?and A. Zeno), Livorno, S Sebastiano, 1706; Naples, S Bartolomeo, 2 July 1708, addl music by F. Mancini
L'amor generoso (Zeno), Florence, Cocomero, aut. 1708, collab. R. Ceruti
L'odio e l'amore (M. Noris), Genoa, S Agostino, 1709
La fede tradita e vendicata (F. Silvani), Genoa, S Agostino, aut. 1709; Bologna, Marsigli-Rossi, 15 Aug 1712, addl music by F. Gasparini
Ataulfo re de' Goti, ovvero La forza della virtù (after D. David), Rome, Capranica, carn. 1712
Teuzzone (Zeno), Ferrara, Bonacossi, spr. 1712, with addl music
Madama Dulcinea e il cuoco del Marchese del Bosco (int, Marchese Trotti), Rome, Capranica, carn. 1712; as La preziosa ridicola, Naples, S Bartolomeo, carn. 1716; *A-Wn*
L'innocenza difesa (Silvani), ? Ferrara, Bonacossi, spr. 1712; as Carlo re d'Alemagna, Bologna, Formagliari, 28 Oct 1713; as L'innocenza giustificata, Fano, Fortuna, sum. 1731
L'amor tirannico (D. Lalli), Rome, Capranica, carn. 1713; as Il Farasmane (5), Bologna, Formagliari, 20 Oct 1720; Pesaro, Pubblico, carn. 1721, addl music by A. Tinazzoli
Lisetta e Delfo (int), Rome, Capranica, carn. 1713
Bacocco [Bajocco] e Serpilla (int, A. Salvi), Verona, May 1715; as Il marito giocatore e la moglie bacchettona, Venice, S Angelo, carn. 1719; as The Gamester, London, King's, 1 Jan 1737; as Serpilla e Bacocco, Venice, S Angelo, 1741; with addl music as Il giocatore, Paris, Opéra, 22 Aug 1752, Les ariettes du Joueur (Paris, *c*1752) [attrib. Doletti]; *A-Wn* (facs. in IOB, lxviii, 1984), *B-Bc* (facs. in IOB, lxviii, 1984), *D-MÜs*, *ROu*, *W* (2 copies, one attrib. Vinci), *F-Pc*, *I-Fc*, *S-Skma*
Amore e maestà (tragedia per musica, Salvi), Florence, Cocomero, 30 June 1715; as Arsace (rev. P.A. Rolli), London, King's, 1 Feb 1721, addl music by F. Amadei; as Der ehrsüchtige Arsaces, Hamburg, 18 May 1722, arr. J. Mattheson, *D-Bsb*; rev., Florence, Pergola, carn. 1739, *A-Wn*, Act 2 *GB-Lbl*
La pastorella al soglio (G.C. Corradi), Mantua, Arciducale, carn. 1717
La virtù al cimento (Zeno), Mantua, Arciducale, carn. 1717; as La costanza trionfante, Recanati, fair and carn. 1720, addl music by Tinazzoli; rev. as Griselda, Venice, S Samuele, May 1720, arias *A-Wn*
La Merope (Zeno), Bologna, Formagliari, 24 Oct 1717
Lucio Papirio (Salvi), Naples, S Bartolomeo, 11 Dec 1717, arias and buffo scenes by F. Feo, doubtful, ? by F. Gasparini (see Strohm, 1989); Bologna, Formagliari, sum. 1718; Pesaro, Pubblico, carn. 1721, addl music by Tinazzoli
Antigona (tragedia, 5, B. Pasqualigo), Venice, S Cassiano, carn. 1718; Pesaro, Pubblico, carn. 1723, addl music by Tinazzoli; as La fedeltà coronata, Bologna, Malvezzi, 2 June 1727, *GB-Lbl*; as Antigona vendicata, Breslau, 1 Oct 1728
Le amazoni vinte da Ercole (Salvi), Reggio nell'Emilia, Pubblico, April 1718
Ifigenia in Tauride (tragedia, 5, Pasqualigo, after P.J. Martello), Venice, S Giovanni Grisostomo, carn. 1719, arias *D-ROu* and *SHs*
Il carceriero di se stesso (Salvi), Turin, Carignano, carn. 1720
Paride (5, F. Muazzo), Venice, S Giovanni Grisostomo, carn. 1720, arias *SHs*
Melinda e Tiburzio (int), Venice, S Angelo, carn. 1721; as La donna nobile, Venice, S Cassiano, carn. 1730
Nerone (tragedia per musica, A. Piovene), Venice, S Giovanni Grisostomo, carn. 1721, arias *Mbs*; as Nero, Hamburg, 17 Nov 1723, arr. Mattheson, *Bsb*
Nino (I. Zanella), Rome, Capranica, 7 Jan 1722, arias *F-Pc*; as Semiramide, Turin, Carignano, 1722; as Nino, Pesaro, Pubblico, carn. 1723, addl music by Tinazzoli
Ormisda (Zeno), Bologna, Malvezzi, 16 May 1722; as Artenice, Turin, Regio, carn. 1723, addl music by G.A. Giai and others
L'artigiano gentiluomo (Larinda e Vanesio) (int, Salvi, after Molière: *Le bourgeois gentilhomme*), Florence, 1722; as Le bourgeois gentilhomme, Florence, Pergola, carn. 1725; London, King's, 1737
Alessandro Severo (Zeno), Milan, Regio Ducale, carn. 1723, *GB-Lbl*
L'Oronta (C.N. Stampa), Milan, Regio Ducale, carn. 1724
Berenice (Pasqualigo, after J. Racine), Venice, S Giovanni Grisostomo, carn. 1725, *B-Bc*, arias *I-Vnm*
Il malato immaginario (Erighetta e Don Chilone) (int, Salvi, after Molière: *Le malade imaginaire*), Florence, Pergola, carn. 1725
Un vecchio innamorato (int, D. Marchi), Florence, Pergola, carn. 1725
Monsieur di Porsugnacchi (Grilletta e Porsugnacco) (int, after Molière: *Monsieur de Pourceaugnac*), Milan, Regio Ducale, carn. 1727; as Pourceaugnac and Grilletta, London, King's, 1737
Berenice (A.M. Lucchini: *Farnace*), Milan, Regio Ducale, carn. 1728
Adelaide (Salvi), Venice, S Cassiano, carn. 1729, *GB-Lam*, arias *I-Vqs*
L'impresario dell'isole Canarie (Dorina e Nibbio) (int, P. Metastasio), ? Venice, S Cassiano, 1729
Massimiano (G. Boldoni, after Pariati ?and Zeno: *Constantino*), Venice, S Giovanni Grisostomo, carn. 1731, *B-Bc*
Grullo e Moschetta (int), Venice, S Angelo, carn. 1732; London, King's, 1737
Ifigenia in Aulide (Zeno), Florence, Pergola, carn. 1732
Il marito geloso (Giletta e Ombrone) (int), St Petersburg, 1734
Il Temistocle (Metastasio), Florence, Pergola, 3 Feb 1737
L'olimpiade (Metastasio), Florence, Pergola, sum. 1737
Le nozze di Perseo e Andromeda (azione drammatica, 2, Marchi), Florence, Pergola, 9 April 1738, *A-Wgm*, *Wn*
Balbo e Dalisa (int, Salvi), Rome, Capranica, carn. 1740, doubtful
La Fiammetta (commedia per musica), Florence, Cocomero, 29 Sept 1743
Lo scialacquatore (commedia per musica, Borghesi), Florence, Cocomero, 14 Sept 1744; as Lo scialacquatore alla fiera, Venice, S Cassiano, aut. 1745, with addl music
Probably arr. Orlandini: Arianna e Teseo (Pariati), Florence, Pergola, carn. 1739; Venceslao (Zeno), Florence, Pergola, 27 Dec 1741; Vologeso re de' Parti (after Zeno), Florence, Pergola, Jan 1742
Arias in *A-Wgm*, *Wn*; *B-Bc*, *Lc*; *D-Bsb*, *Dl*, *SWl*; *F-Pc*, *Pn*; *GB-Lbl*, *Lgc*, *Mp*, *Ob*; *I-Bc*, *BGi*, *Fc*, *Mc*, *Rc*; *US-BEm*, *FAy*, *Wc*

ORATORIOS AND SACRED CANTATAS

Il martirio di S Sebastiano (A. Ghirizzani), Florence, 1694
I fanciulli babilonesi, Florence, 1696
La costanza trionfante nel martirio di S Lucia (B. Colzi), Florence, 1705
Sara in Egitto (D. Cavanese), Florence, 1708, collab. others
Il figliuol prodigo (B. Pamphili), Siena, 1709, arias *D-Dl*
Gli amori infelici di Ammone (Berzini), Florence, 1711
L'Assalone ovvero l'infedeltà punita, Florence, 1713
Dal trionfo le perdite ovvero Jefte che sagrifica la sua figlia (Cavanese), Florence, 1716, collab. others
Componimento per musica da cantarsi la notte del SSmo Natale (G.B. Pontici), Rome, 1721, arias, *F-Pc*
L'Ester (G. Melani), Bologna, 1723
Giuditta, Castel S Pietro, 1726
Jaele (D. Marchi), Florence, 1735
Assuero, Florence, 1738
Davidde trionfante (G.M. Medici), Florence, 1738
Il Gioas re di Giuda (Metastasio), Florence, 1744
Giuseppe riconosciuto (Metastasio), Florence, 1745
Tobia (Zeno), Florence, 1749
Componimento da cantarsi nel venerabile monastero di S Apollonia in Firenze (F. Casorri), Florence, 1750
Isacco figura del redentore (Metastasio), Florence, 1752
La deposizione dalla croce di Gesù Cristo Signor Nostro (G.C. Pasquini), Florence, 1760

MISCELLANEOUS

1 spiritual canzonetta, La ricreazione spirituale nella musica (Bologna, 1730)
3 canzonettas, Raccolta di varie canzoni (Florence, 1739, 1740)
22 sonate, a 3, *B-Bc*
1 sinfonia, hpd, *D-Bsb*

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JOHN WALTER HILL (work-list with FRANCESCO GIUNTINI)

Orlando Consort. British vocal ensemble. It was founded in 1989 by Robert Harre-Jones, Charles Daniels, Angus Smith and Donald Greig to specialize in the performance of medieval and early Renaissance polyphony. The Orlando Consort collaborates especially closely with leading musicologists in each of the repertories with which it is concerned. Its interpretations are characterized by sensitivity to matters of intonation and pronunciation; in this, and in its approach to texting and vocal delivery, the ensemble has been influenced by the work of Christopher Page (with whose group, Gothic Voices, some of its members have been associated). Areas of special interest have included the earliest polyphonic repertories (including the St Martial and Notre Dame schools), the late Ars Nova, and individual figures such as Dunstaple, Vitry, Machaut, Du Fay, Ockeghem, Busnoys, Compère, Josquin and Obrecht. In addition, the ensemble regularly commissions works from contemporary (mostly British) composers, and has participated in several crossover projects.

FABRICE FITCH

Orléans. City in central France. The presence of the councils and synods of the Gallican church during the 6th century encouraged musical life, especially in the new Ste Croix Cathedral and in the collegiate church of St Aignan. The nearby Abbey of Fleury at Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire was also a centre of music and learning; in 794 Abbot Theodolphus was appointed Bishop of Orléans by Charlemagne, and founded a choir school there. King Robert the Pious (*c*970–1031), who studied with Gerbert d'Aurillac, cantor at the St Aignan choir school, composed hymns and responsories. In the 12th century the goliard poet Hugo Primas of Orléans, known as 'Primas', was cantor at Ste Croix and composed a *prosa*, *Lauda crucis*.

Mystery and miracle plays involving music were frequently performed at Fleury and Orléans from the 12th century (several early examples in Latin with musical notation are preserved in the MS O 231). Tinctoris, who was succentor at the cathedral around 1460–62 and master of the choirboys at the cathedral choirschool (probably in the late 1960s), matriculated at the university in 1463. The poet and composer Eloy d'Amerval was master of the choirboys at St Aignan in 1471 and at Ste Croix in 1483. During the period of Protestant administration four-voice settings of the Huguenot psalter by Jean Servin were published by Louis Rabier (1565). These followed other settings by the pastor Hughes Sureau (1562) and by Richard Grassot (1564); the latter was *maître des enfants* at the cathedral in 1572. J.-B. Morin was born at Orléans in 1677 and trained in the choir school at St Aignan. 17th-century cathedral musicians in Orléans included Nicolaus Benoist and Guillaume Minoret, and among the 18th-century choirmasters were Nicolas Grogniard (1718–24), Louis Homet and François Giroust, who was later *surintendant de la musique* to Louis XVI. The renowned Lupot family of instrument makers was active in Orléans in the late 18th century and early 19th.

A music academy was founded in 1670, and in 1722 a similar group with 60 performers was still active. After the Revolution a new concert society was established under J.-S. Demar (a pupil of F.X. Richter and Haydn) and the violinist J.-F. Mazas. The Institut Musical, established in 1834 under the direction of the organist C.-F. Pollet, included a music school and a concert association directed by Felice Blangini. In the 1920s the institute was merged with a municipal music school (founded 1868), becoming the Ecole Nationale de Musique. The Société des Concerts Populaires flourished between 1884 and 1906 and was reorganized by Philippe Gaubert as the Société des Concerts Symphoniques in 1907. Arthur Honegger's *Jeanne d'Arc au bûcher* premiered at Orléans in 1939.

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FRANK DOBBINS

Orles (*fl* second half of the 14th century). ?French composer. His only known composition, a three-part Credo in motet style (ed. in CMM, xxix, 1962, and PMFC, xxiii/B, 1989), belongs to the Avignon repertory. The cantus paraphrases Vatican Credo I, like the four-part Credo of Guayrinet, but Orles's composition has extensive hocket sections concluding the three main parts of the work, and in the Amen.

GILBERT REANEY

Orlo (Sp.). A wind instrument, possibly the CRUMHORN.

Orlos (Sp.). *See under* ORGAN STOP.

Orlov, Genrikh Aleksandrovich (*b* Kiev, 29 Aug 1926). Russian musicologist. He studied the piano and composition at the Rimsky-Korsakov Music College at the Leningrad Conservatory (1945–6), and later musicology

at the conservatory itself under Druskin (1946–51). He took the *Kandidat* degree at the Moscow Conservatory in 1957 with a dissertation on Rimsky-Korsakov's opera *The Legend of the Invisible City of Kitezh*, and in 1970 he was awarded the doctorate for his book *Russkiy sovetskiy simfonizm*, an analytical survey of the development of Soviet symphonic writing after the October Revolution. He became a member of the Union of Soviet Composers in 1955, and worked as a music administrator, conductor and pianist at the Baltic Fleet Theatre of Drama (1955–6) and as a research fellow and postgraduate supervisor at the Leningrad Institute of Theatre, Music and Cinematography (1957–76).

In 1976 Orlov moved to America, where he was visiting professor at Cornell University (1976–7), a humanities fellow at Harvard (1977–8), and professor at Wesleyan University, Middletown, Connecticut (1979–81). In 1983 he began writing and translating for the journal *Israel Today*; from 1986 he worked for the publishing company of Frager & Co., Washington, DC, and as a translator of books on philosophy and art. He retired in 1994.

During the 1950s, alongside his research into the music of Rimsky-Korsakov, Orlov was active as an advocate of Leningrad composers. His academic work took off in the 1960s, with the publication of his two major works, *Simfonii Shostakovicha* (1961) and *Russkiy sovetskiy simfonizm* (1966). He was the first Soviet musicologist to discuss the tragic fate of Shostakovich and his music in *Simfonii Shostakovicha*; in *Russkiy sovetskiy simfonizm* he was the first to include a large quantity of factual information on the music of the 1920s and 30s. During the 1970s, he concentrated on the aesthetics and philosophy of music. His theoretical studies concern musical thought, aesthetic values and semantics as the constituents of a cultural unity; his academic methodology touches on aspects of sociology, semantics, semiotics, the theory of perception in musical thought, and ethnomusicology. He was the first Soviet musicologist to formulate a modern theory of the functions of time and space in music; his book on the subject, *Vremya i prostranstvo muzïki* ('The time and space of music') was banned in the USSR. The culmination of his academic work is the book *Drevo muzïki* (1992), in which he draws together the many aspects of his earlier work and the teaching experience he acquired in America.

Orlov's writings are distinguished by their clarity, concentration of thought and bold flights of scholarly fancy; they show his ability to reveal links between apparently unrelated facts in different areas of study. He belongs to the small number of musicologists who, during the years of the Iron Curtain, the Khrushchyov 'thaw' and the Brezhnev 'stagnation', rigorously stayed abreast of advances in music and the arts, and in whose works the spirit of freedom and the opposition to dogmatic ideology was embodied.

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LYUDMILA KOVNATSKAYA

Orlov, Nikolay (Andreyevich) (*b* Elets, Orlov govt., 14/26 Feb 1892; *d* Grantown-on-Spey, Scotland, 31 May 1964). Russian pianist. He studied at the Gnesin Music School, Moscow, and then at the conservatory with Konstantin

Igumnov, from whose class he graduated in 1910. Orlov also studied composition and counterpoint as a private pupil of Taneyev. He gave his first concert in 1912 and in the same year gave the première of Glazunov's First Piano Concerto. He taught in the Moscow Philharmonic School (1913–15) and was a professor at the conservatory (1916–21). From 1921 he lived abroad, giving concerts in eastern and western Europe, Latin America and the USA (début 1926), with particular success in Yugoslavia, Belgium, Poland, Latin America and England. In 1933 he gave a series of Chopin concerts in London; he settled in Britain in 1948. A distinguished artist with an immaculately finished technique, Orlov was particularly successful in achieving poetic tonal effects; his elegant style of playing belonged more to the late 19th century than to the modern Russian school. He was especially noted as an interpreter of Chopin, Schumann and Skryabin.

I.M. YAMPOL'SKY/JAMES METHUEN-CAMPBELL

Orłowski, Antoni (*b* Warsaw, 1811; *d* Rouen, 11 Feb 1861). Polish violinist, pianist, conductor and composer. He studied at the Warsaw Conservatory (1824–9), where his teachers included Elsner (composition) and Bielawski (violin); in 1830 he left for Paris, where he studied composition with Le Sueur and played violin, viola and timpani in the orchestra of the Théâtre Feydeau. In 1832 he moved to Rouen, where he was a violinist at the Théâtre des Arts; from 1835 to 1837 he conducted the orchestra there, successfully staging Halévy's *La Juive* and his own opera *Le mari de circonstance*. While he was highly respected in Rouen as an instrumentalist, conductor and teacher, his compostions aroused less interest. His piano miniatures, particularly the mazurkas, polonaises and waltzes, were modelled on Chopin.

WORKS
(*selective list*)

lost unless otherwise stated

Stage: Walka rybołowców [The Battle of the Ospreys] (ballet), Warsaw, 30 Aug 1827; Gertruda w grochu [Gertrude in a Spot] (comic op, F. de Planard), 1831, Rouen, 1836; Le mari de circonstance (comic op, F. de Planard), Rouen, 1836

Inst: Ov., orch, *c*1838; 2 str qnts; 2 str qts; Pf Trio (Warsaw, 1830); Vn Sonata (Paris, *c*1833)

Pf: 2 rondeaux brillants, opp.3 and 7 (Paris, *c*1833); 5 capriccios in the form of a waltz, op.18 (Bonn, before 1843); Mazurka on themes from Chopin's conc., fantasy and rondo (Warsaw, 1830); Waltz on Chopin's themes (Warsaw, 1830)

Other pf miniatures and vocal works

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BARBARA CHMARA-ŻACZKIEWICZ

Ormandy, Eugene [Blau, Jenő] (*b* Budapest, 18 Nov 1899; *d* Philadelphia, 12 March 1985). American conductor of Hungarian birth. He was proficient enough as a violinist to enter the National Hungarian Royal Academy of Music at five, and by the age of seven he was giving concerts. He began studying with Jenő Hubay two years later and graduated with a master's degree at 14. After performing as leader of the Blüthner Orchestra in Germany and as a soloist on tours of central Europe, he was appointed professor of violin at 17. A concert agent persuaded him to emigrate to New York, but when he finally arrived in 1921 he found work hard to come by. He was forced to suffer the indignity of playing in the back of the orchestra at the Capitol Theatre in New York, but within a year he had graduated to leader. He made his début there when the regular conductor fell ill in September 1924, and was appointed associate music director in 1926. In 1927 he became an American citizen and met Arthur Judson, who helped him find guest conducting work (mostly light music for radio broadcasts) to supplement his activities at the Capitol.

Judson brought Ormandy to Philadelphia to substitute for an indisposed Toscanini in 1931; this led to his appointment as music director of the Minneapolis SO (1931–6), where he became nationally known through his recordings, including the first-ever recordings of Kodály's *Háry János* Suite and Schoenberg's *Verklärte Nacht*. He returned to Philadelphia in 1936 to share the podium with Stokowski for two years, before becoming sole music director for 42 years (1938–80), after which he became conductor laureate. He took the orchestra on numerous transcontinental and international tours, and also appeared as a guest conductor in Europe, Australia, South America and East Asia.

Ormandy was quick to learn new works and usually conducted without baton or score. With a notably fine ear, he built on Stokowski's voluptuous 'Philadelphia Sound' and soon added even greater polish and precision. Philadelphia paid the musicians well so he could afford the best; and, like Stokowski, he worked with them daily, often conducting over 100 concerts a year. Despite the glory he brought to his orchestra and his numerous awards (including an honorary KBE in 1976) and honorary doctorates, critics were always slightly circumspect in their praise.

Whether the gloss of the orchestra offended a Puritan streak or the brilliance seemed too easy, his intepretations were often thought to be vulgar or shallow. Ormandy perhaps contributed to this image by playing so much of the late-Romantic and early 20th-century repertory which showed to advantage the lush sound he could command: Tchaikovsky, Dvořák, Strauss, Bruckner, Debussy, Ravel and reorchestrated Bach were his staple fare. He was less successful with Beethoven and Brahms. But he conducted much new music and gave the premières of Rachmaninoff's *Symphonic Dances*, Bartók's Piano Concerto no.3 and works by Britten, Hindemith, Martinů, Milhaud, Persichetti and Webern. His large and enterprising discography includes the first recordings of Shostakovich's Cello Concerto no.1 and Symphony no.4, and of Mahler's Tenth Symphony in the performing version by Deryck Cooke. He also played much American music and gave premières of works by Barber, Creston, Diamond, Ginastera, Hanson, Piston, Rorem, Schuman, Sessions, Thompson and Villa-Lobos.

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JOSÉ BOWEN

Ormestad [Ormsen], **Caspar.** *See* ECCHIENUS, CASPAR.

Ørn [Øren, Ohren], **Jacob** [Aquilino Dano, Jacomo] (*d* after 1652). Danish musician and composer. He is first heard of as one of the four musicians (the others being

Mogens Pedersøn, Hans Brachrogge and Martinus Otto) sent by King Christian IV of Denmark to England in 1611 to serve his sister Anne, James I's queen, while he was away at the wars and thus had, as he wrote, no need of them. They remained in England for three years. A pavan by Ørn, under the latinized name Jacomo Aquilino Dano, was copied (in *US-NYp*, Sambrooke manuscript) by FRANCIS TREGIAN, who was at that time a prisoner in the Tower of London for recusancy. There thus appears to have been personal contact between the Danes and Tregian which is further evidenced by the presence in another of the manuscripts copied by Tregian (*GB-Lbl* Eg.3665) of ten otherwise unknown madrigals by Mogens Pedersøn and a similar number of Italian madrigals copied from Melchior Borchgrevinck's two *Giardino novo* anthologies (1605–6). On his return to Denmark in 1614 Ørn was given an appointment in the royal chapel, which he served for 35 years. He received a benefice of Roskilde Cathedral in 1619 and was given the charge of six choirboys in 1624. He became deputy director of the chapel in 1637. He officiated at the coronation of King Frederik III in 1648, and in January 1649 he retired on his full salary for life in recognition of his long service. His name appears in the records for the last time on 28 February 1653. Apart from the above-mentioned pavan his only known composition is a four-part chorale setting in L.P. Thura's *Canticum Canticorum Salomonis* (Copenhagen, 1640; transcr. in T. Laub: *Om kirkesangen*, Copenhagen, 1887). A project to provide settings for four voices with continuo of the whole book of *Psalms*, to which he referred in 1645 and 1647, if realized, has apparently not survived.

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JOHN BERGSAGEL

Ornamentation. For discussion of improvised embellishments *see* IMPROVISATION; for notated ornaments and graces *see* ORNAMENTS.

Ornaments. Those more or less brief and conventional formulae of embellishment which have always been liable to occur within traditions of free ornamentation (*see* IMPROVISATION), and which proliferated in European music of the Baroque period. They have often been indicated by symbols, although composers, performers, music copyists and editors, and scholars have by no means always shown consistency or agreement in the use of specific symbols. Moreover, the general understanding of signs, symbols, terms and contemporary performing styles of ornamentation has varied greatly across time and place. This article deals primarily with the symbols used in Western art music and their interpretation.

Throughout much of the history of western European music, performers have been inclined to embellish the notes provided them by the composer. Even in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, it is convenient to make a distinction between two kinds of embellishment. On the one hand, the technique of applying improvised or semi-improvised running figuration patterns to a given melody, so-called divisions or *passaggi*, creates melodic variation. Graces, on the other hand, are conventional melodic ornaments applied to single notes; by the Baroque era graces were indicated by a variety of stylized signs, most of which had, at least by intention, a particular meaning.

1. MIDDLE AGES AND RENAISSANCE. Before the 17th century ornamental signs in the conventional sense, added to notes to change their interpretation, were found only in keyboard and lute manuscripts, most of which were written in idiomatic tablatures. The earliest known use of stylized ornamental signs is seen in keyboard sources of the 14th and 15th centuries: the Robertsbridge Codex (*c*1320, *GB-Lbl* Add.28550) places a small circle above certain notes, and a number of German keyboard tablatures of the 15th century, most prominently the Buxheim Keyboard Manuscript (*c*1460–70, *D-Mbs* Mus. MS.3725), use a note form that adds a downward stem with a triangular loop. In all these cases it is clear that some sort of ornament is being indicated, but its exact nature (or even whether the same figure was meant every time) remains obscure.

Ornamental signs in lute tablatures came later: Vincenzo Capirola, in his manuscript anthology of lute music (1515–20, *US-Cn* VM C.25), used dotted red numerals to identify the upper auxiliary of a mordent and two dots above the number of the fret for the grace he called *tremolo d'un tasto solo* (tremolo on one fret), by which he meant a mordent, usually alternating between the first fret and the open string. In the 1548 Milanese edition of P.P. Borrono's music (*Intavolatura di lauto ... libro secondo*, published by Castiglione) parentheses were inserted to isolate the two notes of a mordent.

English lute and keyboard sources of the late 16th and early 17th centuries also employed signs for mandatory ornaments. The most familiar are probably the diagonal strokes of varying number added to the stems of some notes by keyboard composers to indicate graces, as in the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book (1609–19, *GB-Cfm*; see §3 below); Diana Poulton (B1975) described and explained other kinds of grace, sometimes indicated by crosses or other signs, that appear in English lutebooks of the period. In all these cases the use of the signs appears to be unstandardized and experimental, and their interpretation must be made on a source-by-source, or even sometimes a composition-by-composition basis.

For most of the vocal and instrumental ensemble music of the Middle Ages and Renaissance, however, ornaments were not specified in the musical text but were added by performers at will within a more or less unwritten set of

customs and proprieties. In this music, then, it is often impossible to draw clear lines between what we would call ornamentation, improvisation and arrangement, and the unwritten practice has to be reconstructed hypothetically. Evidence of its existence and nature is more abundant for some repertories than others, and as with most aspects of musical performance it is more explicit for the 16th century than before. Yet some sort of ornamental practice can reasonably be inferred for practically every repertory before 1600.

A number of early chant manuscripts use SIGNIFICATIVE LETTERS, some of which may have had the effect of ornaments though their exact meanings are still conjectural. Several symbols of chant notation still used today had an original function that we would consider ornamental: the LIQUESCENT neumes (*epiphonus*, *cephalicus* etc.) probably implied some sort of glissando; the *quilisma* also a glissando, possibly with a volume vibrato added; and the repercussive neumes (*bistropha*, *tristropha*, *pressus* etc.) an actual restriking of the note. All these interpretations are obscured by the uniformity of modern Solesmes style (*see* NOTATION, §III, 1).

Contemporary descriptions of 13th-century polyphony, chiefly by Anonymus 4, Franco of Cologne and Hieronymous de Moravia, show that, for all its fanciness as written, the music of the Notre Dame period was further embellished in performance. Anonymus 4 refers to a *longa florata* (flowered long) and a *duplex longa florata* (*see* ANONYMOUS THEORETICAL WRITINGS, §2, no.23), and Hieronymus describes several interpretative possibilities such as the *florificatio vocis* and *flos harmonicus* (both of which we would probably call trills), the *reverberatio* (an ornamental appoggiatura from below) and the *nota procellaris* (possibly a vibrato). All seem to have been added most appropriately to long notes, especially at the beginning or end of a phrase. The PLICA, which developed from the liquescent neumes of chant and survived into the Franconian era, seems always to have functioned as a kind of grace note, sung differently from its companions.

Specific observations of this sort are more difficult to establish for secular monophony and for the polyphony of the 14th and 15th centuries. But the scattered remarks of theorists, normally lamenting excessive ornamentation, suggest that the tradition of adding ornaments to existing musical texts was all but universal, and a close examination of multiple versions and intabulations of a single song can reveal something of the character of this tradition.

By 1529 Martin Agricola in his *Musica instrumentalis deudsch* assumed that his audience of amateur instrumentalists would want to learn to add ornaments to their music, though his own instructions, even in a later edition, are fragmentary and abortive. As the musical literacy of amateurs grew over the course of the 16th century, however, a number of treatises offered instruction, in greater and lesser detail, in the art of instrumental and vocal ornamentation. Among the best-known are those by Ganassi (B1535), Ortiz (B1553), Dalla Casa (B1584), Bassano (B1585), Zacconi (E1592), Diruta (E1593) and Bovicelli (E1594). Their languages and vocabulary vary but, as Brown (B1976) has shown, most divide their subject broadly into graces (ornaments added to a single note) and *passaggi* or divisions (ornaments added between notes or over a longer passage).

They also generally agree that the two most important graces are the tremolo (in modern parlance, a trill or mordent) and *groppo* (or *gruppo*; a cadential upper-note trill, often with a turn at the end), and some add a few variants and additions such as Diruta's *clamatione* (a portamento up to the first note of a passage from a 3rd or 4th below) and Zacconi and Bovicelli's *accento* (a dotted figure filling in or expanding a written interval). Their treatments of *passaggi* are much more individual, but most share a pedagogical method, traceable at least to the early 15th century (see Fallows, B1990), in which each basic interval is decorated in numerous different ways – Ortiz, for example, shows 12 ways to fill in a major 2nd, Ganassi 28 and Bovicelli 35 – which the student would presumably practise over and over to develop a ready fund of ornamental figures to add while playing or singing (ex.1). Several treatises add specimen pieces of music with written-out ornamentation; these give a vivid, if perhaps exaggerated, view of the wealth of ornaments available and the use to which they were put in performance.

It must be emphasized that this kind of ornamentation was fundamentally an improvised practice, completely at the performer's discretion: no conventional 16th-century partbooks or choirbooks indicate ornaments in any way. The clean, uncluttered appearance of the music on the page is thus misleading. Performers of the Renaissance, instrumentalists and singers alike, saw improvised ornamentation as part of their fundamental training and their daily musical duty. The ability to add graces and *passaggi* at sight was part of the personality that a musician brought to the job; the treatises are full of commonsense advice on how to temper virtuosity with taste. Accompanied solo music, they say, may be ornamented more liberally than ensemble music; superius parts more than lower lines; happy music more than sad; cadences more than phrase beginnings; repetitions of a phrase more than its first presentation. Singers are further cautioned not to let their ornaments obscure the words, to abstain altogether in choral music with more than one on a part, and to avoid elaborate *passaggi* on the vowels 'u' and 'i'. *See also* CADENZA.

2. SPAIN, 1500–1800. The first Spanish treatises referring to ornamentation – D.M. Durán's *Súmula de canto de órgano* (Salamanca, *c*1504) and the anonymous manuscript *Arte de melodía sobre canto llano y canto d'órgano* (early 16th century, *E-Bbc* 1325) – are concerned with vocal rather than instrumental music. Later, vihuelists (Milán, 1536) and other musicians (Ortiz, 1553; Bermudo, 1555; Santa María, 1565; Cerone, 1613) provided more extensive definition of instrumental ornamentation, combining the study of specific fingerings with attention to their execution. Correa de Arauxo (1626) alluded to the vocal ornaments recorded in the 17th century by such travellers as the Countess d'Aulnoy (see L. Jambou in *Actes du Colloque musical franco-espagnol*, Paris, 1999), and Martín y Coll introduced ornamented passages in his exercises for vocal training (2/1719). Nassarre (1723–4) considered both vocal and instrumental ornaments – the latter in connection with the keyboard – but observed that vocal music could sustain the execution of long ornamented passages only with difficulty. Thus the preponderance of attention paid to instrumental ornamentation partly obliterates a vocal practice of which little is known.

Ex.1 *Passaggi*: on a rising tone, illustrated by four different theorists



Theorists and practising musicians alike were concerned to define the ornamental procedures proper to their favourite string or keyboard instruments. This attitude entailed the use of terminology that evolved over the centuries and often had different meanings in different contexts. For example, vihuelists in the second third of the 16th century equated the *redoble* with the *disminución* or *pasaje*, whereas keyboard players of the period used *redoble* and *quiebro* interchangeably to mean trill. In the later 17th century guitarists such as Gaspar Sanz, Ruiz de Ribayaz and Francisco Guerau called the trill a *trino*; they also enriched the vocabulary of ornamentation with effects typical of the Baroque period: *apoyamento*, *esmorsata*, *aleado*, *mordente*, *extrasino*, *temblor*, *arpeado*. Organists called the *redoble* a *glosa*, a term also employed by Ortiz; for Nassarre, however, *glosa* was a generic term embracing such ornaments as the *trino* and *aleado* (mordent, although the term seems to have had a wider sense when applied to string instruments). Torres y Martínez Bravo employed *glosas* or *figuras disminuidas* as a general term for ornaments in his treatise on basso continuo (*Reglas generales de acompañar*, 1702, 2/1736).

From the first these musicians distinguished between ornamentation on an upper or lower neighbour note and ornamentation on a disjunct interval, or division. Santa María was the first to make systematic use of both division – a subject discussed and in part rejected by Bermudo – and ornamentation; the latter (ex.2) was restricted to the *quiebro* (mordent) and *redoble*, each of which comprised a number of forms (*quiebro antiguo* or *nuevo reyterado*, *senzillo* or *de minimas*, *redoble antiguo* or *nuevo*). His terminology thus distinguished between old practices and innovations in which the ornament typically began on an anacrusis. Correa de Arauxo applied this typology to new forms, while recognizing the use of *quiebro* by singers as synonymous with *redoble*; he himself used the term as a synonym for *trinado* and *trino* (ex.3). At the beginning of the 17th century players of plucked string instruments were more concerned to describe and codify the new *rasgueado* techniques of the Baroque guitar than to specify signs for ornaments; it was left to Sanz, in his *Instrucción de música sobre la guitarra sobre la guitarra española* (3/1674), to define and codify them according to a new system of nomenclature.

3. The English virginalists. Oblique strokes indicating embellishment were introduced in England in the early 16th century. The most common symbol is the double stroke, which appears in virtually every source of English keyboard music in the period *c*1530–*c*1650. The single stroke occurs with much less frequency, and the triple stroke is confined to a small number of sources; a quadruple stroke is rare. Additional signs and what appear to be qualifying signs are given in a few sources.

Ex.2 Ornaments from Tomás de Santa María: *Arte de tañer fantasía* (1565)



Ex.3 Schematization of ornaments from Francisco Correa de Arauxo: *Facultad orgánica* (1626)



Sweelinck adopted the English usage of the double stroke and transmitted it to the north German school; the symbol is mentioned by Reincken in his *Hortus musicus* (1687). The signs are not discussed by any English theorist of the 16th or 17th century; their meanings must therefore be deduced largely from their application in the sources.

In the earliest surviving sources of English keyboard music (*GB-Lbl* Roy.App.56 and 58, both *c*1530), the application of single- and double-stroke signs is not related to embellishment. The single stroke is used in one of two ways: as a visual aid to clarify the movement of an inner part, or as a correction sign indicating that a note value has been given at a level too low. In these contexts the sign tends to be drawn horizontally rather than obliquely. The double stroke is used to effect cancellation. Signs consisting of two to four oblique strokes are used in the Mulliner Book (*GB-Lbl* Add.30513) to clarify part-writing when the parts cross. Furthermore, they are used to identify the merging of two voices in the Mulliner Book and in the 16th-century sections of *GB-Lbl* Add.29996. There is evidence that signs continued to be used occasionally as visual aids, sometimes to highlight particular rhythmic activity or to draw attention to an imitative entry. Cosyn's habit of drawing a single oblique stroke through the note head of each semibreve in a cantus firmus is simply a means of highlighting the line.

The earliest source in which single and double strokes appear to be associated with embellishment is the Matthew Bible of 1537 (Almonry Museum, Evesham). Both signs are used in music entered on three pages of the bible around 1540, possibly as an abbreviation for a division; the double stroke substitutes for an oscillation or a form of shake. Signs also appear to function occasionally as abbreviations for various divisions in the early sections of *GB-Lbl* Add.29996.

In the pieces added to the Mulliner Book around 1570 the single stroke is used as a grace sign but only in combination, either with two other single-stroke signs or with one single stroke and one double stroke. Clearly, single strokes in combination avoid confusion with correction. A parallel can be drawn with application in the Dublin Virginal Manuscript (*c*1570; *IRL-Dtc* 410/2); in this source the single stroke is also used only in combination. In the Mulliner Book the combined signs grace triads and suggest some form of elaborate spread, possibly involving an element of oscillation. In the Dublin Virginal Manuscript pairs of single strokes grace notated 3rds, 5ths and 6ths; some form of oscillation seems to be the most likely meaning. The pairs of double strokes which also feature in this source suggest that a more rapid variety of oscillation is required. Active oscillating patterns are notated occasionally in keyboard music by Redford, Tallis and Blitheman. Double-stroke pairs, gracing mainly right-hand 3rds, are given in later sources, notably Clement Matchett's Book (1612, *GB-En* 9448). Triad gracing also occurs in later sources. This may involve one sign, occasionally two, exceptionally three; it tends to occur at the beginning or end of a strain, the probable implication being elaborate arpeggiation of the triad.

Throughout the virginalist era (*c*1570–*c*1650) a convention was observed with regard to the positioning of grace signs: the strokes are drawn through or placed at the ends of stems of minims and shorter note values; signs gracing semibreves and breves are normally placed above the note if it is in the higher or highest part on the staff, or below the note if it is in the lower or lowest part; however, some copyists drew the strokes through the note heads. Positioning at variance with this convention can often be attributed to careless copying or lack of space. Sometimes, however, it is applied in a way or with a degree of consistency which suggests that some special meaning may attach to it. In My Ladye Nevells Booke (1591), for instance, there is unusual positioning of several single- and double-stroke signs in *The Carman's Whistle*: the signs are drawn below blackened semibreves where one would expect superscript positioning (ex.4). A form

Ex.4 Byrd: 'The Carman's Whistle' from *My Ladye Nevells Booke*, f.149 (MB, xxvii, no.36)



of lower-note embellishment would seem to be implied, the subscript positioning indicating that the grace should begin on a note below the graced note. This application is of considerable interest in view of the fact that correction of the manuscript may have been undertaken by the composer of the pieces, Byrd, who tended to express improvised embellishment by using mainly the all-purpose double-stroke sign.

A written-out shake provided in one source for a given piece may be replaced by a double stroke in another; and it is clear that the sign and the notated division were considered analogous. Furthermore, some analogy existed between the signs: in Duncan Burnett's Book (*c*1600, *GB-En* 9447), for instance, the single stroke is often given in contexts in which realization as a shake seems to be required, the single stroke probably implying an upper-note start. An additional sign is used in this source (a slur-like curve directly under or over the note), possibly to distinguish a specific grace (perhaps a mordent).

Fingering indications are provided in a number of sources, and where these are given on graced notes they offer some help in determining appropriate realization of the implied graces. Such fingering usually confirms that improvised embellishment implied by grace signs would normally be accommodated within the line (as described by Santa María and Ammerbach). Other symbols which qualify the meaning of grace signs occur in the Weelkes Manuscript (*GB-Lbl* Add.30485). In this source, in pieces

Ex.5
(a) Byrd: Galliard (*GB-Lbl*, Add.30485, f.3*v*; MB, xxviii, no.72b)



(b) Byrd: Quadran Galliard (*GB-Lbl*, Add.30485, f.13; MB, xxviii, no.7ab)



by Byrd, there are a number of instances in which a double stroke is accompanied by either a semiquaver or a sign which bears some resemblance to that used for the beat in the later decades of the 17th century (ex.5). The semiquaver seems to relate to speed of execution, the beat-like sign to shape and duration. In each context a cadential shake would be appropriate. If this is the meaning of the combined signs it suggests that the double stroke on its own normally implies a shorter grace. Indeed, on occasions both the single stroke and the double stroke appear to indicate very short, crisp graces. Furthermore, notational restrictions may affect the form or duration of realization; in ex.6, for instance, any form of lower-note

Ex.6 Byrd: 'The Hunt's up' from *My Ladye Nevells Book*, f.46 (MB, xxvii, no.40) bars 5–6



realization of the single stroke is ruled out by the high tenor part. In the often cited table attributed to Edward Bevin (ex.7) the single stroke is expressed as a slide, and indeed realization as a lower-note grace is occasionally suggested by fingering indications; support for Bevin's interpretation is provided in Prendcourt's treatise on harpsichord playing and thoroughbass (*c*1700), transcribed by Roger North (*GB-Lbl* Add.32531). Although Bevin and Prendcourt may have identified one meaning of the single stroke, it is clear that the sign was also associated with upper-note realization.

The triple stroke functions as a grace sign in the Mulliner Book but only in one piece, a setting of *Gloria tibi Trinitas* by Blitheman. In this context the application seems to imply a short, crisp grace. There is some evidence in a later source connecting the strokes with speed of execution: in *A Ground* by Tomkins, recorded in the 17th-century section of *GB-Lbl* Add.29996, double-, triple- and quadruple-stroke signs occur in quick succession, and it would seem logical to realize the implied embellishments in a way that provides increased activity through this passage (ex.8). Triple-stroke signs are given in other 17th-century sources, in particular those sources

Ex.7 Examples of graces attributed to Edward Bevin (*c*1630, *GB-Lbl* Add.31403, f.5)





Ex.8 Tomkins: 'A Ground' (*GB-Lbl* Add.29996, f.195; MB, v, no.40)



associated with Cosyn. The sign appears to have more than one meaning. One interpretation is that it is a compound of a single stroke and a double stroke, and as such is possibly an ancestor of Locke's forefall and shake (*Melothesia*, 1673; see §6 below).

In summary, when oblique strokes were associated with embellishment they were probably used initially as abbreviations for various divisions. From about 1550 the signs seem to have acquired a freer association with embellishment. Only from the second half of the 17th century is there any real evidence of grace signs being associated with specific formulae. Nevertheless, it seems likely that by the mid-16th century the double-stroke sign in particular had developed an association with a form of shake.

4. Italy, 1600–50. Ornamentation in early Baroque Italian music was inseparable from expression in general. Above all, singing and playing had to be accomplished with grace, an aesthetic concept so closely linked to ornamentation that the plural form *grazie* was applied generically to all the small-scale ornaments that came into vogue around 1600. These new ornaments (also called *accenti*, *affetti* or *maniere*) co-existed with the more elaborate *passaggi* or diminutions, which were remnants of Renaissance practice. In 1600 Pietro della Valle heard Cavalieri's *Rappresentatione di Anima, et di Corpo* in Rome. He later observed that this performance marked a watershed in Italian vocal style, introducing dynamic and dramatic effects and *affetti*, whereas previously singers had used only *passaggi* and *trilli* (Dickey, E1997, pp.245–6).

Singers were expected to perform *passaggi* with *disposizione di voce* (disposition of the voice). The latter term has aesthetic connotations but refers also to glottal articulation, which allows for precise definition of rapid streams of notes (Greenlee, E1987) and demands both

speed and relatively low breath pressure (Sanford, A1997). Rognoni (E1620) related this vocal technique to the reversed tonguing ('le-re-le-re') of the cornett.

Most of the diminution manuals that serve as primary sources for *passaggi* follow a similar plan, presenting various patterns for embellishing simple intervals, cadential figures and stock phrases; some include fully ornamented pieces as well. The ten rules in Virgiliano's *Dolcimelo* (*c*1600; translated in Dickey, E1997, pp.248–9) provide a cogent summary of diminution practices. Ornamental patterns for a specific interval typically begin and end with the first note of that interval, before proceeding to the second skeletal note; Virgiliano advised placing this note in the middle of the pattern as well. If the pattern does not end with the initial note of the interval, it should nonetheless approach the second note from the same direction. Melodic motion is predominantly conjunct. By way of illustration, nine variations on the ascending 5th by Rognoni are shown in ex.9.

Ex.9 F. Rognoni: *Selva de varii passaggi* (1620)



Motion in quavers predominates in earlier manuals, but later books show more variation in rhythmic values and greater reliance on dotted notes. Another innovation in the later manuals is that small-scale ornaments are sometimes incorporated into *passaggi*. Ex.10 illustrates

Ex.10 F. Rognoni: *Selva*



why so many observers of the time complained that over-elaborate *passaggi* could make a sad piece sound happy. (Rognoni's ornamental pattern has more beats than the original – a fairly common feature of his diminutions.) Frescobaldi added the rubric 'come sta' (as it stands) to some of his canzonas, probably as an admonition to forgo *passaggi* (but not *affetti*). Caccini (E1601/2) complained that singers too often used them indiscriminately on short rather than long syllables, thereby obscuring the text, though he occasionally admitted them on short syllables for decoration. He further professed his desire to make *passaggi* serve the meaning of the text.

In considering small-scale ornaments, one must approach the terminology with a certain scepticism. One author's *trillo* is another's tremolo, and a given term is sometimes used both generically and specifically in the same treatise. A further consideration is the difficulty of representing ornaments in notation.

Trillo was perhaps the most ubiquitous term for a small-scale ornament in early Baroque Italy, and its abbreviation, 't' or 'tr', was the only widely used ornament symbol. For Cavalieri (E1600) this ornament was the alternation of a note with its upper auxiliary (ex.11);

Ex.11 Cavalieri: *Rappresentatione di anima et di corpo* (1600)



Diruta (E1593) and Praetorius (*PraetoriusSM*) called the same effect 'tremolo'. More often *trillo* refers to the rapid reiteration of a single note, a hallmark of early Baroque Italian vocal style (ex.12). Caccini said that the *trillo* was

Ex.12 Caccini: *Le nuove musiche* (1601)



beaten with the throat. Glottal articulation for this ornament is confirmed in Monteverdi's *Ritorno d'Ulisse in patria*, where the composer has written above a notated *trillo*, 'qui cade in riso naturale' (here one falls into natural laughter; ex.13).

Ex.13 Monteverdi: *Il ritorno d'Ulisse*, Act III scene i



The two commonly recognized models for the early Baroque *trillo* – alternating notes and repeated notes – oversimplify the problem (Carter, E1990). Caccini's preface contains additional illustrations of the *trillo* that differ significantly from the design in ex.12 – brief, often non-cadential patterns that include auxiliary notes as well as repeated notes (ex.14).

Ex.14 Caccini: *Le nuove musiche*



Such designs often comprise only a pair of repeated notes, which probably can be multiplied at the performer's discretion, following the advice of Durante (E1608). Quite possibly this alternative species of *trillo* also requires a subtler articulation. Notari (E1613) described the *trillo* as 'a kinde of sweetness in your voice', and Herbst (I1642, 3/1658) called it a 'charming buzz' ('liebliches sausen'). Thus articulation of the *trillo* may have ranged from the sharp repercussions of a belly laugh to a subtle vibrato.

The *gruppo* (also *groppo*; 'cluster') is similar to a modern trill with a turned ending (ex.15). Rognoni

Ex.15 Caccini: *Le nuove musiche*



compared it to the *trillo*: both are cadential ornaments, and both require glottal articulation. The *cascata* (ex.16)

Ex.16 Caccini: *Le nuove musiche*



is simply a fall; all Caccini's illustrations of this ornament involve a characteristic rhythmic alteration that enhances the effect of the cascade. As its name suggests, the *ribattuta di gola* (restriking of the throat), which sometimes introduces a *trillo*, requires glottal articulation (ex.17).

Ex.17 Caccini: *Le nuove musiche*



The *intonazione* (ex.18), though disparaged by Caccini, was recommended by Rognoni as a means of giving grace to the beginning of a note. The *accento* is an ornament

Ex.18 Rognoni: *Selva*



used to connect two longer notes; it is not easily defined but often includes dotted rhythms (Dickey, B1991). Rognoni said it was most properly used in descending (ex.19) rather than ascending. According to Zacconi,

Ex.19 Rognoni, *Selva*



accenti were particularly useful where *passaggi* might be inappropriate: on highly affective words, for example, or at the opening of a piece in imitative style where a voice sings by itself (Dickey, E1997, pp.256–7).

Some small-scale ornaments combine melodic and dynamic effects. Rognoni's *portar la voce* ('carriage of the voice') is made by 'reinforcing the voice on the first note little by little, and then making a tremolo on the black [note, i.e. crotchet]' (ex.20). For Doni (E1635) this

Ex.20 Rognoni: *Selva*



reinforcing associated with the *portar la voce* (and the related *strascino*) also involved a gradual rise in pitch from the lower to the higher. Doni said that these effects were useful for mournful texts and were more suitable for female voices or castratos than for ordinary male voices. Mazzocchi's *messa di voce* similarly involves both a rise in pitch and an increase in dynamic level. Dynamic effects were also addressed by Caccini, who recommended the *crescere e scemare di voce* (increase and decrease of the voice, hence related to the *messa di voce*) for the beginning of a phrase. But he preferred above all the opposite effect, the *esclamazione* (ex.21), which he called a strengthening

Ex.21 Caccini: *Le nuove musiche* (dynamic markings are editorial)



of the relaxed voice. Rognoni advised adding a *tremolino* (short repeated-note ornament) to the short note following the dotted note in this pattern.

Instrumentalists strove mightily to imitate the human voice, employing *passaggi* as well as small-scale ornaments and ideally adapting their ornaments to the character of the music. Farina (*Capriccio stravagante*, 1627) mentioned a special type of tremolo for string instruments that was done with a pulsating of the hand holding the bow, imitating the organ Tremulant. It received occasional use throughout the 17th century, often in affective slow

Ex.22 G. Usper: Sonata a tre, from *Compositioni armoniche* (1619)



movements (ex.22; see Carter, E1991). While the repeated-note *trillo* was occasionally employed in music for instruments as diverse as keyboard (ex.23) and trumpet

Ex.23 G.P. del Buono: Sonata viii, from *Canoni, oblighi et sonate* (Palermo, 1641)



(ex.24), a unique type of *trillo* was applied to the guitar in *rasgueado* style: the performer makes a rapid series of up- and down-strokes, touching all the strings. According

Ex.24 G. Fantini: *Modo per imparare a sonare di tromba* (Frankfurt, 1638)



to Foscarini (*c*1630; cited in Tyler, A1980, pp.83–4) it was done with a downward stroke with the thumb and then an up-stroke (with the thumb) and similarly with the middle finger. A similar *rasgueado* ornament is the *repicco*, which is more complex than the *trillo* and uses a variety of finger patterns. Like the *trillo* it generally covers all the strings, and often doubles, triples or even quadruples the number of written strokes.

In spite of Italian leadership in the development of Baroque ornamentation, native writers were curiously reticent on the subject after the early 1600s. Rognoni's

Selva di varii passaggi (E1620) was the last comprehensive theoretical source on ornamentation to appear in Italy before the end of the century, and apart from a few scattered references one must look to German treatises for advice at mid-century. Following the lead of Praetorius's *Syntagma musicum* (1614–19), many of these Germans – including Bernhard (Ic1649), Herbst (I1642) and Crüger (E1630, E1660) – were enthusiastic advocates of the Italian style, though their knowledge of its ornamentation practices may have been largely second-hand (see §8 below).

5. ITALY, 1650–1750.

(i) Sources. Few ornament symbols were used in Italian music in the period 1650–1750, and of those that do appear, roughly half are associated with Geminiani or Pasquali, both of whom spent their musical careers in the British Isles. Insofar as there was an internationally understood set of symbols for 'essential' ornaments in the late Baroque period, it was predominantly French or German. J.J. Quantz (*Versuch einer Anweisung, die Flöte traversiere zu spielen*, I1752) observed, 'In the Italian style in former times no embellishments at all were set down, and everything was left to the caprice of the performer' (although he added that 'for some time . . . those who follow the Italian manner have also begun to indicate the most necessary embellishments'). Thus, for example, the first edition of Corelli's *Sonate a violino e violone o cimbalo* op.5 (1700) lacks not only the celebrated free ornamentation of the 1710 Estienne Roger edition, but any ornament signs whatsoever – not even cadential trills are indicated. Even when Quantz explained that an Italian adagio required both free embellishment and the use of essential ornaments, he identified the latter with a French patrimony and implied that the Italian style subsumed the French: 'In the second manner, that is, the Italian, extensive artificial graces that accord with the harmony are introduced in the adagio in addition to the little French embellishments'.

Nicola Matteis, in his *Le false consonanze della musica* (Gc1680), after advising guitarists to develop a 'clever shake sweet and quick', insisted that, 'To set your tune off the better, you must make severall sorts of Graces of your one Genius, it being very troublesome for the Composer to mark them'. Roger North, writing in 1728, put the reticence of 'the elder Italians' down to an unwillingness to patronize competent musicians: 'in their finest cantatas [they] have exprest no graces, as much as to say, Whoever is fitt to sing this, knows the comon decorums.' P.F. Tosi (*Opinioni de' cantori antichi, e moderni*, G1723) seems to confirm this view:

> If the Scholar be well instructed in this, the *Appoggiatura's* will become so familiar to him by continual Practice, that by the Time he is come out of his first Lessons, he will laugh at those Composers that mark them, with a Design either to be thought Modern, or to shew that they understand the Art of singing better than the Singers. If they have this Superiority over them, why do they not write down even the Graces, which are more difficult and more essential than the *Appoggiatura's*?

Tosi dismissed as a 'foreign infantile practice' the tendency to indicate ornamentation in scores, a barb which struck home with his German translator, J.F. Agricola, who inserted a slightly aggrieved justification for being explicit about both appoggiaturas and free ornamentation (*Anleitung zur Singekunst*, I1757).

Not only are ornament signs few and far between in Italian scores, but there is little comment on the subject in Italian music treatises. As Frederick Neumann observed (I1978), 'about 1620, a long silence, which lasted more than one hundred years, settled on Italian ornamentation theory'. A number of figured-bass manuals make passing mention of ornaments, especially cadential trills. The most informative of these is Gasparini's *L'armonico pratico al cimbalo* (F1708) where three chapters cover the use of acciaccaturas, mordents and embellishment in figured-bass accompaniments. Tosi has a fairly lengthy discussion of ornamentation from a singer's point of view. Tartini's *Traité des agréments de la musique*, probably written about the middle of the century and eventually published in a French translation by Pierre Denis (F1771), deals extensively with ornamentation. Geminiani's later scores are laden with ornament and dynamic indications; but by 1739, when the revised edition of his op.1 violin sonatas ('con le grazie agli adagi') appeared, his eclectic style, influenced by his fascination with French music, had become so idiosyncratic that he could no longer be regarded as a spokesperson for Italian performance. This was recognized by various 18th-century commentators and stated most forcefully by John Hawkins in 1776: 'It is much to be doubted whether the talents of Geminiani were of such a kind as qualified him to give a direction to the national taste'.

Italian writers are not our only source of information about Italian ornamentation practices in this period. The widely held view that Italy and France had, in Quantz's phrasing, set themselves up as the sovereign judges and legislators in matters of taste meant that there was intense interest in the Italian style in other parts of Europe. Christoph Bernhard, in his succinct treatise on ornamentation *Von der Singe-Kunst oder Maniera* (Ic1649), used Italian terminology and treated the entire subject as if it were an Italian concern, discussing the differences between the Roman style (*cantar sodo*) and the more florid Neapolitan approach (*cantar d'affetto* or *cantar passaggiato*). His snapshot of mid-17th-century practice shows, for example, that the *trillo* as a repeated-note ornament was still in vogue. (G.A. Pandolfi wrote out *trilli* of this kind in several of his 1660 *Sonate a violino solo*.) Bernhard's small ornaments are limited to the trill, the accent and various types of portamento. Muffat's essay on playing in the Italian style (the preface to *Ausserlesene Instrumentalmusik*, 1701) made only passing and oblique mention of ornamentation (in sharp contrast to his equivalent essay on the French style), and this was to condemn players who ruined the music by an excess of ill-considered invention. (This was quite a common complaint; it is made, for example, by Giovanni Bononcini in the preface to his *Sonate da chiesa* p.6, F1672.) Quantz's systematic treatment of the subject in his *Versuch* and Agricola's expansive commentary on Tosi are among the important non-Italian sources from the mid-18th century.

(ii) Ornamentation in vocal music. In recitative certain appoggiaturas were a matter of conventional syntax rather than an optional embellishment. A pair of repeated notes, especially at cadence points, implied the use of an appoggiatura on the first (always an accented penultimate

syllable). Ex.25, from Vivaldi's *La Griselda* (1735), illustrates two standard instances of this. Alessandro Scarlatti normally wrote out the notes as sung where the



Ex.25 Vivaldi *La Griselda* (1735)

falling 4th was involved (indicated by † in ex.26), but left the appoggiatura by step to the singer's understanding of the convention (* in ex.26). Scarlatti does not appear to introduce an appoggiatura where the vocal line rises (rather than falls) by a 4th (‡ in ex.26) nor, for that matter, does Agricola in his music examples relating to the use of appoggiaturas in recitative.

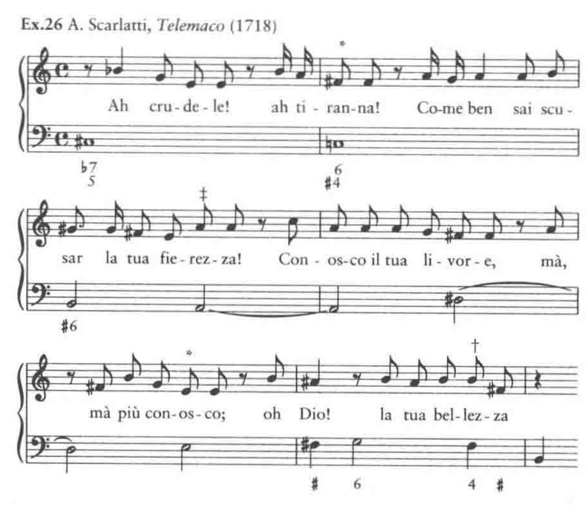
By the late 17th century, the da capo aria was the dominant solo vocal form. The repeat of the *A* section provided an opportunity for elaborate free embellishment (while singers were encouraged to restrict the first two parts of the aria to much more modest decoration). Tosi observed that reputations were made or lost on the ability of individual singers to do this well; but he stressed that the embellishments had to be well judged for the character and emotional content of a particular aria and that, above all, they had to appear spontaneous:

> To the acquiring of this valuable Art, a few verbal Lessons cannot suffice; nor would it be of any great Profit to the Scholar, to have a great Number of *Airs*, in which a Thousand of the most exquisite Passages of different Sorts were written down: For they would not serve for all purposes, and there would always be wanting that Spirit which accompanies extempore Performances, and is preferable to all servile Imitations.

Da capo arias generally allow for a cadenza before the final cadence (on the repeat of the *A* section). Some singers introduced cadenzas at this point the first time through the *A* section and at the end of the *B* section, but the practice was frowned on by Tosi, Quantz and others. Cadenzas (literally 'cadences', though the word was transferred in this period to the ornamental elaboration of cadential formulae) nearly always conclude with a trill. Tosi noted that 'Whoever has a fine *Shake*, tho' wanting in every other Grace, always enjoys the Advantage of conducting himself without giving Distaste to the End or Cadence, where for the most part it is very essential'.

(iii) Ornamentation in the continuo. For continuo players ornamentation has a primarily harmonic function. Gasparini explained the etymology of 'mordent' (in this context, touching fleetingly on the semitone underneath the upper octave in an arpeggiated chord) by 'its resemblance to the bite of a small animal that releases its hold as soon as it bites, and so does no harm'. He viewed acciaccaturas and similar dissonances as helping the singer being accompanied to be expressive. His chapter on 'Diminution, Embellishment, and Adornment' consisted essentially of music examples illustrating how the right hand can create diminutions above a left hand which provides for the bass line and its basic realization ('the necessary consonances'). Finally, and with a warning that it was often not appropriate, he demonstrated ways in which diminution may be introduced into a bass line moving in steady crotchets.

Ex.26 A. Scarlatti, *Telemaco* (1718)



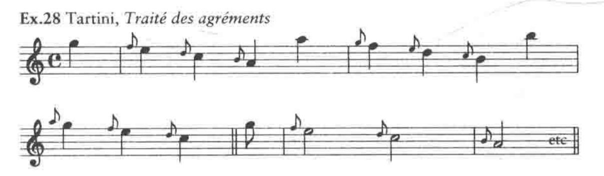
One of Gasparini's examples illustrates that where (as was usual in dramatic, as distinct from sacred, recitative) the penultimate vocal note in a cadential formula seems to clash with the bass line, the continuo player can soften the dissonance with an appoggiatura which creates a 4–3 suspension (figures have been added to the continuo part in ex.25 to show how this principle applies to this extract, assuming that the singer follows the appoggiatura convention on the falling 4th; see §(ii) above).

(iv) Instrumental music. Quantz's advice undoubtedly applies to Italian music: 'In the allegro, as in the adagio, the plain air must be embellished and made more agreeable by appoggiaturas, and by the other little essential graces, as the passion of the moment demands'. Writers who discussed the 'essential graces' often took a wide view of the concept, embracing dynamic effects (*piano* and *forte* contrasts, the *messa di voce*) and other matters that are now regarded as types of articulation (e.g. staccato) rather than ornaments. Tartini discussed only four essential ornaments: the trill, appoggiatura, turn and mordent. He emphasized that the pace of a trill needed to be adjusted to the character of the movement. He also gave a range of ways for starting and quitting a trill (ex.27). While most of the written-out examples in the *Traité des agréments de la musique* show the upper-note start as the norm, the model for developing a secure and flexible trilling technique included in Tartini's *Lettera alla signora Maddalena Lombardini* implies a main-note start (and, moreover, an open-string main note).

Ex.27 Tartini, *Traité des agréments*

Tartini reiterated the standard rules for the length of 'long' appoggiaturas – that they should fall on the beat and occupy half the value of the main note, or two-thirds of the value where they are attached to a dotted note. But he allowed for a de-emphasized appoggiatura where the context (a passage descending in 3rds) required it to be short and passing in character. In a case such as ex.28 the

Ex.28 Tartini, *Traité des agréments*



grace notes should be as short as possible and the accent should fall on the main notes. He acknowledged the possibility of rising appoggiaturas, but was uncomfortable about using them except in combination with other grace notes that provided an acceptable resolution of the dissonance (ex.29).

Ex.29 Tartini, *Traité des agréments*



For Tartini the turn (and the inverted or lower turn which, like rising appoggiaturas, he found less useful) involved taking as little length and emphasis away from the main note as possible. This produces a rather different-sounding ornament from the evenly measured note groupings described in French and German sources. (Although Tartini did not specify that the three initial notes of the turn should come before the beat, it is difficult to follow his instructions without that being the effect.)

Tartini's coverage suggests that Italian practice in the application of these graces did not always conform to the rules enunciated elsewhere in Europe. Neumann argued from a large number of music examples that it is impossible to be dogmatic about the length and placing of small ornaments (i.e. whether they occur on or before the beat and how much, if any, of the value of the principal note they account for).

Tartini was not alone in discussing vibrato as an ornament alongside the four standard graces considered above. Agricola, in his commentary on Tosi, dealt with vibrato at the end of a chapter on trills, mordents and turns. These and other writers emphasized the importance of adjusting the speed and intensity of vibrato to its context. Geminiani included his famous description of the close shake (see §6) at the end of his discussion of ornaments in *A Treatise of Good Taste in the Art of Musick* (G1749), which then became example XVIII of *The Art of Playing on the Violin* (G1751). His encouragement to use this device 'as often as possible' needs to be read alongside his advice that the plain shake 'may be made upon any Note' and that the appoggiatura 'will always have a pleasing Effect, and . . . may be added to any Note'. (Amusingly, Bernhard, *Ic*1649, included among his ornaments *fermo*, i.e. without vibrato, noting that it could 'be regarded as a refinement mainly because the *tremulo* is a defect'.)

There was general agreement throughout Europe that the attitude towards slow movements – as melodic outlines needing embellishment – was one of the most distinctive and fascinating aspects of the Italian style in the late Baroque period (*see* IMPROVISATION, §II, 3(iv)). The vogue as it emerged in the later 17th century resembles a resurgence of diminution practices; but whereas diminution typically involved an arithmetical division of long notes into clearly articulated short notes, the most characteristic gestures of late 17th- or early 18th-century embellishment were slurred and asymmetrical, or at least not conspicuously measured, as if unpremeditated and driven by a spontaneous outpouring of emotion. The most famous – and controversial – model for this was the set of graces for the adagios purportedly by Corelli which Roger included in his 1710 edition of the op.5 sonatas. These were not the first such examples for this set of sonatas, and they were far from being the last (though most subsequent sets of graces concentrated on the slow movements from the second part, the *sonate da camera*). The most systematic instruction in embellishing italianate adagios came from Quantz who, stressing the need for an understanding of harmony, progressed from a demonstration of extempore variation of simple intervals to a consideration of entire movements.

This development parallels the expectations for free embellishment in da capo arias, though the decoration of instrumental movements was not necessarily reserved for repeats. In fact, of all the slow movements in the first part of Corelli's op.5, only the opening binary Adagio of Sonata no.5 in G minor makes any provision for repeats. A related development, which corresponds quite closely to vocal practice, is the use of florid decoration at cadence points. According to Quantz, cadenzas had become popular with the Italians in the early 18th century and

> were subsequently imitated by the Germans and others who devoted themselves to singing and playing in the Italian style. . . . Perhaps the surest account which can be given of the origin of cadenzas is that several years before the end of the previous century, and in the first ten years of the present one, the close of a concertante part was made with a little passage over a moving bass, to which a good shake was attached; between 1710 and 1716, or thereabouts, the cadenzas customary at present, in which the bass must pause, became the mode.

Tartini distinguished between 'natural cadences' in which the decoration does not hold up the movement of the bass line, and 'artificial cadences' in which the bass line pauses on the dominant while the melodic instrument indulges in a cadenza above it. Both types of CADENZA conclude with a dominant trill (normally on the 5th of the chord) leading on to the tonic.

All forms of free ornamentation were, strictly speaking, the preserve of solo players, though there is evidence (mostly in the form of injunctions against doing it) that some orchestral players could not always repress the instinct to embellish.

6. ENGLISH BAROQUE. The virginalists' single and double strokes (see §3 above) lingered well into the 18th century before being supplanted by Italian signs. However, between the stroke sigla of the Golden Age and the italianized ornaments of the Hanoverian era, there existed in England an indigenous set of signs, known as 'graces',

as sophisticated and comprehensive as the French *agréments*. Mace described these as: 'Curiosities, and Nicities, in . . . the Adorning of your Play (for your Foundations being surely Laid, and your building well Rear'd, you may proceed to the Beautifying, and Painting of your Fabrick)' (G1676, p.102). They had distinctly English names, and encompassed a larger vocabulary of ornamentation than that used in modern practice. They were inconsistently represented, their signs varying depending on instrumental tradition and continental influences.

The earliest published tabulation with written-out realizations of ornaments was for fretted and bowed instruments. Compiled by Charles Coleman, the 'Table of Graces proper to the Violl or Violin' appeared in John Playford's *Breefe Introduction* (G1654) and Christopher Simpson's *Division-Violist* (G1659); the latter echoed a distinction made by the Downes manuscript (*c*1615, *GB-Lbl* Eg.2971), which contrasted four graces 'with the hand' – the relish, shake, falle and tast – with three 'with the bowe' – the traile, thumpe and shake. Among the hand graces, Simpson differentiated between the smooth and the 'shaked': 'Smooth is, when in rising or falling a Tone or Semitone, we draw ... the Sound from one Note to another, in imitation of the Voyce . . . Shaked Graces we call those that are performed by a Shake or Tremble of a Finger'. There was a further subdivision of the latter into close shake (one-finger vibrato) and open shake, which should 'exceed not the wideness of two Frets'.

For singers, Playford catered to the prevailing fashion by incorporating a translation of part of Caccini's preface to *Le nuove musiche* (1601/2) in the 1664 edition of *A Breefe Introduction*. The currency enjoyed by Caccini's ideas is confirmed in the 1666 edition: 'Trills, Grups, and Exclamations . . . have been used to our English Ayres above this 40 years and Taught here in England, by our late Eminent Professors of *Musick* Mr. *Nicholas Laneare*, Mr. *Henry Lawes*, Dr. *Wilson*, and Dr. *Colman*'; and a condensed form of Caccini's ornaments appeared in the anonymous *Synopsis of Vocal Musick* (G1680). Tastes changed, and these 'Directions for Singing after the *Italian* Manner' fell into oblivion after the 12th edition of *A Breefe Introduction* (1694), which was revised by Henry Purcell. As a boy Purcell had been a chorister in the Chapel Royal under Henry Cooke, who according to Evelyn (diary, 28 October 1654), was 'esteem'd the best singer after the *Italian* manner of any in *England*'. Strong traces of Italian ornamentation are to be found in Purcell's vocal writing, as in English song in general, which became technically more demanding in the wake of the arrival of Italian professional singers in the 1660s. In contrast, Purcell's decorative formulae for keyboard were largely based on those of the *clavecinistes*, even though very little French keyboard music survives in English sources. His posthumous *Choice Collection of Lessons* (G1696) contains 'Rules for Graces' for keyboards, purportedly 'taken from his owne Manuscript'. Earlier attempts at tables of interpretation had been ineffectual: most of the signs given were not in normal use (e.g. those in *GB-Lbl* Add.31403), while others, for example in Locke's *Melothesia* (G1673), were unexplained. Purcell shared Locke's orthography, however, with the familiar strokes presented in a variety of permutations and projected above notes rather than through the stem.

The 'most principal Grace in Musick' (Playford) was the shake, represented in lute sources as in ex.30, and in

Ex.30

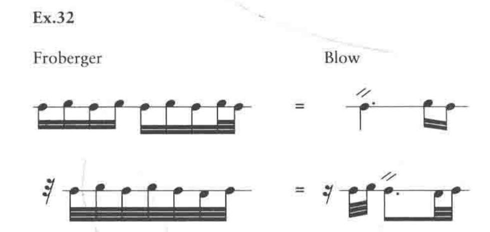
(a) ♯ (b) •

keyboard sources as in ex.31. It was to be executed 'sweet and quick' (Matteis, G*c*1680), 'equal, distinctly mark'd, easy' (Tosi, G1723), with (according to most 17th- and 18th-century sources) a perceptible acceleration. The

Ex.31

(a) 17th century // (b) 18th century *tr*

initial auxiliary note was to be slightly prolonged, and the main note left sounding: 'A Shake takes the Grace from the next note above it, which is to be heard a little, & then shaken of[f]; letting the proper note be heard at last' (Blakeston, 1694, *GB-Lbl* Add.17853; similar description, Prelleur, G1731). Though all sources show an upper auxiliary start, main-note trills also existed, as in transcriptions of works by Froberger (*c*1700, by Blow) and Rossi. Usually played on the beat, shakes are also occasionally to be found with an ascendant prefix before the beat (ex.32). However, Playford's 'Plain Shake' or



'Trill' is the English equivalent of Caccini's reiteration on a single note, the 'Trillo'.

As the shake involved the upper auxiliary, so the beat used the lower. It started off as an inverted mordent (ex.33*a*) played 'into a Half Note beneath' and continued

Ex.33

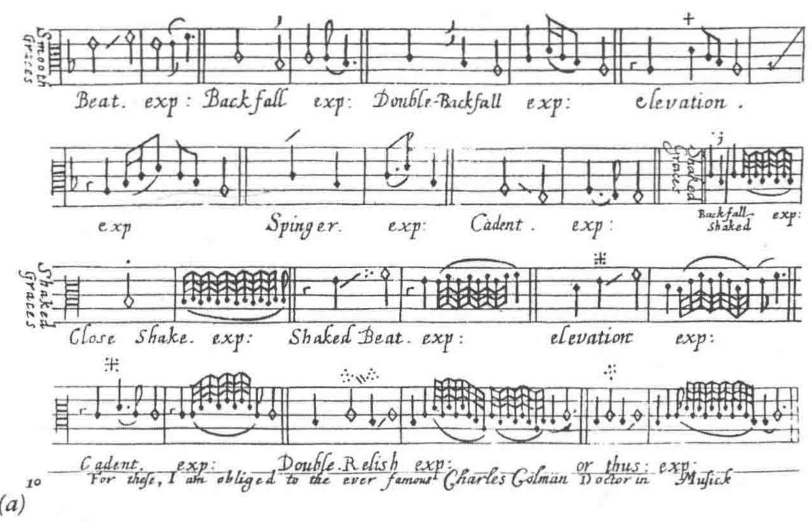
(a) Mace (1676) (b) late 17th century

'so long as my Time will allow me' (Mace, G1676, p.105). However, by the late 17th century, the beat (ex.33*b*) was a single entity 'fetcht from the half Note below the Note it stands over' (Carr, G1684, 2/1686), like the French *port de voix* (or *cheute*) with *pincé* (see §7 below) but without their separate notational identities. Its sign resembles a mordent (the modern mordent was unknown in England before 1749). In the early 18th century the beat underwent a refinement of notation whereby the single stroke (ex.34*a*) required a diatonic lower auxiliary

Ex.34

(a) (b)

and the double stroke (ex.5*b*) a chromatic lower auxiliary (Prendcourt, *c*1700, *GB-Y* M.16s). The beat received its most emphatic endorsement from Pasquali. In his *Art of Fingering the Harpsichord*, published in Edinburgh



(a)

1. *'Rules for graces': (a) C. Simpson: 'The Division-Violist' (London, 1659); (b) T. Mace: 'Musick's Monument' (London, 1676); (c) H. Purcell: 'A Choice Collection of Lessons for Harpsichord and Spinet' (London, 1696)*

The 1*ſt.* and *Chiefeſt*, is the *Shake*, Marked *Thus*, with a *Prick* before it, as here you may ſee, (·a) The 2*d.* the *Beate, Thus,* ('a) The 3*d.* the *Back-fall, Thus,* (›a) The 4*th.* the *Half-fall, Thus,* (⁄a) The 5*th.* the *Whole-fall, Thus,* (+a) The *Sixth,* the *Elevation, Thus,* (#a) The 7*th.* the *Single Reliſh, Thus,* (∴a) The 8*th.* the *Double Reliſh, Thus,* (⁞a) The 9*th.* the *Slur, Thus,* (a) the 10*th.* the *Slide,* (the ſame) *Thus,* (a) the 11*th.* the *Spinger, Thus,* (a⁄) The 12*th.* the *Sting, Thus,* (~a) The 13*th.* the *Futt, Thus,* (:a) The 14*th.* the *Pauſe, Thus,* (a) or *Thus,* (a) The 15*th.* and laſt, *Soft and Loud Play, Thus,* (ſo: lo:) which is as Great, *and Good a Grace, as any other, whatever.* Theſe are the 15 *Graces,* which may be uſed upon the *Lute*; yet *Few,* or *None* uſe them All. Their *Explanation* followeth; And firſt of the *Shake.*

(b)

Rules for Graces

A Shake is mark'd thus explaind thus a beat mark'd thus explaind thus a plain note & shake thus explain'd thus a fore fall mark'd thus explain'd thus a back fall mark'd thus explain'd thus a mark for the turn thus explain'd thus the mark for yͤ Shake turn'd thus explaind thus observe that you allway's shake from the note above and beat from yͤ note or half note below, according to the key you play in, and for yͤ plain note and shake if it be a note without a point you are to hold half the quantity of it plain, and that upon yͤ note above that which is mark'd and Shake the other half, but if it be a note with a point to it you are to hold all the note plain and Shake only the point, a Slur is mark'd thus explain'd thus the mark for yͤ battery thus explaind thus the bass Clift mark'd thus the Tenner Clift thus the Treble Clift thus a barr is mark'd thus at yͤ end of every time that it may be the more easy to keep time, a Double bar is mark'd thus and set down at yͤ end of every Strain, which imports you must play yͤ Strain twice, a repeat is mark'd thus and Signifies you must repeat from yͤ note to yͤ end of the Strain or lesson, to know what key a tune is in, observe yͤ last note or Close of yͤ tune, for by that note yͤ key is nam'd, all Round O end with yͤ first strain.

(c)

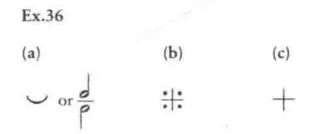
(G?1760), he appears to have suppressed his native tradition, and printed what must have been the standard English interpretation (ex.35), which is a literal inversion of the shake. Ex.35 (bar 7, beat 1) clearly shows the turn as a standard Baroque device, alternating first with the upper and then with the lower auxiliaries. This grace was, however, different in Purcell's *Choice Collection*, being a five-note ornament starting with the consonant main note, slightly prolonged not only at the end but also at the beginning. More straightforward were the forefall and the backfall, being short appoggiaturas, respectively ascending and descending, applied on the beat to conjunct notes or notes a 3rd apart. The notation for these graces was replaced by small notes in the 18th century. The forefall was referred to as a 'beat' by Playford and a 'Half-fall' by Mace. The slur (ex.36*a*), also called elevation (ex.36*b*) or wholefall (ex.36*c*), was played from the 3rd below the main note 'very swift, or the grace is lost' (North, *c*1710; ed. Wilson, G1959, p.62). Comparison with its continental equivalent, the *tierce coulée*, reveals that the first (lower) note would have been sustained throughout when the harmonic sense allowed it. The less common slide or double backfall descended a 3rd into the main note.

Unaccented notes of decoration, though often written out, were also given grace symbols. The cadent rhythmically anticipated the following note, while the springer, acute or sigh was a changing note nonchalantly inserted

Ex.35 N. Pasquali: Lesson XIII, 'of Graces', from *The Art of Fingering the Harpsichord* (1758)



between main notes: 'After you have hit your Note . . . you must (just as you intend to part with your Note) dab one of your next Fingers lightly upon the same String, a Frett or 2 Fretts below . . . yet so gently, that you do not cause the String to sound' (Mace, G1676, p.109). The sting was a vibrato, 'not modish in these Days', and executed 'upon a Long Note, and a Single String . . . and so soon as It is struck, hold your Finger (but not too hard) stopt upon the Place, (letting your Thumb loose) and wave your Hand . . . downwards, and upwards several Times, from the Nut to the Bridge' (ibid.). Coleman's



vividly illustrated 'Close Shake' was a vibrato requiring another finger: 'we shake the Finger as close and near the sounding Note as possible may be, touching the String with the shaking Finger so softly and nicely that it make no variation of tone. This may be used where no other Grace is concerned' (Simpson, G1659, p.11; ex.37).

Ex.37 C. Simpson: *The Division Violist* (1659)



Geminiani's sign for the 'Close Shake' (G1749, p.8), based on Mace's sign, resembles an extended trill or mordent, but the ornament was clearly a vibrato: 'you must press the Finger strongly upon the String of the Instrument, and move the Wrist in and out slowly and equally'. A vibrato not involving pitch alteration was the bow vibrato ('shake' or 'tremble'), likened by Simpson (G1659, p.10) to the Tremulant stop of an organ.

The term 'roulade' had two distinct meanings: in the *Burwell Lute Tutor* (Gc1660–72), the single roulade is equivalent to a backfall and the double roulade to a double backfall or slide, whereas Grassineau (G1740, p.205) defined the roulade as 'a trilling or quavering', the latter meaning 'the act of trilling or shaking, or running a division with a voice'. The tut was a curtailed note in lute music: 'always performed with the Right Hand . . . strike your Letter [i.e. note] (which you intend shall be so Grac'd), and immediately clap on your next striking Finger, upon the String which you struck; in which doing, you suddenly take away the Sound of the Letter [i.e. note], which is that, we call Tut' (Mace, G1676, p.109).

The breaking of a chord was often considered not a grace but a part of rudimentary technique. Mace's 'Raking Play' required the lutenist to sound the bass and the top note together and 'draw all over your Forefinger, very gently, till you have hit the Sixth String, and you will hear a very full Consort of 7 Parts'. In Purcell's 'Rules' (G1696), the broken chord, labelled 'Battery', is patently a misprint, the intention being an ascending arpeggio. This echoed continental practice; the downward arpeggio, however, is nowhere to be found in English rules for graces. A rhythmicized version, reflecting Italian practice, appears in a York Minster manuscript copied around 1700 by Captain Prendcourt (ex.38).



The 'single relish' was variously a turn and a trill, though Mace (G1676, p.107) asserted that the backfall of the latter 'would always be performed very strongly, and smartly', implying a perceptible dwelling on the appoggiatura. The 'double relish', like any other compound ornament, involved a shake; the term was used by Playford for Caccini's *gruppo*. The two constituent elements of Locke's 'Fore-fall & Shake' were sometimes separated (ex.39), allowing the shake to define the pulse

Ex.39

or or

and preventing the bar from going astray rhythmically. These are not to be confused with shakes with an ascending prefix taken before the beat (ex.40) or starting



on the beat, the latter unknown in England before about 1725. The ascending prefix must also not be confused with the termination of the 'Shake Turn'd', which required a discernible lingering on the final main note (ex.41).



Purcell's term 'Plain Note & Shake' (renamed 'backfall-and-shake' by Howard Ferguson: see Purcell, G1696) makes it clear that the initial note is not to be regarded as a backfall proper, but rather as a standard italianate

appoggiatura taking half the value of the note being graced (two-thirds when it is dotted). Any addition of a tie between the plain note and the first note of the shake is unwarranted.

Most typeset music of the 17th century omits grace signs, probably because typography was inadequate. The scarcity of printed indications for graces, especially in English songs before 1700, precludes neither their use nor innovation: 'to set your tune off better, you must make severall sorts of Graces of your own Genius, it being very troublesome for the Composer to mark them' (Matteis, G*c*1680, p.79). Manuscript versions of music often contain more ornaments than printed music, to which graces were often added by hand (exx.42*a* and *b*). Some

Ex.42 Christopher Gibbons: Voluntary for Double Organ
(a) *GB-Och* Mus.47
(b) *GB-Lbl* Add.34695



writers attempted to give general rules to allay uncertainty; the anonymous author of *The Synopsis of Musick* pointed out that 'Airy Songs' did not need to be graced and required 'only a lively and cheerful kind of Singing carried by the Air itself', whereas it was in 'Passionate Musick' that gracing came into its own.

North ranked embellishing as the apex of musical skills, writing that 'It is the hardest task that can be, to pen the manner of artificiall Gracing an upper part . . . the practice of Gracing is the practice of Composition, and without skill in the latter, the other will never succeede' (*c*1726; ed. Wilson, G1959, p.149); and that all musicians should 'informe themselves of the first principles of Harmony, plain and artificiall; for knowing the source whence all the ornaments flow' (1728; ed. Chan and Kassler, G1990). Tosi (G1723; Eng. trans., 2/1743, p.182) suggested that the musician should 'make new Graces, from whence . . . he will chuse the best', and should use them 'as long as he thinks them so; but, going on in refining, he will find others more deserving his esteem . . . he will increase his Store of Embellishments in a Stile which will be entirely his own'.

Graphic elucidations were employed to encourage the proper execution of graces: 'the triller's aim is to make a strong spring shake, as fast as possible . . . like a squirrel scratching her ear' (North, *c*1726; ed. Wilson, G1959, p.166). But there was an overriding caveat: 'one great failure [of shaking graces] is the neglect of time, which much deforms them' (ibid.), for 'whether they be Beats or Shakes, you must be sure to play 'em in time; otherwise you had better play only the plain Notes' (Blakeston, 1694, *GB-Lbl* Add.17853).

7. French Baroque.

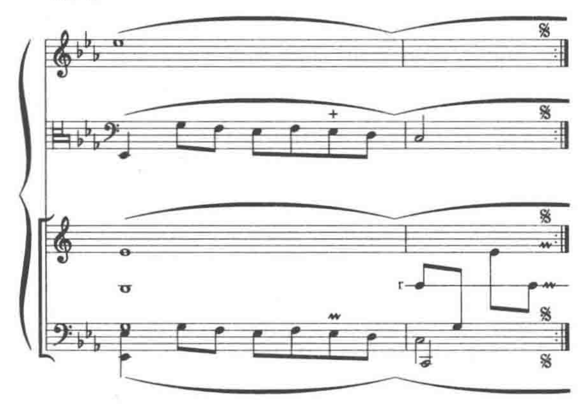
(i) Historical overview. Although stenographic symbols for standard decorative formulae existed in early 17th-century France, notably in Vallet's lute publication *Secretum musarum* (1615–16), they were not codified in any systematic fashion. The absence of a notational convention was commented on by Bacilly (H1668, p.135):

The majority of these ornaments are never printed in the music, either because they cannot accurately be reduced to print owing to a lack of appropriate musical symbols, or because it may be thought that a superabundance of markings might hinder and obscure the clarity of an *air* and thus result in confusion.

The remedy came soon after, with the flowering of the harpsichord and viol repertories. Ornamental clichés proliferated in manuscripts of harpsichord (Louis Couperin) and viol (Dubuisson) music, and the 'Table des agréments' in Chambonnières' *Pièces de clavecin* (1670) spawned the inclusion of similar tables in the prefaces of most instrumental publications in France. The most comprehensive and fully developed table was by D'Anglebert (*Pièces de clavecin*, 1689; fig.2), whose far-reaching influence was felt in Germany when the table was copied by J.S. Bach between 1709 and 1714. These tables maintained a high degree of consistency in the interpretation of named ornaments into the 19th century; the most important – *cadence*, *port de voix*, *coulé* and *accent* – were retained by Cartier (H1798, 3/*c*1803) for the violin, albeit with some alteration to their meaning. Indeed, ornamental nomenclature varied not just from one instrument to another but within an instrumental tradition. Such baffling diversity in marking ornaments was bemoaned by Montéclair and many others. Bérard attempted to rationalize French *agréments* by inventing new symbols, incorporating Greek and Hebrew letters, thus adding to the confusion.

Many composers, however, were content to use a very limited number of symbols, especially in 17th-century vocal parts, preferring to leave the option of more creative embellishment to the performer. Rameau, in his *Code de musique pratique* (1760), mentioned the need for variety in the execution of ornaments to prevent their becoming 'insipid'. Often the choice of symbols was governed by tradition, and different sets of symbols were used in the same piece – for example in Rameau's *Pièces de clavecin en concerts* (1741), where the wavy line in the *clavecin* part and the cross in the *basse de viole* part both indicate a *tremblement* (ex.43). Loulié differentiated between the sign of a *tremblement* 'dans les pièces' and 'dans la basse continue', warning that 'what I am going to say about the comma for *les pièces* must be understood for the small cross in the *basse continue*'. The ornaments in his *Eléments ou principes de musique* (H1696) were replaced in the Amsterdam edition of 1698; it appears that substitutions were necessary because many characters of type were unavailable in resetting the treatise. For example, the symbol for a trill ('+', used consistently in the original edition) is replaced by a 't', even where the text continues to speak of a 'cross'.

Ex.43 J.-P. Rameau, 'La Coulicam', *Pièces de clavecin en concerts* (1741), bar 21



2. *'Marques des Agrements et leur signification': table of ornaments by D'Anglebert from his 'Pièces de clavecin' (Paris, 1689)*

Agréments lie at the heart of what the French considered to be proper execution (*propreté*) and taste (*goût*). Bacilly observed: 'Without any doubt a piece of music can be beautiful but at the same time unpleasant. This is usually a result of the omission of the necessary ornaments' (H1668, p.135). Corrette wrote that 'a song without any ornament is like an unpolished diamond' (H1758, chap.15). In the choice of ornaments, Saint Lambert (H1702, p.42) advised that 'good taste is the only law that one can follow'. Yet contemporary writers were seemingly unable clearly to define what *le bon goût* actually was. Hotteterre (H1707, §9.23) wrote that 'one can scarcely give more certain rules for [the] distribution [of ornaments] . . . it is taste and practical experience, rather than theory, which can teach their appropriate use'. Others recommended study with a master or critical observation of one at work. Clearly, the use of tasteful ornaments was an integral part not only of a performer's artistry but also of his or her technique (Bacilly, H1668, p.89):

as can be observed among the majority of ill-trained singers, there are certain vocal qualities which will never sound satisfactory in themselves, no matter how well handled in performance. For example, some of these faults are singing through the nose, bad breath support, bad *cadences* and *accents* or *plaintes*, use of inappropriate ornaments at the end of an *air* or the incorrect placement of *ports de voix*, making *passages* with the tongue.

Le Gallois (H1680, pp.76–8) chastised 'flashy players' who exhibited poor taste in embellishing:

Their *cadences* are often played too rapidly, and as a result quite crudely, having been produced with too much energy . . . one hears nothing but a perpetual *cadence*, which prevents one from hearing the basic melody clearly. They continually, habitually add *passages*, especially from one note to its octave, which Chambonnières used to call 'rattling' [*chaudronnier*].

But he had special praise for Chambonnières' ability to improvise new embellishments (ibid., 70):

Each time he played a piece he added new delights with *ports de voix*, *passages* and different ornaments, including *double cadences*. In a word, he so varied them with all these different adornments that he was always able to disclose some new beauty in them.

François Couperin had less confidence in his readers' taste; in the preface to the third book of his *Piéces de clavecin* (1722), he declared that his ornaments and music were indissolubly linked:

I am always surprised, after the pains I have taken to indicate the *agrémens* which suit my pieces, and of which I have given separately a quite intelligible explanation in a particular *méthode* known as *L'art de toucher le clavecin*, to hear people who have learnt them without following my instructions. This negligence is unpardonable, the more so since it is not at all an arbitrary matter to introduce such ornaments as one wishes. I declare that my pieces must be executed as I have marked them, and that they will never make much of an impression on persons of true taste unless everything I have indicated is observed to the letter, without adding or subtracting anything.

Ornaments served a practical purpose: to provide shape and character to the melody.

To sing or play *proprement* is to execute French melody with the ornaments that suit it. This melody, being nothing by the mere force of the sounds, and not having by the same any character, only receives it [character] by the affective contours that one gives it in executing it. These contours, taught by the masters of *goût du chant*, make up what one calls the *agrémens* of French song. (Rousseau, H1768, under 'Proprement', p.396)

The most important ornaments, such as those with long appoggiaturas, provide melodic dissonance, thereby fulfilling a crucial harmonic role. It was this concept of 'dissonance as decoration' which Brossard, in his *Dictionaire des termes* (H1701, 2/1703), called the *supposition* and equated with *ornement du chant*. Masson (H1694, 2/1699, p.59) wrote that dissonance was required 'for giving beauty to the melody, by adding a note which functions as an ornament ... [and] for connecting the intervals, i.e. for rendering the melody smoother and sweeter'. Such ornaments acquire their expressiveness by being sounded against some present or implied consonant chord of resolution while simultaneously being used to 'suppose' or substitute for the displaced consonant. The ubiquity of such ornaments, used to enhance almost all cadential points, testifies to the growing notion of harmony, rather than melody, as the essential determinant of musical structure.

The playing of ornaments, whether supplied by the composer or provided by the performer, was never the sole prerogative of the melodist. Though continuo players often encounter bass-line embellishments in the form of divisions, bass-line ornament signs are less common. In the trio sonatas of François Couperin, however, the *basse d'archet* part surpasses the *basse chiffrée* in ornamentation, presumably because the latter was prepared first, so that the additional ornaments in the former were a result of afterthought and refinement.

The use of embellishment in orchestral playing was generally censured, although Muffat sanctioned ornaments other than diminutions in his introduction to book 1 of *Florilegium* (I1695). Lully's obsession with orchestral discipline and uniformity was mentioned by Sénecé (H1688, p.299), Montéclair (H1736, pp.86–7) and Le Cerf de la Viéville (H1705, p.227):

[Lully's] instrumentalists did not take it upon themselves to ornament their parts. He would not have allowed them to do this any more than he allowed it with his singers. He did not think it was right when they imagined they knew more than he did and added graces to their parts. When this happened, he grew angry and quickly set them straight. It is a true story that more than once in his life he broke a violin across the back of a musician who was not playing it the way he wanted.

As Bourdelot (H1715, pp.297–9) observed:

it is hard for a harpsichord, a viol and a theorbo (to say nothing of the string and wind instruments) all to hit upon just the same ornaments at the same time. One plays one figure, another plays a different one, and the result is such total cacophony that the composer no longer recognizes his own work, which seems completely deformed.

By mid-century, limited use of ornaments seems to have become accepted practice (Rousseau, H1768, p.200, under 'Ensemble').

(ii) The agréments. In the following discussion, the ornaments are grouped according to interval: (a) Unison: *aspiration*, *balancement de main*, *batement*, *flattement*, *langueur*, *liaison*, *plainte*, *son coupé*, *suspension*, *tenuë*, *tremblement* (these do not involve auxiliaries, though pitch may be affected); (b) Whole tone or semitone: *aspiration*, *cadence*, *coulé*, *martellement*, *pincé*, *port de voix*, *tour de chant*, *tremblement*; (c) The 3rd: *double cadence*, *tierce coulé*, *tour de gosier*; (d) Larger intervals: *arpégé*, compound ornaments, glissando.

(a) Unison. The expressive use of silence is represented by two ornaments: *suspension* and *aspiration*. The *suspension* is a delay of a note, and was considered particularly affective. The *aspiration* or *son coupé* is a shortening of a sound; d'Anglebert called it a *détaché* and recommended its use 'avant un tremblement' or 'pincé' (see below).

The prolongation of sound is a more convoluted matter. De Machy's *liaison* is a tie, joining two notes of the same pitch into a longer note. It is not to be confused with Jean Rousseau's (H1687, pp.103–4) *liaison*, which is a slur, encompassing several notes (and intervals) within a bowstroke. Rousseau called a tie or hold a *tenuë*, noting that 'if one runs out of bow, one should change strokes as discreetly as possible'. The *tenuë* is usually indicated with long lines, though Marais used square brackets and De Machy sometimes used long notes written as double stops. This is one of the most distinctive technical aspects of the *style brisé* on the lute, harpsichord or viol, enhancing the sonority of the instrument while underpinning the harmonic progression. De Machy's preference for *jeu d'harmonie* over *jeu de mélodie* was attacked by Rousseau (H1687, p.64) because of the way in which the *tenuës* restricted the melody: 'quite inappropriately, [De Machy] wishes to . . . tie us to practising the *tenuës*. Preferable to this are more important things . . . [such as] the beauty of the melody and its *agréments*, which are preferable to all *tenuës* which might wish to stand in the way'. The curved lines found in harpsichord *préludes non mesurés* are variously referred to as *tenuë* or *liaison*, the latter by the majority of writers. Whatever the terminology, the intended effect is that of 'digital pedalling', with the affected note left sounding (i.e. held) throughout the length of the sign or for an indeterminate duration (for examples *see* PRÉLUDE NON MESURÉ).

French writers give detailed descriptions of the vibrato. For wind players the *flattement* or *flaté*, as described by Hotteterre (H1707; he also refers to it as *tremblement mineur*), involves the lowering of the pitch of a main note and has the sole purpose of 'sweetening' or 'softening' notes. Mahaut (H1759, chap.7) described it as 'a wavering of the tone which is slower than that of a trill and produces an interval narrower than a semitone'. For string players the same ornament was named *pincé* by Marais, in common with all 18th-century writers, who described it as a vibrato produced by the rocking motion of two fingers pressed against each other. Variant interpretations confuse the picture. Bacilly evoked the comparison with a bow vibrato when likening the singer's *doublement du gosier* to the *flatté*, which is 'easier to execute with the bow than with the voice'. Corrette's vocal *flaté* (H1758, chap.15) requires a barely perceptible upper auxiliary inflection of the voice, whereas his *flattement* for the flute (H*c*1740), 'done to swell and diminish the sound . . . extremely touching in tender pieces on long notes', is reminiscent of the Italian MESSA DI VOCE (like Corrette's *son filé*). By contrast, Montéclair's (H1736, p.85) *flatté* was a vocal ornament produced by several slight, gentle *aspirations*, which he compared to a vibrato on one string. His other vocal vibrato, executed by making 'several small aspirations more definite [*plus marquées*] and slower than those of the *flatté*' (ibid.), is called *balancement* and

is equated with the Italian tremolo, producing the effect of an organ Tremulant. This could well be the interpretation of the wavy lines in the 'Shivering Chorus' in Lully's *Isis* (1677; see Sawkins, H1996).

The single-finger vibrato is even more fraught with confusion, being referred to as *aspiration* by De Machy, *balancement de main* by Danoville (H1687) and *langueur* by Rousseau (H1687). The latter regarded it as a poor cousin to the two-finger vibrato, to be used 'when the *batement* [Rousseau's and Danoville's term for the two-finger vibrato] is not possible, particularly when it must be a note held by the little finger'. The use of the fourth finger for this ornament was standard for Marais and most 18th-century composers, who, like De Machy, referred to it as the *plainte*.

(b) Whole tone or semitone. The bulk of documentary evidence supports the practice of playing ornaments on the beat. However, several modern writers, notably Neumann and Mather, have argued for pre-beat performance, citing as reasons the avoidance of parallels and the subjective experience of the ability of anticipatory ornaments to aid the flow of the melodic line: thus a 'pre-beat' ornament is preferable for iambic pairs, while an 'on-the-beat' ornament is best applied to trochaic pairs of main notes.

The trill. The most common ornament in this category, the trill, had both melodic and harmonic applications, and was referred to interchangeably as *tremblement* or *cadence*. The latter term designated the specific ornament found at a melodic closing, the penultimate note of which was typically ornamented by a trill (though other ornaments are possible; see §(c) below). Loulié explained in *Eléments* (H1696, pp.83–4, under 'Tremblement'):

> It is customary to give to the *tremblement* the name of *cadence*; there is nevertheless a difference. The *cadence* is a melodic ending. Now, melodies are related to an *air* [much in the same manner] as periods and other parts [of speech] are to an address. The endings of these melodies, or sections of which an *air* is composed, are related [in speech] sometimes to periods, sometimes to commas, sometimes to question marks, etc., according to the different manners in which these melodies conclude. The ending or conclusion of each section is called *cadence*, of which there are many types ... Since the *tremblement* enters into most of these *cadences*, the name of *cadence* has been given to the *tremblement*.

Rousseau (H1768, p.67) added that '*Cadence* is, in terms of the melody, that beating of the throat that the Italians call *trillo*, which we also call *tremblement*, and which is usually done on the penultimate note of a musical phrase, from where, without doubt, it has taken the name *cadence*'.

The anatomy of a trill is best revealed by Couperin (H1716, p.24), who described three components: the *appuy*, an upper auxiliary preparation; the *battements*, the oscillation proper; and the *point d'arrêt*, a termination on to the main note. This analysis, more properly for the *tremblement appuyé*, however, belies the dazzling variety in which trills can be executed. Most writers apportioned to the *appuy* half the value of the trilled note, for notes divisible by two, or a third, for those divisible by three (Bérard, H1755; Blanchet, H1756); naturally, the ornament takes on the suffix *appuyé* or (in the case of Hotteterre) *pleine*. Despite Couperin's example confirming an earlier example by d'Anglebert, it would seem that this ornament should have a reiterated upper auxiliary. Saint Lambert (H1702, p.47) not only omitted d'Anglebert's tie but also stated quite specifically that, in performing the *tremblement appuyé*, the 'borrowed note' (i.e. the upper auxiliary) should be heard once 'before starting the *tremblement*'. This is not to be confused with Couperin's (H1713) *tremblement appuyé et lié*, in which the *appuy* is tied to the preceding note.

It is, however, possible that because of its brevity a note cannot accommodate any dwelling on the auxiliary or its *point d'arrêt*. In the former case, the suffixes *non appuyé*, *sans appuyer*, *brisé* (Hotteterre), *détaché* (Couperin) or *precipitée* (Corrette) apply. Sometimes the term *simple* is used, though this usually applies to a short, as opposed to longer (*double*) or long (*triple*), ornament. Mahaut associated such a non-appoggiatura trill with the Italian style, as opposed to the *appuyé* trill of the French style; Corrette's (H1758) *cadence italienne*, however, does have an *appuyé* as well as a two-note termination, and seems to differ from his *double cadence* (Hc1740) only in that the latter applies to notes in conjunct ascent. Note that De Machy's *tremblement sans appuyer* for the viol is actually a two-finger vibrato.

Trills are usually portrayed oscillating for the entire duration of the note, despite Couperin's illustration of a *point d'arrêt*. This feature could, however, be shortened to allow a brief silence, which Couperin called *aspiré*. A brief silence can also be found in Hotteterre's (2/1715) *double cadence coupée*, where it occurs between the termination of a trill and the subsequent note. This is unlike Corrette's (H1758) *cadence coupée*, whereby the *point d'arrêt* takes half the value of the ornament and has no 'cut-off'. Often the *tremblement* runs into a termination, usually written out in small notes; however, d'Anglebert tended to consider this a compound ornament, *tremblement et pincé*. Couperin called those with a termination resolving upwards *tremblement ouvert* and those resolving downwards *tremblement fermé*. His term for a trill which oscillates across a few bars is *tremblement continu*.

Jacques de Gallot, in the 'Méthode' to his *Pièces de luth* (*c*1684) recommended the use of 'rhythmically even trills as often as possible', while Le Gallois (H1680, p.77) found that 'there is nothing which makes playing more lovely ... than to trill equally and to sustain the trill'. This does not exclude the shaping of the momentum of the ornament; as Couperin (H1716, pp.23–4) succintly put it, 'a trill of any considerable duration ... should begin more slowly than it ends'.

The appoggiatura. The symbol for the *port de voix* in keyboard music is almost always an inverse comma preceding the main note. (Chambonnières alone used a cross.) The ornament takes up half the value of the ornamented note. The choice of upper or lower auxiliary is guided by the note preceding the ornamented note. As d'Anglebert (1689) pointed out, the *cheute en montant* ascends to the main note, while the *cheute en descendant* approaches the main note from above; the falling motion of the latter explains Gallot's use of the term *tombé*. Couperin (1713) eschewed the symbol, opting for a small note linked by a square bracket and calling the ornament *port de voix coulée*, while Rameau's *coulez* is slurred with an overlegato. Other terms for this ornament include *accent plaintiff* (Mersenne) and *coulement* (Hotteterre).

A closely related ornament is Loulié's *coulé* (H1696, under 'Coulé'), a vocal inflection from a subsidiary or weak note to a lower and stronger one. It is indicated by a comma between the main notes of varying intervals,

and functions mainly as a descending anticipatory appoggiatura linking notes a 3rd apart; its descending counterpart is the *port de voix*, which Loulié indicated (with an oblique stroke) as playable either before or on the beat.

The inverted mordent and other ornaments. The *pincé* or *pincement* begins on the main note and involves only the lower auxiliary. For the flute Mahaut called it *battement*, a term used by Mersenne and adopted by most viol composers, though De Machy and Loulié referred to it as *martellement.* It is indicated by a comma after the note or by the modern sign for inverted mordent. Played very swiftly, the *pincé* is often preceded by a *port de voix.* These two ornaments are so closely associated that they have mutated into another ornament which Mahaut called *martellement.* Hotteterre's (1715) *tour de chant* has the appearance, in its explanation, of an inverted mordent, but is actually an extended preparation involving a lower auxiliary of the anticipation.

Rousseau's (H1687, p.90) viol *aspiration* is played a semitone or a whole tone higher at the very end of a long note; this note must be very short and separated from the main note. A vocal counterpart to this ornament is Bacilly's (H1668, 3/1679, p.189) *accent*, a passing note nonchalantly inserted between main notes: 'There is in melody a particular note that is only articulated very lightly by the throat . . . it is always done on a long syllable, and never on a short one'. This description was echoed for wind instruments by Hotteterre (H1707), who observed that the passing appoggiatura is 'borrowed' from the end of some notes to give them more expression. The main notes do not have to be conjunct: Corrette (H1758, chap.15) demonstrated how, in bridging a leap, a long note is held until a light upward inflection to the auxiliary precedes the following disjunct main note.

(c) The 3rd.

The turn. All French Baroque sources use the same sign for a four-note ornament, starting from the upper and involving a lower auxiliary, with the exception of Chambonnières (1670), whose turn involves two lower auxiliaries (but no upper auxiliary) and a *point d'arrêt.* It is variously called *double cadence* (Chambonnières), *double cadence sans tremblement* (D'Anglebert) and *doublé* (Rameau, 1724); Hotteterre's (2/1715) and Corrette's (H1758) turn, the *tour de gosier*, is applied after the main note.

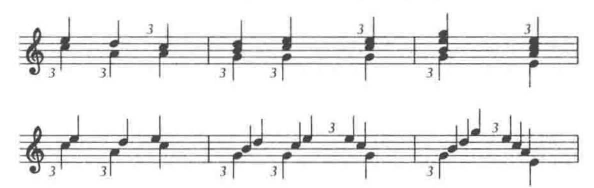
The compound trill. A trill involving both upper and lower auxiliaries is called *cadence*, though the variation in interpretation is great. In D'Anglebert's case the direction from which his *cadence* is approached is evident from the orthography of the symbols, starting on either the upper or the lower auxiliary. Despite its name Rameau's *double cadence* does not imply longer repercussions: it is in fact identical with d'Anglebert's *tremblement et pincé* in being a standard trill terminated by a lower auxiliary turn. Compared to Rameau's, d'Anglebert's *double cadence* is a complicated affair, comprising both a turn and a compound trill.

Filling in a tierce. Filling in the interval of a 3rd is as inviting as it is convenient. Both outer main notes of the three-note ornament should be held, with a slight dwelling on the first and with the passing note released as soon as possible. Though the *coulé* is usually marked with a stroke through both notes, d'Anglebert's use of curves reveals a sophisticated approach (see fig.2): the horizontal curve, his *coulé sur deux notes de suite*, links two consecutive notes a 3rd (or more) apart, while the vertical curve, his *coulé sur une tierce*, is placed before or after the interval, respectively, for an ascending or descending ornament; the latter corresponds to Rousseau's (H1687, p.95) *cheute.* Hotteterre's straight line linking two consecutive notes a 3rd apart is the same ornament, but labelled *port de voix double.* Many composers, however, used *notes perdues* (small notes) to indicate the ornament. D'Anglebert has a four-note version of the ornament, starting on the lower auxiliary of the upper main note of a 3rd (*double cheute sur une tierce*) or on a single note (*double cheute à une note*).

(d) Larger intervals. D'Anglebert's juxtaposition of a turn with a compound trill (*double cadence*) involves multiple auxiliaries, resulting in an ornament that spans the interval of a 4th. Consecutive notes of any interval can be joined to make 'une grande liaison dans le chant'. This involves either a changing note tucked in just before the second main note (see above §(c), 'The turn'), or some sort of a run, indicated by small notes and called *coulade* (Loulié, H1696, p.87).

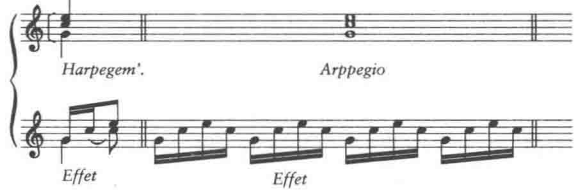
Chords can be rendered more attractive by breaking them or by inserting acciaccaturas. A vertical curve or wavy line beside a chord or a stroke through the stem indicates *harpègement* or *arpégé.* D'Anglebert's use of the stroke – an innovation praised by Saint Lambert (H1702, chap.26, p.55) for 'encumbering the score less' – encompasses a refinement indicating upward or downward spreads, corresponding to *acute* or *grave* sloping strokes. Though *agrément* tables explain the arpeggio in terms of what appears to be rhythmic subdivision of notes, an ametrical spread is a more likely interpretation. This is corroborated by depictions of chord spreads in unmeasured keyboard preludes and by Saint Lambert's skewed representation of 'Harpégez simples' (ex.44), whereby 'no

Ex.44 Saint Lambert, *Les principes du clavecin* (1702), chap.26



perceptible interval appears between the notes which could alter or break the rhythm of the piece'. In contrast to the spreading of densely textured chords, Saint Lambert recommended the rhythmicized arpeggiation of a chain of two-note chords, advice reiterated in his later treatise (H1707, p.62) as 'a kind of pulsation' (*une espèce de battement*). This reflects the encroaching influence of Italian *galanteries*, as seen in the metrical subdivision of a figured bass realization in triplet rhythm in the Addendum (1724) to Delair's *Traité* (H1690). The dichotomy of *harpègement* (a spread chord) and *arppegio* [*sic*] (rhythmic figurations) in Corrette's 'Explication des marques' at the end of his *Pièces de clavecin* (1734; ex.45) is a

Ex.45 M. Corrette, from 'Explication des marques', *Pièces de clavecin* (1734)



succinct reminder of the continuing *querelle* about the merits of French versus Italian styles. D'Anglebert called the insertion of small notes within a chord *cheute*, of which there is a large variety. Saint Lambert's (H1702, p.55) term for this is 'arpégé figuré', with the acciaccaturas inserted 'avec discretion' but imparting no perceptible rhythmic alteration to the arpeggiation.

8. GERMAN BAROQUE. Ornamentation in German-speaking regions of Europe during the period 1600–1750 encompasses a number of distinct traditions. Modern interest in the subject has focussed on questions arising in the instrumental works of J.S. Bach, and several relatively late theoretical sources (particularly Quantz, I1752, and C.P.E. Bach, I1753–62) have been regarded as authoritative. But a clearer understanding of Bach's ornamentation and that of the German Baroque as a whole emerges through a broader consideration of surviving music and documentation.

Perhaps because the practice was so widespread and so fundamental to good performance, no single word was used throughout the period for what we call ornamentation. Printz (I1689) discussed a number of ornaments as instances of *figurae* (figures), but by the 18th century the most common term for ornaments was *Manieren*. Only gradually, however, was the latter identified with specific melodic decorations. For Bernhard (Ic1649) *Manier* still had the general sense of 'good style'; he used the term *Kunststück* for specific ornaments but also for fermatas and dynamics. All were understood, evidently, as 'ornaments' in the classical rhetorical sense that they contributed to the perfection of a performance.

(i) Sources. Ornaments are discussed in theoretical sources that range from pedagogic works (such as Herbst, I1642, 3/1658, and Walther, I1708) to encyclopedic compendia (*PraetoriusSM*, *WaltherML*) and comprehensive treatises on specific instruments or the voice (Quantz, I1752; C.P.E. Bach, I1753–62; Agricola, I1757). In addition, ornament tables and verbal explanations of ornament signs are included in many printed and manuscript sources of keyboard music, especially after 1700 (see §(v)(a) below). The music itself frequently provides suggestions for the performance of ornaments and the realization of ornament signs.

The 17th-century theoretical sources are almost exclusively vocal and italianate in orientation, intended to convey to Germany the innovations of Caccini, Monteverdi and other early Baroque Italian musicians. Bernhard and Mylius (I1685) document the continuation of the Italian tradition at, for example, the Dresden court under Bernhard's teacher Schütz. Elements of 17th-century terminology and teaching persist in later treatises, many of which are highly retrospective.

Prefaces and ornament tables accompanying published compositions are the chief sources on instrumental ornamentation until the very end of the period. Important early examples are Georg Muffat's introductions to his publications of music for keyboard (1690) and for instrumental ensemble (1698). Following the practice of Chambonnières and later French composers, J.C.F. Fischer published an ornament table in his 1696 volume of keyboard suites; Bach included a table similarly derived from French models in the manuscript *Clavier-Büchlein* for his son Wilhelm Friedemann (1720).

Apart from Mattheson (I1739), the major German treatises of the 18th century offer little on ornamentation until shortly after 1750, when the Berlin publications of Quantz (on the flute), C.P.E. Bach (on keyboard instruments) and Agricola (on singing) provided thorough accounts of the execution of various ornaments and the appropriate contexts for each. Leopold Mozart's violin treatise (I1756) agrees with the Berlin treatises on most fundamental points concerning ornamentation. Modern authors have been strongly influenced by these treatises, whose rationalistic accounts appeal to students seeking 'correct' realizations of Baroque ornament signs. But the immediate orientation of these writers is mid-century secular music in the *galant* style, and thus their advice cannot be applied automatically to earlier repertories. Moreover, it is misleading to apply their terminology in older music. For example, 17th-century sources had no single expression for what came to be called the trill, and the latter word had several distinct meanings.

Donington (A1963, 4/1989) presents a coherent interpretation of Baroque ornamentation, derived in part from the late German sources mentioned above. Neumann (I1978) argues for greater diversity of interpretation, based on a systematic study of the available sources. (Donington, pp.620–40, replies to some of Neumann's more controversial conclusions.) Butt (I1994) includes an analysis of German Baroque theory and pedagogy on ornamentation, especially in vocal music.

(ii) Historical trends. Broadly speaking, German Baroque ornamentation closely imitated contemporary Italian practices during the earlier part of the period, particularly in vocal music; adopted French practices and ornament signs beginning in the later 17th century, especially in keyboard music; and synthesized these two foreign traditions during the 18th century. German Baroque music followed general European trends in the gradual increase in the number and specificity of written indications for ornaments in musical scores, as well as in a proliferation of distinct ornament types as described in theoretical sources. In addition, there was a shift in the prevailing harmonic function of ornaments: whereas earlier ornamentation consists predominantly of the insertion of passing notes between consonances, later ornaments frequently commence on accented dissonances, used for expressive effect.

17th-century treatises discuss the stylized decoration of individual notes alongside more elaborate types of embellishment derived from the Renaissance practice of diminution. The two types of ornamentation become more distinct in 18th-century sources. Although early composers often failed to notate any ornamentation, the regular presentation of both types in 17th-century treatises implies that they were habitually improvised, at least by soloists.

Virtuosos continued to improvise elaborate embellishments in Italian-style music through the 18th century. Like Printz (I1676–7) and Niedt (I1700), Quantz provided numerous examples of embellishments on simple melodic intervals, and together with C.P.E. Bach and Agricola devoted considerable attention to cadenzas and other forms of improvisation. Music in the French style provided fewer opportunities for elaborate soloistic embellishment, instead favouring ornaments on single notes that could be designated by signs. Georg Muffat and later composers of French-style instrumental music evidently envisaged an approach to ornamentation modelled on Lully's, in which an entire instrumental ensemble might perform ornaments

uniformly, with little or no improvisation. Nevertheless, except in works for solo keyboard, explicit ornament signs remain rare until after 1750, apart from the abbreviation 't' or 'tr' and the cross (+) sign. Ensemble musicians were evidently expected to select ornaments on the basis of their understanding of style (or by following a leader's instructions).

J.S. Bach, the Muffats (father and son) and others followed French contemporaries in scrupulously marking ornaments in their printed editions of keyboard music. But manuscripts are often less explicit, suggesting that the addition of ornament signs was a notational refinement, carried out for the benefit of students and the public. Copyists and music engravers often altered signs from those given by the composers, who were themselves not always consistent in their use of ornament signs: some signs given in ornament tables appear rarely in actual scores; occasionally, too, one finds several different signs used for the same effect. Each of these factors creates ambiguity for editors and performers, despite the apparently explicit notation of ornaments in 18th-century keyboard music.

To what degree French ornaments entered German singing is unclear, although the strong French element in many compositions must have had some influence on singers, as in the many arias from Bach's cantatas employing French dance rhythms. The ornaments described by Agricola – whose work is an annotated translation of Tosi's 1723 Italian treatise – are not in fact very distant from François Couperin's, although they are employed in a different stylistic context. But vocal music never became as explicit as instrumental in indicating ornaments. Although some relatively early treatises (e.g. Bernhard and Mylius) used letters and symbols to represent certain vocal ornaments, these never caught on; most singers evidently relied instead on their knowledge of style.

(iii) The 17th century: vocal ornamentation. The style of ornamentation established by Italian solo singers around 1600 appears to have been maintained with little fundamental change in Germany through the 17th century; even the German names of these ornaments usually remained Italian (or latinized Italian). The ornaments were rarely notated, and the treatises are sparing in their advice as to where to apply them; modern performers must draw conclusions about the proper context of each ornament from the numerous examples given by Praetorius, Herbst and others. These examples generally give the ornaments in fixed rhythmic values; how literally the latter were meant to be interpreted is unclear, but some degree of rhythmic freedom can be assumed.

The repeated-note *trillo* was evidently used to the end of the 17th century; Praetorius's 1619 account was repeated practically verbatim by Herbst in 1658, and the ornament was still described by Printz. These writers mentioned first a staccato *trillo* sung on long notes and – apparently – usually written out, as in the works of Monteverdi (explicitly named by Praetorius). This may be the type of repeated-note figure that Printz (I1689) termed a *bombus* (ex.46). But Praetorius and Herbst also

Ex.46



mentioned a second type indicated by the abbreviation 't', 'tr' or 'tri'. This could fall on short as well as long notes, but in either case both context and abbreviation may suggest a trill to modern performers (ex.47). In fact

Ex.47



this latter *trillo* may have been a type of vibrato. Printz (I1689) seems to have used the term *trillo* only for this type, although he also described a *trilletto* that is much softer ('viel linder'), its repercussions barely articulated ('fast gar nicht angeschlagen'). Bernhard and Mylius used the term *ardire* for a similar ornament; Bernhard recommended it particularly in (vocal) bass parts, but Mylius discouraged its use.

Only after 1700 was the term 'trill' consistently applied in the modern way to oscillating ornaments. In German writings throughout the 17th century the expression 'tremolo' was preferred, referring to ornaments employing lower as well as upper auxiliaries. The tremolo is shown as occurring on notes of relatively long value, beginning on the main note and on the beat (ex.48: bar 1 shows the

Ex.48



plain long note, bars 2 and 3 two possible types of tremolo). Praetorius noted that the ornament was more appropriate to instruments than to the voice. Organists, he said, called them 'mordents' (*Mordanten*); only around 1700 did the latter term become restricted to the downward-oscillating ornament.

Praetorius regarded a short version of the tremolo as particularly idiomatic to keyboard playing. Called the *tremoletto*, this ornament permitted a variety of realizations (ex.49), some of them resembling less trills than the

Ex.49



ubiquitous *figura corta* of German 17th-century instrumental music (ex.49*a*). In keyboard and instrumental music, most instances of the abbreviation 't' or 'tr' must refer to this ornament, not the *trillo*, although the latter term was being applied to the tremolo and *tremoletto* by the end of the century.

The *groppo* (or *gruppo*) was distinguished from the tremolo by concluding with a turn, which made it particularly suitable for cadential contexts (ex.50). Written-out *groppi* appear fairly frequently, especially in

Ex.50

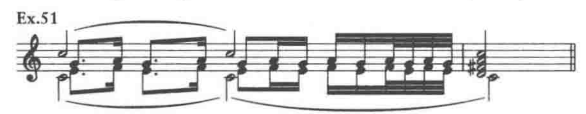


keyboard music from the first half of the century. But eventually this ornament too came to be understood as a type of trill and thus could be signified by 't' or 'tr', although the closing turn often continued to be written out.

A longer oscillating ornament, the *ribattuta*, mentioned by Herbst and later writers, is already written out in somewhat earlier keyboard works such as Froberger's

Toccata no.9 (*Libro quarto*, 1656, *A-Wn*; ex.51). Used to intensify an entry on a sustained note, it starts on the main note, slowly and sometimes in dotted rhythm, then

Ex.51



accelerates, ending with various terminations. It continued in use through the 18th century.

Accento was the most widely used of several expressions for a large variety of passing-note ornaments. Janovka (I1701) gave the term *Einfall* as a German equivalent, but the latter seems not to have been much used. Praetorius and other early sources applied the term to various ornaments encompassing from one to several notes, but later writers sometimes restricted the term to particular types of single-note ornament.

One-note *accenti* appear in most illustrations as short, dissonant auxiliary notes on the weak part of the beat. Text underlay in vocal illustrations suggests that the passing note was always slurred to either the preceding or following main note, as was true of similar 18th-century ornaments. These ornamental notes were sometimes described as being sung gently, in contrast to the accented dissonant passing notes of later practice. When sung to the following syllable, the result was what Bernhard and others called *anticipazione della syllaba* (ex.52). The effect

Ex.52



desired seems to have been that of a quick, smooth glide into the following accented note. A different effect was achieved through the *anticipazione della nota*, described by Bernhard as an anticipation in the modern sense and sung to the preceding syllable (ex.53).

Ex.53



Other terms for particular types of *accenti* include *cercar la nota* and *intonazione*, both used for figures in which a singer approached a note – especially the initial note of a phrase – from its neighbour, as Bernhard showed (ex.54). Under the heading *accentus* Praetorius also

Ex.54



illustrated slides beginning a 3rd, 4th or more below the main note, in varying rhythms (ex.55).

Ex.55



Another type of *accento* involved a lightly sung escape note, employed before descending notes, illustrated by Bernhard (ex.56). The addition of further ornamental

Ex.56



notes produced what Herbst called the *exclamatio*. The latter term, for Praetorius as for Caccini, had signified merely an expressive swell in volume ('Erhebung der Stimm') on a long note. Here it becomes one or more short rising notes at the end of the long note (ex.57).

Ex.57



Herbst's longer *exclamationes* today would be considered divisions or embellishments rather than simple ornaments. Such figures are frequently written out, like

Ex.58



the *groppo* and *ribattuta*, in music from throughout the Baroque, as in Schütz's *Saul, Saul* (ex.58) and J.S. Bach's Cantata 151 (ex.59). The same is true of the *tirate* (rapid

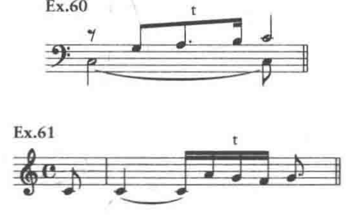
Ex.59



scale figures) and other florid devices or *passaggi* frequently illustrated in 17th-century treatises. Such figures must have been employed as often by improvising performers as by composers.

(iv) The 17th century: instrumental ornamentation. Vocal treatises indicate that keyboard and instrumental players employed the same ornaments as singers. But it is rare to find any signs other than 't' or 'tr', which can probably stand for any of the trill- and mordent-like figures described above. Thus Froberger, whose autograph manuscripts use only this sign (borrowed from his presumed teacher Frescobaldi), employed it in contexts evidently calling for a descending *tremoletto* or mordent (ex.60), an ascending *tremoletto* (ex.61) and a *groppo*

Ex.60



Ex.61



(ex.62). Significantly, these examples are all from a piece in French style (the Allemande of Suite V), but there is no

Ex.62



certainty that at this date (1649) the ornaments were receiving the names or realizations applied to them in later French practice.

Later music is often more explicit. Numerous *accenti* appear as one-stroke signs in the keyboard suites of Kuhnau (I1689) (ex.63; the first one-stroke sign might

Ex.63

represent an acciaccatura struck briefly as the chord is broken). A two-stroke sign used by the latter signifies a mordent (also in ex.63), but for Walther (I1708) and others the same symbol indicated a *gedoppelter Accent*, that is, a descending *anticipazione della nota* (ex.64).



Walther's illustration recalls written-out instances of this ornament in early works of J.S. Bach such as Cantata 106, composed in the older italianate tradition (ex.65). In



keyboard music such as Weckmann's, however, the context for this sign suggests an upward passing note (the French *port de voix*) or mordent (ex.66).



(v) The later 17th and early 18th centuries. The vocabulary of ornaments in Germany expanded during this period, while at the same time certain ornaments, such as the repeated-note *trillo*, fell out of use. Many German musicians evidently retained the old Italian terms for ornaments, which continued to receive discussion by Walther (1732) and Mattheson. But by about 1750 C.P.E. Bach and other German writers were advocating a highly stylized manner of ornamentation that was reminiscent of contemporary French approaches yet applied in sonatas, arias and other Italian genres, thus reflecting the German synthesis of the two national styles. The discussion below focusses on keyboard sources, since these are the most explicit with regard to ornamentation, but it is clear that other musicians employed the majority of the same ornaments.

(a) Ornament tables and signs. The ornament tables that began to appear shortly before 1700 are one sign of an increasing concern for the precise notation and performance of ornaments. Often understood today as instructions for the performance of ornaments, the tables must have served rather to clarify which signs were used within a given work for ornaments whose manner of performance was already understood. For there was no standard system of ornament signs, and the symbols, realizations and names for ornaments that occur in German ornament tables are drawn from various sources. Thus J.S. Bach's table for W.F. Bach employs a sign for the *Accent* (appoggiatura) shaped like a half-circle or small letter 'c', similar to that used by D'Anglebert and Rameau for the *port de voix* (ex.67). But Bach's sign for



the mordent resembles that of François Couperin's *pincé*, and his table shows several signs that are absent from French sources.

It is unclear whether the proliferation of ornament signs represents an expansion in the number of actual ornament types or merely greater precision in their notation, but there was probably an element of both. Georg Muffat (I1690), for example, used only four signs, all variants of the letter 't', to signify four distinct types of *Triller*: short, long, with termination and inverted (i.e. a mordent). Already a refinement of the old use of a single 't' (for tremolo), this system was greatly expanded by his son Gottlieb Muffat (1726), whose table shows five signs for different types of trill alone.

Most of the new signs are commonsense extensions of more basic ones. Thus in Bach's system the stroke through the middle of a trill sign converted the latter to a *Mordant*



(ex.68); but the combination *Trillo und Mordant* produced what we would call a trill with a closing turn or termination (ex.69). Similarly, a straight descending



stroke continuing into a trill sign indicated an *Accent und Trillo* (ex.70). C.P.E. Bach observed in 1753 that most of



these signs remained unknown to all but keyboard players. But appoggiaturas indicated by small notes are common in many 18th-century repertories, and the accounts of Georg Muffat (1698), Agricola and others make it clear that instrumentalists and singers used the same ornaments as keyboard players.

(b) Appoggiaturas. Figures such as Bach's *Accent und Trillo* reflect the growing importance of ornaments that open with an accented dissonance. The result was an increasingly mannered style of ornamentation based on the displacement of consonant notes to weak beats, a trend today particularly associated with mid-century Berlin but widespread elsewhere, particularly in the frequent 'sigh motifs' of early 18th-century music.

Appoggiaturas accordingly received much attention from late Baroque theorists. Quantz, C.P.E. Bach and Agricola replaced the term *accento* with *Vorschlag* and distinguished between two varieties: 'variable' (*veränderlich*) and 'invariable' (*unveränderlich*). Both are slurred to the following main note, thus eliminating the *anticipazione della nota* and other older types of *accento*, which, however, continue to occur as written-out figures.

The 'invariable' appoggiatura is a short upper or lower auxiliary note, most often attached to relatively brief notes. The name is somewhat misleading, for it might, depending on the tempo and the value of the main note, be either 'crushed' against the latter or performed more deliberately. The 'variable' appoggiatura precedes a relatively long note, of which it takes half the value (two-thirds if the note is dotted). Despite suggestions by contemporary theorists that composers should notate the precise value of 'variable' appoggiaturas, this practice came into widespread use only after 1750; in earlier music the written value of appoggiaturas (when shown as little notes) appears to have no relation to their intended length.

Modern writers have often applied the mid-century rules governing the length of 'variable' appoggiaturas to the music of J.S. Bach. A literal reading of his ornament table would indeed give the *Accent* precisely half the value of the following note, but this is true also of the French models for the table, and other sources suggest that French practice favoured shorter appoggiaturas. Where Bach intended the long 'variable' appoggiatura, he appears to have written it as a regular note, distinguishing it from short appoggiaturas indicated by signs or small notes within the same piece, as in the F♯ major prelude from part 2 of the '48' (ex.71).

Ex.71



The 'variable' appoggiatura can fall only on the beat, but pre-beat performance of the 'invariable' type persisted in some quarters. In a famous disagreement, Quantz insisted on pre-beat performance, whereas C.P.E. Bach described it as odious ('hässlich'). Their Berlin colleague Agricola, who had studied with both Quantz and J.S. Bach, prescribed on-beat performance for the descending *Vorschlag* but noted that some famous performers ('einige berühmte Ausführer') employed pre-beat performance in the French manner ('nach Art der Franzosen') for the first two instances of the ornament shown in ex.72.

Ex.72



Possibly this 'French' manner was employed in earlier German music, including works of J.S. Bach. Equivocal passages cannot be firmly settled without recourse to unprovable assumptions. For example, C.P.E. Bach (i.2.2.17) counselled players to avoid ornaments that disturbed the purity of the harmony ('Reinigkeit der Harmonie'), such as by creating parallel 5ths; one might expect this rule to apply in J.S. Bach's music, dictating pre-beat performance of the appoggiatura in ex.73. Yet

Ex.73



Agricola (p.77) noted that it was customary to permit such parallels when they were products of short appoggiaturas and inaudible. On the other hand, it is at least suggestive that the bare octaves produced by on-beat performance of the appoggiaturas in the Augmentation Canon from Bach's *Art of Fugue* (ex.74) can, as Neumann

Ex.74



suggests (p.135), be avoided by the graceful alternative favoured by Quantz (ex.75).

Ex.75



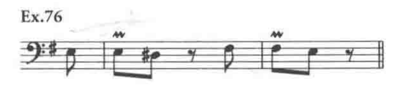
(c) 'Mordant'. The German term *Mordant* was not exactly equivalent to either the French *pincé* or the modern 'mordent'; thus J.S. Bach used the expression not only for the mordent as such but also for various turning figures, as at the end of a trill (see ex.69). But the familiar French sign normally indicated what we call the mordent in German keyboard music after 1700, including Bach's (see ex.68). The mordent is often specified in other instrumental repertories as well but was never considered very appropriate in singing.

(d) Trills. By 1700 the older meaning of *trillo* as a repercussive or vibrato-like ornament was disappearing, and the German term *Triller* was understood as the equivalent of the French *tremblement*. Like Tosi, François Couperin and other Italian and French contemporaries, German sources distinguished various types of trill depending on the duration of the ornament as a whole, the presence or absence of opening 'preparation' and closing turn, and whether or not the initial note is 'tied'. Only in keyboard music were some of these distinctions regularly indicated notationally (beginning with Georg Muffat), but all musicians were expected to be familiar with them. The detailed descriptions of various types of trills by Agricola and C.P.E. Bach at mid-century flesh out distinctions evident in earlier ornament tables.

As early as 1698 Muffat stated quite explicitly that trills in music for instrumental ensemble began on the upper note; the same was indicated in keyboard ornament tables given by J.C.F. Fischer (1696) and most subsequent authors. To be sure, exceptions have been noted in treatises from as late as 1730 (see Neumann, 302–3), suggesting that conservative or provincial musicians retained older approaches; Walther in 1732 still cited Printz for examples of the old tremolo. But the overwhelming evidence is that, except in special cases such as the *ribattuta* or the *Schneller*, German trills after 1700 usually began on the upper note.

Short trills generally lacked a closing turn (*Nachschlag*) and in quick tempos might be reduced to a simple upper appoggiatura. On keyboard instruments certain short trills might be played with a snap of the fingers, producing what was called by 1750 the half-trill (*Halbtriller*) or *Pralltriller*. This is probably the type of trill called for in the fugue subject from the Toccata in J.S. Bach's Sixth Partita (ex.76), where the ornament accentuates the upper

Ex.76



note of a 'sigh motif'. The player probably paused on the main note before proceeding to the next, as suggested by the entry for *Trillo* in Bach's ornament table and other sources (ex.77).

Ex.77



Marpurg (I1755) suggested that quick, snapped trills sometimes started on the main note, producing a true 'inverted mordent' (to use a modern term sometimes applied to the short trill). This must indeed have been employed by some players as a simplified form of the short trill, or as a survival of the old *tremoletto*, but the major 18th-century sources do not recommend it. C.P.E.

Bach called it the *Schneller*, always writing it out in small notes on the rare occasions when his music called for it.

C.P.E. Bach's examples of the *Pralltriller* are all, in addition, instances of the 'tied trill', in which a slur indicates the tying of the initial (upper) note to the previous note (ex.78). The ornament corresponds to the



French *tremblement appuyé et lié*. German composers did not always write the slur; in a passage from the Courante of J.S. Bach's D minor French Suite the slur is nevertheless implied by the appoggiatura function of the note on the downbeat (ex.79; two bars later the same figure appears with a slur over all four quavers).



Already indicated by a special sign in the music of Gottlieb Muffat, the tied trill is a subtle and difficult ornament to perform. Today one often hears the trill anticipating rather than following the beat, defeating the evident purpose of the tie, which is to sustain the preceding note into the time of the following one. There it functions as a momentary suspension before becoming the upper note of the trill. But pre-beat performance (as a form of *tremoletto*) might have been the intention of some older composers (see ex.61); Gottlieb Muffat's father Georg had no special sign for the tied trill.

Longer trills might be used to sustain a long note and continue it melodically to the following beat, as in the slurred figure on which J.S. Bach built the Sarabande of his sixth French Suite, using what he called a *Trillo und Mordant* (see ex.69). In ex.80 the closing turn is written



out, and in such contexts the trill was often unmarked, its performance being taken for granted.

C.P.E. Bach and Quantz both indicated that long trills normally ended with a turn or *Nachschlag*, even if the latter was not notated, as in ex.81 (from a trio sonata in



Telemann's *Essercizi musicali*, Hamburg, 1739–40). By this rule it would be wrong to perform instead an anticipation of the final note, which is notated explicitly where desired, as in ex.82 (from J.S. Bach, Cantata 210;



the ornament is presumably a short trill without termination). Agricola called for a turn even after each link in an ascending chain of trills ('Kette von Trillern'), as in another passage from Telemann's *Essercizi* (ex.83). The



turns were apparently omitted in the descending version.

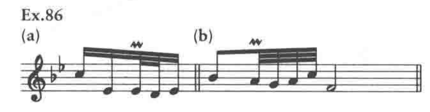
Terminations in the form of turns were expected even on many short trills that pause before proceeding to the next note. Again, Gottlieb Muffat had a sign for such a trill; the ornament is similar to the *tremblement et pincé* illustrated in a manuscript table of ornaments by Bach's older brother Johann Christoph, copied from Dieupart's *Six suittes de clavessin* (Amsterdam, *c*1701) (ex.84).



C.P.E. Bach was fond of a later version, the *prallender Doppelschlag*, which consisted of a *Pralltriller* followed by a turn or termination; in his illustration (ex.85) the



trill is 'tied' to a preceding long appoggiatura. C.P.E. Bach indicated this ornament with a compound symbol borrowed from François Couperin; J.S. Bach and others wrote out the closing turn (ex.86; in ex.86*b* the trill is probably meant to be 'tied').



In long as well as short trills one sometimes finds the initial note explicitly indicated by a small note (appoggiatura) or other sign (as in exx.70–71). Included in tables by J.S. Bach and Gottlieb Muffat, this trill corresponds to Tosi's *trillo preparato* and Couperin's *tremblement appuyé*. Agricola, translating Tosi, declared that a trill must be prepared ('vorbereitet') if it is to be beautiful ('schön'); nevertheless, the appoggiatura (*Vorschlag*) need not always be lengthened. This suggests a distinction between ordinary 'unprepared' trills and 'prepared' ones in which the first note is lengthened, perhaps for heightened accentuation or expressivity. Agricola followed Quantz in identifying the initial note of the trill as an appoggiatura (*Vorschlag*); although Quantz's examples show the latter as a separate small note, it was nevertheless for him an essential element of every trill.

Modern writers generally assume that this 'appoggiatura' always falls on the beat, but the point is rarely made explicit in the treatises, although it is the rule in musical illustrations. Quantz, however, implicitly allows pre-beat performance in some contexts, as when the first note would function as an unaccented passing note or *coulé* in the French style. Whether J.S. Bach or others employed this practice, as in the Gigue of his second French Suite (ex.87), is impossible to say.



J.S. Bach and Gottlieb Muffat are among those whose keyboard works occasionally use trills prefixed by turns or slides, which C.P.E Bach later described as trills from above and from below ('von oben' and 'von unten')

(ex.88). The prefix, sometimes written out in the form of one or more small notes, may also have been added



improvisatorily to many ordinary trills. J.S. Bach's term for the figure was *Doppel-Cadenz*, an expression sometimes applied by others to the long cadential trill with termination (see ex.69).

Few German composers before 1750 followed Couperin in specifying any chromatic alteration of the auxiliary notes in trills or other ornaments. Georg Muffat (I1690) called for the large half-step ('grosser Halb-Thon') in mordents, implying frequent chromatic alteration of the auxiliary to constitute a leading note, so long as it does not displease the ear ('wofern es nur nicht übel in die Ohren fället'). Modern advice generally follows C.P.E. Bach in drawing auxiliary notes from the scale of the currently tonicized key, but Gottlieb Muffat frequently specified more liberal use of chromatic auxiliaries by setting accidentals beside the ornament signs (ex.89).



18th-century writers sometimes advised against certain obsolete or otherwise irregular types of trill, thus suggesting that they were in fact used by some performers. Quantz (9.2–4), although counselling that the speed of a trill should be appropriate to that of the tempo of a piece in general, condemned very slow trills, which he said were typical of French singing. He also proscribed trills in 3rds 'except, perhaps, upon the bagpipe' – an instrument that J.S. Bach imitated in the Musette of his sixth English Suite by writing out such a trill. Trills in 3rds are also occasionally written out in his early toccatas, and in some older 17th-century organ and violin music.

Whatever the type of trill, each note of the ornament was expected to be clearly articulated and in tune. Hence Agricola's detailed comments on appropriate vocal technique; he required that trills be produced from the throat and not merely by 'bleating', as in the 'goat trill' (*Bockstriller*) to which Quantz also objected. Quantz showed similar attention to details, providing special fingerings for trills on certain notes where they would otherwise be difficult to produce.

(e) Turn. The turn, although similar in shape to the old *circolo* – a type of division illustrated by Printz (I1689) and Janovka – is closely related to the trill and appoggiatura in its 18th-century German versions. It seems to have been primarily a keyboard ornament, poorly attested in sources for other media. Mattheson referred to it by the old terms *groppo* and *circolo mezzo*; J.S. Bach knew it by the French name *cadence*, and later it was termed the *Doppelschlag*. It differs from the older French *double cadence* of, for example, Chambonnières (1670), in beginning on the note above the main note rather than on the latter. Moreover, in slower tempos or on longer notes it might occupy only the beginning of the note's value, as Gottlieb Muffat's table suggests (ex.90). The sign is



sometimes displaced to the right, in which case the ornament is delayed, as C.P.E. Bach shows (ex.91; typical



here are the positioning of the accidental above the turn sign, the staccato note *c″* in the realization of the ornament, and the shortening of the following *d″* to half its original value). J.S. Bach and others frequently wrote the sign in upright form, but the spatial orientation of the symbol became significant only with later composers. Thus C.P.E. Bach inverted the usual symbol to indicate an inversion of the ornament, although he considered the latter a form of slide (*Schleifer*) (ex.92).



(f) Slide. The slide, like the turn, resembles an earlier ornament, the *intonazione*. 18th-century slides were closely related to broken chords that incorporate passing notes (acciaccaturas or *coulés*), as is clear from the sign employed for this ornament by Gottlieb Muffat (ex.93; cf



ex.96). For slides Kuhnau (1689) had already used the name *Schleifer*, which later became the usual German term; unlike his successors he recognized a descending as well as an ascending form. J.S. Bach adopted Kuhnau's sign for the ascending slide; unfortunately, in Bach's more hastily written manuscripts the sign appears virtually identical with a small note. The resulting copyist errors have been perpetuated in some editions, as in the B minor flute sonata (ex.94). C.P.E. Bach and other late writers



are clear about placing the slide on the beat, but this was not always true of earlier forms of the ornament. Georg Muffat (1698) regarded the on-beat slide as a variety of *esclamazione*, illustrating it alongside a post-beat instance. Both forms of the slide occur as written-out figures in the music of J.S. Bach and his contemporaries.

Further variants of the slide are shown in the treatises of Agricola and C.P.E. Bach together with other varieties of compound appoggiatura. The most important of these is perhaps the double appoggiatura (*Anschlag*), which became a favourite in the mid-century Berlin style and must have derived from *opera seria*. It has no special sign but was indicated by small notes (ex.95).



(g) Other ornaments. Although the repercussive *trillo* and *trilletto* of the earlier Baroque fell out of favour, vibrato was described as an ornament in the 18th century, occasionally under the term 'tremolo' (Mattheson, L.

Mozart), more often as *Bebung*. It was probably confined to special contexts, such as the sustained chromatic notes over which J.S. Bach occasionally placed long wavy lines (see Neuman, 519–20). Quantz (14.10) and Agricola (pp.121–2) mentioned its use on certain long notes, implying its absence elsewhere.

German woodwind, string, lute and clavichord players evidently produced a type of *Bebung* analogous to the French *flattement*. Unlike the Tremulant of the organ, which produced an intensity vibrato on every note, this was a pitch vibrato produced by rocking the hand or finger, as in a trill, but without actually articulating the adjacent note. The lutenist Ernst Gottlieb Baron (I1727) employed signs for two distinct types of vibrato, used to emphasize certain accented notes. Keyboard music lacks a sign for it before the first (1753) volume of the treatise by C.P.E. Bach, who used it only rarely afterwards.

Among other ornaments arising out of idiomatic vocal and instrumental techniques, the various types of keyboard arpeggiation (*Brechung* or *Harpeggio* and the like in German sources) are among the most common. They appear to differ little from their French counterparts. They were apparently not recognized as ornaments until the late 17th century; Kuhnau and Georg Muffat made no mention of them. Inconsistent use of signs occasionally creates ambiguities. For example, a diagonal stroke between note heads sometimes indicates the incorporation of a passing note into an arpeggio, as in J.S. Bach's third English Suite (ex.96); Marpurg and Kirnberger (1771–9)



referred to this variety of the French *coulé* as an *accentuirte Brechung*. But the same sign could also stand for the simple breaking of a chord, perhaps in measured rhythm as Walther showed in his 1708 treatise (ex.97).



9. Late 18th century and the 19th. Between the middle of the 18th century and the beginning of the 20th attitudes towards the role, function and usage of ornaments underwent a radical transformation. An aesthetic in which almost all music involved an element of free ornamentation gradually gave way to one in which, for the most part, composers expected ornaments to be introduced only where specifically marked. At the same time, the number of ornament signs in common use declined. Furthermore, 19th-century composers increasingly expected ornament signs to function as shorthand for precise figurations; they were not content, as many of their 18th-century predecessors were, to leave the realization to the performer.

(i) Appoggiaturas, anticipatory notes and grace notes. Until the early 19th century small notes extra to the value of the bar indicated several quite different things. The meaning of such notation is (and was) often difficult to determine. Late 18th-century and early 19th-century authorities drew attention to the scope for misunderstanding the intended execution of small notes a 2nd above or below the note they precede. These might indicate any of three things: notes taking a substantial portion of the one they precede (hereafter referred to as appoggiaturas); notes tied to the one they precede and executed very quickly on or just before the beat (the term 'grace note' is used here with no necessary suggestion of pre-beat performance); or notes tied to and taking time from the one they follow (anticipatory notes), which were common in the late 18th century and throughout the 19th century in the context of trill endings and certain types of portamento.

During the late 18th and early 19th centuries there were particular problems in distinguishing between the appoggiatura, which has an important harmonic function, and the grace note, which, because it is performed so rapidly that neither the preceding nor the following note appears to lose any significant value, has primarily an accentual or ornamental function. Theorists in the second half of the 18th century periodically suggested that small notes indicate the intended value of the appoggiatura. C.P.E. Bach observed in 1753 that 'people have recently begun to indicate such appoggiaturas according to their true value'; among composers who began to do so during the second half of the century were Gluck (from the time of his Paris operas), Haydn (from about 1762) and Mozart. Many other composers were much more casual, especially Italians, who often did not trouble to indicate appoggiaturas at all in places where the singer or instrumentalist might have been expected to supply them. Confusion over this type of notation remained a serious problem for many at the end of the 18th century. In the fifth edition (1791) of Löhlein's popular *Clavier-Schule*, for instance, the editor, J.G. Witthauer, having urged composers to indicate the length of appoggiaturas, concluded: 'How many pieces would then, at least with respect to the appoggiaturas, be less badly performed, and how much trouble would be spared to the beginner!'

Where it was unclear from the notation whether an appoggiatura or a grace note was implied, some theorists, notably Türk, attempted to assist the performer by providing examples of musical contexts indicating grace note treatment. If it was decided that an appoggiatura was intended, and that the given value was not a reliable indication of its intended length, the performer had to determine what value to give it. Many 18th-century writers advanced general guidelines. The assertion that an appoggiatura should normally take half a binary main note and two-thirds of a ternary main note, promulgated in the mid-18th century by, among others, Tartini, Quantz, Leopold Mozart and C.P.E. Bach, was widely repeated by 18th- and 19th-century theorists. Some musicians, including Francesco Galeazzi and Bernhard Romberg, taught that before a ternary note the appoggiatura should take only a third of the value of the main note; others such as Clementi allowed it to take either a third or two-thirds of a dotted note according to context. Many theorists, following Bach, Mozart and Quantz, felt that an appoggiatura before a tied note, or a note followed by a rest, should take the full value of the note before which it stood, though it was admitted that the resolution on to a rest might not always be permitted by the harmony. Indeed many theorists, having articulated their guidelines, cautioned that the length of appoggiaturas, which by their very nature required a rhythmically unconstrained delivery, might often be conditioned by the expression or by the exigencies of the harmony.

By the end of the 18th century Türk and other theorists were arguing that it would be better to incorporate all appoggiaturas into full-size notation, leaving small notes to indicate grace notes. Beethoven's practice illustrates this changing attitude; he very rarely used small notes to indicate appoggiaturas (except in vocal music), reserving them principally for grace notes. Others, however, resisted that approach on the grounds that the notation of appoggiaturas with small notes was the most appropriate way of eliciting the special manner of performance they required, through either accentuation, flexible length or ornamental resolution (or a combination of these). H.C. Koch ('Vorschlag', *Musikalisches Lexikon*, 1802) articulated this clearly when he remarked that the reason for notating appoggiaturas as ornaments

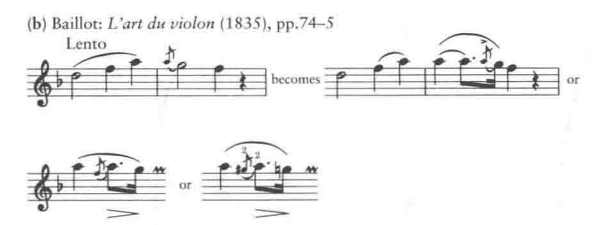
> has its origin in the particular and exceptional manner in which the appoggiatura is performed. Namely ... one should markedly bring out the appoggiatura itself by means of a particular accent, or sound it with a certain rapid swelling of the strength of the note: and then slur the following melodic main note to it softly or with decreased strength.

A variety of ornamental resolutions is indicated by musicians as different in time and background as Domenico Corri and Baillot (ex.98).

Ex.98
(a) Domenico Corri: *A Select Collection* (1782), i, 90



(b) Baillot: *L'art du violon* (1835), pp.74–5



In the case of an appoggiatura on the major or minor 2nd below the main note, some singing tutors, including Corri and Lanza, considered that in contrast to the falling appoggiatura it should be delivered with increasing strength, so that the main note received the greater accent.

When, in late 18th- and early 19th-century scores, an appoggiatura on the 2nd above or below is found before a pair of notes with a strong–weak metrical stress which are of equal length and on the same pitch, it seems clear that the appoggiatura was meant to take the whole length of the note before which it stood. This practice can be found at least as early as the 1760s and as late as the 1820s, but apparently it was not discussed at the time by theorists. In a letter of 1768, however, Haydn specifically stated that in such cases the realization of ex.99*a* should

Ex.99



be as in ex.99*b*, not as in ex.99*c*. This treatment can also be found in Corri's realization of J.C. Bach's 'Nel partir bell'idol mio' in *A Select Collection*. It was clearly intended, too, in Schubert's operas, as indicated by comparison of the vocal part with the orchestral parts (ex.100). Interestingly, Schubert consistently gave the appoggiatura half the value of its intended realization. A

Ex.100 Schubert: *Fierrabras*, quintet (no.10)



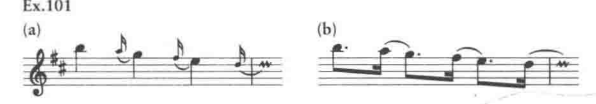
similar usage is found in Weber (perhaps deriving from his lessons with Michael Haydn), for instance in *Der Freischütz*.

This notation, confined largely to German composers, raises the broader question of how such pairs of notes on the same pitch should be treated when they have no indication for an appoggiatura. Crutchfield (J1989) has argued persuasively that an appoggiatura of some kind is appropriate almost always in recitative and often in arias. The practice was so well known that Italian composers in particular rarely troubled to notate appoggiaturas in such circumstances, and if a composer wanted the music sung as notated he would have to specify it, as Verdi did in *Rigoletto* (no.13). The preservation of this tradition among 19th-century artists is demonstrated by early recordings. Charles Santley (1834–1922), for instance, added appoggiaturas, as well as other ornamentation, in both recitative and aria in his recording of Mozart's 'Non più andrai'.

By the second quarter of the 19th century the use of small notes to indicate appoggiaturas of the above types was fast disappearing. Where single small notes were still employed they were intended to be performed very rapidly as grace notes on or just before the beat. A sign of changing practice in this respect is Philip Corri's treatment of the matter in his *L'anima di musica* (1810), where, reversing Türk's approach, he instructed readers to assume that small notes represented grace notes except in a limited number of circumstances, of which he gave examples. In later treatises discussion of appoggiaturas was largely intended as an aid to the performance of older music, which formed an increasingly large proportion of the contemporary repertory. By the middle of the 19th century the now customary notation of grace notes was widespread.

General rules for an appropriate manner of grace note performance in any given period are impossible to formulate. Practice varied from time to time, place to place and individual to individual. The matter is also complicated by wider questions of historical performing practice in respect of tempo rubato, rhythmic freedom in general and, particularly, the practice in keyboard music of playing the left hand before the right. For such reasons a simplistic rule of on or before the beat, grafted on to an otherwise 'modern' style of playing, is essentially meaningless. During the Classical period German authorities generally taught that in most if not all circumstances grace notes should be performed on the beat (i.e. against the bass note that pertained to the main note before which the grace note stood). Milchmeyer's *Die wahre Art das Pianoforte zu spielen* (1797) was among the few late 18th-century German sources to recommend a pre-beat conception of grace notes as the norm. Pre-beat performance, especially in the context of *tierces coulées*, was commonly associated with what Türk called the 'French

style or the so called *Lombard Taste*'. Leopold Mozart recognized the possibility that ex.101*a* could imply pre-beat performance, but considered that the composer



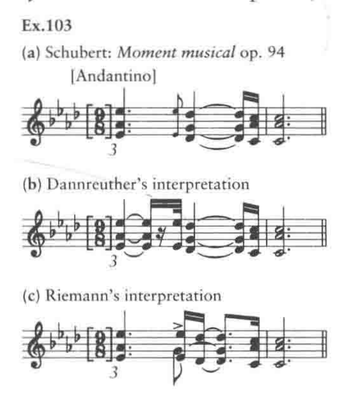
would specify this more clearly by writing it out as in ex.101*b*. Löhlein's explanation of the similar figure in ex.102*a*, in his *Anweisung zum Violinspielen*, as indicating anticipatory notes (ex.102*b*) was 'corrected' to

Ex.102 Löhlein, as written, as executed, and as 'corrected' by Reichardt



ex.102*c* in Reichardt's 1797 edition of the treatise. There was always a degree of ambiguity in such circumstances.

Throughout the 19th century German writers continued predominantly to instruct that grace notes should be performed on the beat, as did many theorists of other nationalities. Although there was no unanimity among late 18th-century and 19th-century musicians as to whether the grace note or the main note should receive the greater accent, the majority – with the notable exception of Hugo Riemann – seem to have favoured the latter conception. In particular instances there was always the possibility of disagreement. Edward Dannreuther, for example, considered that the small note in bar 3 of Schubert's A♭ *Moment musical* op.94 (ex.103*a*) was



'meant for a *Nachschlag*', and illustrated it as in ex.103*b*; while Riemann in his annotated edition of the work indicated an accented performance on the beat (ex.103*c*). Among musicians on whom French influence was strongest, however, a pre-beat conception not only of grace notes but also of ornaments of two or more notes, which in the German tradition were still widely regarded as occurring on the beat, seems to have been the norm. In 1840 Fétis and Moscheles observed in the *Méthode des méthodes pour piano*:

> Acciaccaturas, slides and groups of two or three notes are placed immediately before the principal note. In the old school it was understood that they should share in the time of the principal note, but they are now to be played quickly and lightly before the time of the large note.

It was not, though, merely a question of nationalities. The German violinist and pedagogue Andreas Moser, writing at the beginning of the 20th century, supported a pre-beat conception in many cases and considered that preference for a pre-beat or on-beat conception of grace notes was largely determined by the nature of different instruments. He observed that even at that time 'there were the most contradictory opinions among practical musicians' (*Violinschule*, iii, 28), noting that keyboard players still tended to favour placing grace notes firmly on the beat while the majority of singers and string players anticipated them, and he suggested that this had been the case continuously since the mid-18th century. Although this view was probably shared by Joseph Joachim, whose direct experience went back to the 1830s, documentary evidence suggests that, in theory at least, the French–German split was as strong among violinists as among keyboard players in the mid-19th century: Spohr explicitly required on-beat performance, while Baillot envisaged the performance of grace notes before the beat.

Nevertheless, in practice this theoretical distinction may have mattered little if the grace note was performed quickly and lightly, as the vast majority of writers said it should be. Where concrete evidence for the performance of grace notes exists, such as barrel organs or, at the end of the 19th century, recordings and piano rolls, it is often difficult to determine whether in particular instances a grace note occurs on or before the beat.

(ii) Trills, turns and related ornaments. The elaborate systems of ornament signs developed by 18th-century keyboard players was not widely adopted, even in keyboard music, during the Classical period. For other instruments composers rarely employed anything but 'tr', the mordent sign and various forms of turn sign, the most common being those shown in fig.3. Only the last four were normally found in printed music. The sign 'tr' usually indicated a trill with a number of repetitions of the upper auxiliary, while the mordent sign indicated only one or two repetitions (depending whether it began with the auxiliary); however, each of these signs was sometimes used with the meaning usually applicable to the other. The various forms of turn sign cannot reliably be related to particular melodic and rhythmic patterns; sometimes they too could be synonymous with 'tr', and in manuscript sources the distinction between fig.3*a* and fig.3*d* or 3*e* is often unclear.

During the 19th century, as composers became concerned to take greater control of their music, they increasingly wrote out ornaments in full. The progression is neatly illustrated by Wagner's turns: up to *Lohengrin* he used signs, but in *Tristan* and his later operas he always incorporated the turns into the notation. Inverted mordents were often indicated either by small notes or in normal notation, and even trills were sometimes fully notated, for instance by Dvořák (op.106) and Tchaikovsky (opp.64 and 74).

Considerable controversy has been generated by the question of how trills in music from the period 1750 to 1900 should begin. Scholarship has clearly shown that, although the upper-note start was never quite as self-evident as advocates such as C.P.E. Bach implied, it was

a: b: c:
d: e: f:
g: h: i:
j: k:

3. Ornaments used in instrumental music in the Classical period

undoubtedly the dominant practice in the mid-18th century. When and where a general preference for a main-note start began to emerge remains uncertain. Moser identified the strongest support for the upper-note start as being in north Germany; he asserted, however, that in Mannheim the trill was to begin from above only if specifically notated, and that C.P.E. Bach's authority was countered by 'the powerful influences which stemmed from the Viennese masters of instrumental music' (*Violinschule*, iii, 19–20).

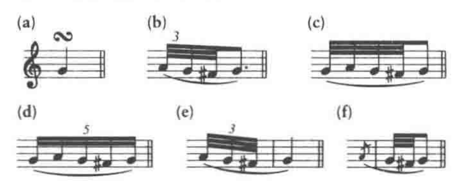
What evidence Moser may have possessed for this statement, other than received tradition by way of Joachim, remains unclear. Certainly, a considerable number of the trills on the musical clocks from the 1790s containing Haydn's *Flötenuhrstücke* begin on the main note, but there is no consistency and no connection with Haydn's notation. Arguments for and against Mozart's preference have been advanced, and the matter has been exhaustively examined by Neumann (J1986). For Beethoven, too, the evidence is largely circumstantial. In 1828, however, Hummel published his unambiguous opinion that a main-note start should be the norm, and Spohr followed suit a few years later. Baillot offered four different beginnings without recommending the primacy of any. Some 19th-century composers took trouble to indicate the beginnings of trills, particularly to show a start from below, and their manner of doing this was used by Franklin Taylor in 1879 as evidence for their normal practice. It seems probable that among major 19th-century composers Weber, Chopin and Mendelssohn generally favoured an upper-note start. In this as in other aspects of performance, however, dogmatism and rigidity are undoubtedly out of place.

Trill endings were subject to much variation. By far the most usual was the two-note ending; in 1776 Reichardt, for instance, recommended that if no trill ending was marked orchestral players should automatically employ this type of suffix, and many musicians throughout the period considered this the default ending. In solo performance, on the other hand, more elaborate endings might commonly have been expected to be improvised until at least the middle of the 19th century, regardless of what a composer indicated.

The expressive effect of a turn depends on its position in the melody, its rhythmic configuration, its melodic shape and the speed with which it is executed. The relationship between the turn and the trill has always been close. C.P.E. Bach considered that the two ornaments were interchangeable in many instances. Most 18th-century authors stated that turns should be performed quickly, but a variety of speeds, depending on context, would certainly have been employed by musicians throughout the period. In general, turns, along with other short ornaments, would have been added at will by 18th- and early 19th-century performers, and they remain appropriate as improvised embellishment in some later 19th-century repertories, especially in examples of Italian vocal music.

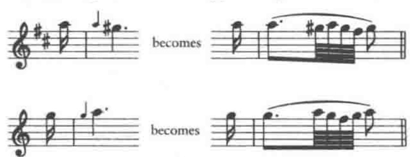
In the 19th century, just as there was a greater tendency for trills to begin with the principal note, there is evidence that in some circumstances performers may have been increasingly inclined to start turns with the main note. With respect to the positioning of accenting turns on or before the beat, many of the same factors apply as in the case of the grace note; the majority of authorities favoured on-beat performance, but some advocated performance before the beat. The turn in ex.104*a* might have been

Ex.104 The turn and various executions



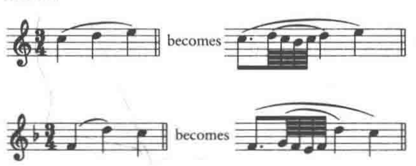
executed in any of the ways shown in ex.104*b–f*. The form of turn for which Leopold Mozart used the conventional German term *Doppelschlag* (he used *Mordent* for the accenting turn) was clearly considered by him as a connecting ornament, its principal use, both in its direct and inverted forms, being as an extempore embellishment to an appoggiatura (ex.105); the same usage was

Ex.105 Leopold Mozart: *Doppelschlag*



still illustrated in the 19th century by Campagnoli. In the revised 1787 edition of his treatise Mozart also showed it as a simple connection between two conjunct or leaping notes (ex.106).

Ex.106



These patterns were standard, varying slightly from author to author in their exact rhythmic configuration and placement. In the 18th century it seems to have been generally accepted that the connecting turn, like the accenting turn, would be performed rapidly, and this remained true for many 19th-century musicians. There was, however, a growing tendency towards the middle of the century to execute some turns in a more leisurely manner. In the 1830s A.B. Marx thought that the turn should be 'performed in moderately fast or even fast tempo'. Near the end of the century Dannreuther recorded:

> The turn in Bellini's cantilena, both andantino and largo, was sung in a very broad way, so the notes formed part of the principal phrase, just as it is now to be found written out and incorporated in Wagner's *Tristan*. The ornamental notes, resembling a turn at the end of a long breath, were always given piano, diminuendo, leggiero as in Chopin [ex.107].

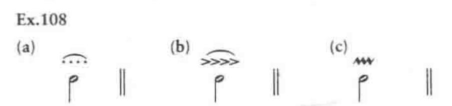
Ex.107 Bellini: *I puritani*, as sung by Rubini, given in E. Dannrenther: *Musical Ornamentation*, ii, 141



A number of 19th-century authorities, including Romberg and Marx, mentioned the possibility that a direct

turn sign might equally well invite an inverted turn, depending on the musical context. Uncertainty about the implications of turn signs even extended to Wagner's music, and on various occasions in *Rienzi* and *Tannhäuser* (in the latter case at the composer's instigation in 1875) direct turn signs were interpreted as inverted turns.

In addition to the major classes of notated ornaments (which throughout much of the period might well have been introduced where they were not written) there were others that were only occasionally notated, though very frequently employed. Chief among these were vibrato, portamento and arpeggiando. A few composers marked vibrato with dots under a slur or by various accent signs under slurs (which in string playing probably indicated an unmeasured bow vibrato or portato), as well as with a wavy line (ex.108*a*–*c*).



The crescendo–diminuendo sign, in connection with a single note of shorter value was also used by many composers to invite, if not to instruct, string players to make an ornamental vibrato, as explained in the Joachim and Moser *Violinschule*. Portamento was sometimes called for by a verbal instruction, but 19th-century composers often implied its use either by fingerings (in string playing), by grace notes that were separated from their main notes by more than a tone, or by slurs (this may sometimes be the meaning of slurs between syllables in vocal music). Arpeggiando was frequently marked in keyboard music by the conventional signs, though many 19th-century composers indicated it in small notation. Arpeggiando signs or notation were probably intended to prevent its omission in places where it was vital to the expression; however, players throughout the period would have been expected to use it *ad libitum* in a range of contexts that were explained by many theorists.

10. 20TH CENTURY. The study of ornaments and their manner of execution since the beginning of the 20th century has been predominantly a matter of charting different responses to the challenge of performing a historical repertory. The conditions of this study are fundamentally different from those of previous centuries, for although mechanical instruments preserve aspects of earlier practice the development of recording allows us to hear precisely how ornaments were applied and executed by individual performers. The continuing trend towards a literal interpretation of the composer's notation, which began during the 19th century, has sometimes led to profoundly unhistorical approaches to older repertory. In the first decades of the century a tradition of extensive improvised ornamentation in certain types of vocal music continued. Recordings of Rossini's 'Una voce poco fa' by such singers as Marcella Sembrich, Amelita Galli-Curci and Luisa Tetrazzini, for instance, involve much additional ornamentation, most of which is individual to the singer concerned. By the second half of the century such practices were regarded as unwarrantable liberties, and in Teresa Berganza's 1972 recording, for example, the aria is sung with virtually no modification of Rossini's text. The obsession with fidelity to the notation even led, in the middle decades of the century, to a widespread abandonment of the prosodic appoggiaturas that had earlier been taken for granted in vocal music. With the growing interest in historical performance during the later decades of the century, performers began to reintroduce these appoggiaturas, though they are still not employed as widely as they would have been at the beginning of the 20th century. As late as 1986 Neumann argued for the literal performance of many passages in Mozart, where the composer would almost certainly have expected his singers to employ appoggiaturas. The interpolated portamentos, involving the insertion of grace notes, that were still considered a mark of fine singing in the late 19th century, and can be heard on early recordings, disappeared during the early decades of the century and were not revived.

In mid-20th-century string playing and singing portamento was used ever more sparingly and discreetly, and came in due course to be regarded as thoroughly tasteless. Little attempt was made to reintroduce portamento as an aspect of historical performance, despite abundant evidence for its integral role in many repertories. It is otherwise with vibrato. Although the notion of vibrato as an ornament can still be found in Leopold Auer's Violin *Playing as I Teach it* (1921) and Henry Wood's *The Gentle Art of Singing* (1927), the concept of continuous vibrato as an essential aspect of tone production had, in practice, made that notion largely irrelevant by the time Siegfried Eberhardt advocated continuous vibrato as the secret of a fine tone in *Der beseelte Violin-Ton* in 1910. Styles of continuous vibrato changed considerably during the 20th century, and it remains a standard aspect of most modern performance. Despite the untenable claims of Donington and others that continuous vibrato has always been an integral aspect of tone production in singing and string playing, many early music performers in the late 20th century revived an ornamental approach to vibrato within a basically vibrato-less tone, and their example influenced modern performances of repertory from the 18th century. But there is still a widespread fallacy among performers that from Beethoven onwards a full-blooded continuous vibrato is stylistically appropriate.

The 20th century produced many studies of historical performing practice. In the first half of the century these had relatively little influence on the practices of professional musicians. In the second half of the century there was growing interest in traditions with which performing musicians have entirely lost contact; but it is an intrinsically hazardous business to try to unravel the relationship between written texts and aural phenomena, and scholarly studies of ornamentation have tended to breed controversy.

The third quarter of the 20th century saw particularly passionate debate about such issues as when trills ought to start with the upper note and whether grace notes should precede or coincide with the beat, and the influence of personal taste on all sides of the argument has sometimes been stronger than scholarly detachment. However, recent studies of historical recordings (now more widely available, in transfers to CD, than before) have spread awareness of the mutability of musical taste, the diversity of practice and the scope for alternative aesthetics of performance. In the light of such experience there seems to be a growing appreciation that by their very nature ornaments are flexible, and that seeking hard and fast solutions in particular cases is often not only unrealistic but unhistorical.

TABLE OF ORNAMENT SIGNS

Sign	Ornament	Guide to use or source
•	Vibrato, tremolo	17th-century Fr. and Eng.
:	Curtained note	Mace
∴	Single relish (virtually brief trill with turned ending)	Mace; also 17th-century Eng. repeat sign
	Prepared long mordent	17th-century Eng.
or	Double relish	17th-century Eng.
	Ascending trill with or without turned ending	17th-century Eng.
	(*a*) Curtailed note (*b*) More generally staccato	(*a*) Couperin, Rameau (*b*) 18th century
or	Quaver rest sign over note or inverted quaver rest sign under note: curtailed note	D'Anglebert
	(*a*) Above note: mordent (*b*) After note: *Nachschlag*	(*a*) Mace (*b*) Loulié
	Oblique stroke, through stem or at end of stem if there is one: (*a*) Acciaccatura (*b*) Appoggiatura (*c*) Springer (*d*) Mordent (*e*) Ascending slide (*f*) Shake	Late- to early 17th-century Eng.
	Ascending slide	Gottlieb Muffat
	Through stem if there is one: ascending slide	Bevin
	Through stem if there is one: ascending slide leading to trill	Bevin
	(*a*) Acciaccatura (*b*) Short appoggiatura	(*a*) Marpurg onwards (*b*) 19th century (Spohr, Czerny and others)
	(*a*) Through stem or (*b*) Before stem: both arpeggio (usually ascending) (*c*) Between staves or note-heads	(*a*) Chiefly Fr., 17th century and later (*b*) Marais (*c*) D'Anglebert, Gottlieb Muffat, J.S. Bach, other Ger.
	Between and above notes: springer; accent	17th-century Eng., and 18th-century Fr.
	Before note: (*a*) Lower appoggiatura (*b*) Ascending slide (*c*) Rising note of anticipation or similar *Nachschlag*	(*a*) Widely used 17th- to mid-18th-century Eng., Ger. and It. (*b*) Chiefly Fr., same dates; also given by Türk (*c*) Later 18th-century Ger., esp. Türk
	Between heads of notes: (*a*) Ascending slide (*b*) Slide-like acciaccatura in chord or arpeggio	(*a*) 17th- and 18th-century Eng., Fr. (*b*) 18th-century Ger., incl. J.S. Bach
	Variant of above, but ? confined to (slide-like) acciaccatura in chord or arpeggio	Late 18th and early 19th centuries (Türk, Clementi, L. Adam *père*)
	Falling stroke across stem: descending arpeggio	D'Anglebert, Gottlieb Muffat, Marpurg and others
	Before note: (*a*) Falling note of anticipation (cadent) (*b*) Upper aggoppiatura (*c*) Descending slide	(*a*) 17th-century Eng., incl. Purcell; also Türk (*b*) Kuhnau, Gottlieb Muffat (*c*) Türk
	Between heads of notes: descending slide	Couperin
	Double oblique stroke, through stem (or at end of stem if there is one): (*a*) Shake (*b*) Acciaccatura (*c*) Appoggiatura (*d*) Mordent (*e*) Ascending slide (*f*) Tirata	Late 16th- to early 17th-century Eng., Dutch virginalists and north Ger. organists
	The same above or below the stem; probably variant of above	Eng. and Dutch, 2nd half of 17th century; Geminiani
	Probably further variant of above	Some Italians (Pasquali, Pollini), James Hook, Clementi
	Probably further variant of above	Pollini, Clementi and others

Sign	*Ornament*	*Guide to use or source*
	Triple oblique stroke: (*a*) Short, crisp grace (*b*) Rapid shake or compound ornament	 (*a*) Mid-16th century (*b*) Early 17th century
	Forefall and shake	Locke
	?Mordent	Duncan Burnett's Virginal Book (*c*1600)
	(*a*) Appoggiatura (*b*) Mordent	(*a*) It., 17th-century Ger. (*b*) Kuhnau
	Appoggiatura-prepared trill	Late 17th-century Eng.
	Trill with turned ending	Bevin
	? Variant of above: trill with turned ending	Purcell
9	*Groppo*: often in form of trill	Early 17th-century It.
t	(*a*) *Trillo* = tremolo (vibrato) (*b*) Trill (or Tremolo)	(*a*) Late 16th- to 17th-century It. and Ger. (*b*) Widespread
	Appoggiatura-prepared ('tied') trill	Gottlieb Muffat
	Trill full length of note	Georg Muffat
	Trill with turned ending	Georg and Gottlieb Muffat
	Mordent	Georg Muffat
tr (early form of (*a*) sometimes tri)	(*a*) *Trillo* = tremolo (*b*) Trill (any length or variety)	(*a*) Late 16th- to 17th-century It. (*b*) Very common and widespread
	Continuous trill	Couperin; Tartini; subsequently well established
+	(*a*) Ascending slide (*b*) Lower appoggiatura (*c*) Trill (*d*) Unspecified hint to ornament	(*a*) 17th-century Eng.; 18th-century Fr. (*b*) Chambonnières (*c*) Very common, esp. on vn and fl: t he main usage (*d*) Not uncommon
×	(*a*) Ascending slide (*b*) Upper appoggiatura (*c*) Trill (*d*) Mordent (*e*) Vibrato (pull string)	(*a*) Heinichen (*b*) Marpurg (*c*) Lully, Mondonville; not uncommon (*d*) 18th-century Fr.: the main usage (*e*) Baron
#	Vibrato (rock string)	Baron
	Appoggiatura-prepared trill	L'Affilard
^	Upper appoggiatura (*coulement*)	Hotteterre
	(*a*) Trill (*b*) *Pralltriller* (half-shake) (*c*) *Schneller* (inverted, i.e. upper, mordent)	(*a*) Ubiquitous Fr. and Ger. from 17th century (*b*) Türk (*c*) Türk, Spohr, Czerny (a misappropriation)
	(*a*) Trill (variant of above, sometimes implying more reiterations, giving longer duration) (*b*) Double mordent (*c*) Appoggiatura-prepared lower mordent (*d*) Prepared trill (*e*) Vibrato (*f*) Tremolo	(*a*) Ubiquitous Fr. and Ger. from 17th century (*b*) Loulié (*c*) ?Locke, Purcell (*d*) L'Affilard (*e*) Mace (*f*) L'Affilard
	(*a*) Long trill (*b*) Vibrato in general (*c*) Special form of vibrato (*d*) Measured or unmeasured tremolo	(*a*) Later 18th-century Ger. onwards (*b*) A few violinists down to Spohr and others; ? J.S. Bach (*c*) Marais (*d*) Mainly 17th-century It.
	Trills on one main note separated by recurrence of main note plain	Geminiani
	Appoggiatura-prepared trill	17th- and 18th-century Fr. and Ger.
	Trill with turned ending	18th-century Ger., incl. J.S. Bach
	Variant of above	D'Anglebert, Dieupart
	Short trill with turned ending; 'trilled turn' (*prallender Doppelschlag*)	Couperin, C.P.E. Bach, Türk
	Trill commencing with turn from below	17th- to 18th-century Fr. and Ger., incl. J.S. Bach
	(*a*) Ascending trill with turned ending (*b*) Appoggiatura-prepared lower mordent	(*a*) 18th-century Ger., incl. J.S. Bach (*b*) Dandrieu
	Trill commencing with turn from above	17th- to 18th-century Fr. and Ger., incl. J.S. Bach

Sign	Ornament	Guide to use or source
	(*a*) Mordent (*b*) Inverted (i.e. upper) mordent (*Schneller*)	(*a*) Ubiquitous later 17th- and 18th-century Fr. and Ger. (*b*) Hummel
	Mordent: variant of (*a*) above	Couperin
	(*a*) Mordent (further variation of (*a*) above, sometimes implying more reiterations, giving longer duration) (*b*) Inverted (i.e. upper) mordent (*Schneller*; but under misnomer *Pralltriller*)	(*a*) Ubiquitous Fr., from 17th century, and Ger., from early 18th (*b*) Preface to Spohr's *Violinschule*
	Mordent: variant of (*a*) above	Chambonnières
	Continuous mordent	Couperin
	'Triple mordent'	Louliè
	Ascending slide	18th-century Ger., incl. J.S. Bach
	Inverted variant of above, occasionally used for descending slide	Kuhnau
	(*a*) Turn (*b*) Inverted turn	(*a*) D'Anglebert; ubiquitous sign from 17th century to present (*b*) Hummel, Spohr (as 'mordent')
	Variants of above: (*a*) Inverted turn (*b*) Standard turn	(*a*) Clementi and others (*b*) J.S. Bach, C.P.E. Bach, Türk; also Hummel, Spohr (as 'mordent')
	(*a*) Turn (*b*) Inverted turn	(*a*) L'Affilard, Türk, Czerny (*b*) C.P.E. Bach, Clementi, Hummel
	Trill with turned ending	Geminiani
	Turn commencing on main note	C.P.E. Bach, Türk, Hummel
	Comma over note or above, but to left: (*a*) Upper appoggiatura ('backfall') (*b*) Trill (viewed as 'backfall shaked')	(*a*) 17th-century Eng. (*b*) 17th- to early 18th-century Eng. and Fr.
	Comma after note: (*a*) Trill (*b*) Lower appoggiatura (*c*) Mordent	(*a*) 17th- and 18th-century Fr.: the main usage (*b*) 17th-century Fr. lutenists (*c*) 17th- and 18th-century Fr.
	Double comma: descending slide	17th-century Eng.
	Inverted comma between notes: springer	L'Affilard
	Inverted comma or letter *c* before note: appoggiatura	17th- to 18th-century Fr.; also J.S. Bach
	Inverted comma after note: mordent	D'Anglebert
	Double curve rising to note: Lower appoggiatura with slur	Early 18th-century Ger., incl. J.S. Bach
	Double curve falling to note: upper appoggiatura with slur	Early 18th-century Ger., incl. J.S. Bach
	Small bracket-like curve to left of notes: (*a*) Ascending slide (*b*) Appoggiatura (*c*) Indicates the (slide-like) figuring of an arpeggio between the notes bracketed	(*a*) 17th- to 18th-century Fr. (*b*) D'Anglebert (*c*) D'Anglebert; fairly common: the most important usage
	Small bracket-like curve to right of notes: descending slide	D'Anglebert
	Small bracket-like curves or commas on either side of note: prepared mordent	D'Anglebert
	Portato (*Tragen der Töne*)	C.P.E. Bach
	(*a*) Bebung (vibrato) (*b*) Bow vibrato (often without dots)	(*a*) C.P.E. Bach (*b*) 18th-century Ger.
	Truncated note	Couperin, Rameau
	Appoggiatura-prepared trill (misuse of above)	Mondonville
	Pause mark, often implying cadenza	Explained by 18th-century authorities
	Large bracket-like curve before chord: arpeggio	Purcell, Dieupart, Cranmer

Sign	Ornament	Guide to use or source
(see also below)	(*a*) Before chord: arpeggio (*b*) Before note: vibrato	(*a*) late 17th-century Eng. (Purcell) and Fr. (Lebègue); became common in 18th century and the established sign in 19th (*b*) Marais
(see also below)	After chord with rising or falling stroke across stem to indicate arpeggio: arpeggio to be figured	Rameau
	Before chord: ascending arpeggio	17th-century Fr.; common in 18th century and into 19th
	Hooked zigzag to left of chord, slur sign to right: variant of above	17th-century Fr.
	Before chord: descending arpeggio	Couperin, Türk
	Hooked zigzag to left of chord, slur sign to right: variant of above	17th-century Fr.
	Before chord: arpeggio	Türk
	Before chord: ascending arpeggio	18th-century Ger.
	Before chord: descending arpeggio	18th-century Ger.
	Between staves: notes so joined to be played simultaneously	Dandrieu in unmeasured preludes
	Between staves: notes so joined are unison	Couperin
	Between melodic notes: *tirata*	Occasionally found in 17th and 18th centuries, various localities

12. Index to ornaments.

The numbers are those of the sections above in which the ornaments are discussed.

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Messa di voce, 4, 5
Mordent, Mordant, mordente, 2, 5, 8, 9

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Nota procellaris (?vibrato), 1

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KENNETH KREITNER (1), LOUIS JAMBOU (2), DESMOND HUNTER (3), STEWART A. CARTER (4), PETER WALLS (5), KAH-MING NG (6–7), DAVID SCHULENBERG(8), CLIVE BROWN (9–10)

Ornithoparchus [Vogelhofer, Vogelmaier, ?Vogelstätter], **Andreas** (*b* Meiningen, *c*1490). German theorist. His first musical studies were in Saxony and later he travelled in Germany, Austria, Bohemia and Hungary. On 19 November 1512 he matriculated at Rostock University. In 1514 he was rector of the parochial school in St Ludgeri, Münster, where he wrote a Latin grammar, *Enchiridion latinae constructionis* (Deventer, 1515). On 25 August 1515 he matriculated at Tübingen University, although he already held the degree of Master of Arts from Rostock, but he subsequently called himself a Master of Arts of Tübingen. While in Rostock he became particularly interested in music theory and began work on a music treatise. This was the basis for further music lectures at the universities of Tübingen, Heidelberg and Mainz. A travelling humanist scholar and disciple of Erasmus, he matriculated at Wittenberg (1516), Leipzig (1516) and Greifswald (1518).

Ornithoparchus published his treatise *Musicae activae micrologus* in Leipzig in 1517 (*R*1977). By the term 'musica activa' he meant *musica practica* as opposed to *musica theoretica*. In the dedications of the four books of the treatise he showed something of his wide musical experience. The first book, on 'cantus planus', is dedicated 'to the Governours of the State of Lyneburg' (Dowland's translation) for the use of the young. The second and fourth books are dedicated to two musicians of the chapel of the Heidelberg court, the Kapellmeister Philipp Surus and the organist Arnolt Schlick. The second book, on *musica mensuralis*, was written in collaboration with Georg Brack, the second Kapellmeister at Stuttgart, whom he had visited there about 1515. Ornithoparchus's list of the most excellent musicians (bk 2, chap.8) includes Ockeghem, Ghiselin, Alexander Agricola, Obrecht, Josquin, La Rue, Isaac, Finck, Brumel and Lapicida, and among theorists Gaffurius, Jacobus Faber Stapulensis and Tinctoris were considered authorities. In the course of his discussion of *musica ficta* he extended the Guidonian system by two notes at each end. The fourth book, on counterpoint, follows Schanppecher's pattern in Wollick's treatise in distinguishing between improvised counterpoint added to a cantus firmus ('sortisare') and the written 'composition'. Ornithoparchus advised beginners to use a ten-line staff. He sharply criticized practices in sacred music, complaining of the priests' inadequate musical knowledge and hasty singing, wrong accentuation, incorrect pronunciation, rhythmic waywardness, 'crying' and 'howling'. For psalm singing he advised the reader to study *De vero modo psallendi* (*GB-Ob* Ashmol.) written by Michael Muris Galliculus, a member of the Cistercian cloister of Altzelle in Saxony. Ornithoparchus's treatise was clearly popular, for editions followed in 1517, 1519 and 1521, and editions were published in Cologne (1533 and 1535) with the title *De arte cantandi micrologus*. It was widely used as a textbook: in 1539 it was used at Kraków University; Angelo da Picitono incorporated whole chapters into his *Fior angelico di musica* (Venice, 1547), as did Sebastiani in his *Bellum musicale* (Strasbourg, 1563); and in 1609 Dowland published an English translation (*R*1973). Both Johann Gottfried Walther and Hawkins knew Ornithoparchus's work; the latter included a translation of the chapter on sacred music in his *General History*.

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KLAUS WOLFGANG NIEMÖLLER

Ornstein, Leo (*b* Kremenchug, 2 Dec 1893). American composer and pianist of Ukrainian birth. As a child, he studied at Petrograd Conservatory. Emigrating to New York in 1907, he studied the piano at the Institute of Musical Art with Bertha Fiering Tapper, who became an important mentor. In 1911 he made his New York début performing standard repertory, while two years later, in 1913, he wrote his first Modernist compositions, *Dwarf Suite* and *Wild Men's Dance (Danse sauvage)*. The same year he set off on a European tour with Tapper, on which he met Busoni and M.-D. Calvocoressi and gained a strong sense of the newest European trends. His first major appearance as a virtuoso specializing in modern music took place in London on 27 March 1914, where he performed his own music, together with that of Schoenberg and a group of Bach transcriptions by Busoni. In January and February 1915 he gave a series of four recitals at the Bandbox Theatre in New York, which quickly led to Ornstein becoming something of a cult figure, especially for the tone clusters that became his trademark. He abruptly withdrew from the concert stage in 1922, continuing to perform only occasionally thereafter, for example, in 1925 when he appeared with the Philadelphia Orchestra for the première of his Piano Concerto. Ornstein's principal focus during these years was teaching. In 1924 he became head of the piano department at the Philadelphia Music Academy, and a few years later he established the Ornstein School of Music in Philadelphia. He retired from teaching in 1953 but continued to compose.

Ornstein's compositions divide into three large groups: experimental works (almost all dating from the 1910s), more conservative pieces that hint of Eastern Europe (from the same period and after) and later pieces that integrate the two extremes. Most of his instrumental music is programmatic. Some works, such as *Impressions de Notre Dame* or *Three Moods*, evoke landscapes or emotional states, many building on Debussy-like practices, from filigree semiquaver textures to extended triadic harmonies, pentatonicism and parallelisms. Most of his experimental works, such as the *Wild Men's Dance*, were for piano, though the Violin Sonata op.31 is his most uncompromisingly modernist. Dissonant and atonal, these early pieces often display an individual use of gapped, chromatic clusters, quite apart from the manner of Cowell, Ives or Bartók. This period is also distinguished by the common use of free-wheeling structures, which give the impression of a spontaneous composition process. In many ways they exemplify the creative spontaneity espoused at the time by the philosopher Henri Bergson.

Though Ornstein was rediscovered by Vivian Perlis and others in the 1970s – he received the Marjorie Peabody Waite Award from the National Institute of Arts and Letters in 1975 – much of his output remains unknown. Two of his finest works, the Piano Sonatas nos.7 and 8, were written when the composer was in his 90s.

WORKS

(*selective list*)

INSTRUMENTAL

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no.3, 1976; 6 Preludes, vc, pf, 1931; Allegro (Intermezzo), fl, pf, 1959; Fantasy Pieces, va, pf, 1972; Hebraic Fantasy, vn, pf, 1975; Poem, fl, pf, 1979

Pf (solo unless otherwise stated): 6 Lyric Fancies, op.10, 1911; A Paris Street Scene at Night, op.4 no.3, 1912; Suicide in an Airplane, *c*1913; Pièce, pf 4 hands, op.19 no.1, 1913; Wild Men's Dance (Danse sauvage), op.13 no.2, *c*1913; 3 Preludes, op.20, *c*1914; Suite russe, op.12, *c*1914; Three Moods, 1914; Cossack Impressions, op.14, *c*1914; Impressions de la Tamise, op.13 no.1, 1914; Impressions de Notre Dame, op.16 nos.1–2, 1914; Dwarf Suite, op.11, *c*1915; A la Chinoise, op.39, *c*1918; Poems of 1917, op.41, 1918 [after W. Frank]; Serenade, op.5 nos.1–2, 1918

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MICHAEL BROYLES/CAROL J. OJA

Orologio [Horologius], **Alessandro** [Alexander] (*b* *c*1550; *d* Vienna, ?1633). Italian composer and instrumentalist, resident in German-speaking countries. He is first heard of as 'trumpeter and musician' at the court of the Emperor Rudolf II in Prague just before 1580. He continued his association with the court until 1613 – he was appointed vice-Kapellmeister in 1603 – but made numerous journeys, which included visits to the courts at Dresden and Wolfenbüttel. During one such visit in 1594 to the court of the Landgrave Moritz of Hesse at Kassel he met John Dowland, who probably brought him to the attention of the court of King Christian IV of Denmark, with which he also seems to have been connected for a time. Extant references to his extensive travels have resulted in some confusion. Eitner assumed that there must have been two Orologios, and his error was carried into many subsequent sources. Orologio was pensioned in Prague in 1613, after which he is known to have been active at Steyr and at the monastery at nearby Garsten.

Orologio was one of the first ensemble instrumentalists to achieve a wide reputation both as a performer and as a composer competent in diverse genres (a few instrumentalists before him, such as Tylman Susato and Jean d'Estrée, had also established themselves as composers but only of certain kinds of secular music). His vocal writing is skilful; he preferred tightly spaced imitation, and his lines unfold with charm and freshness. He was aware of contemporary experiments in chromaticism, but they do not have an important place in his style. His intradas of 1597, dedicated to Christian IV, are short and sonorous and among the best 16th-century ensemble pieces.

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KEITH POLK

Orologio, Giovanni Dondi dall' (*b* Chioggia, *c*1330; *d* Abbiategrasso, 19 Oct 1388). Italian poet, physician and astrologer. He taught in Padua, Pavia and Florence. He was a friend and follower of Petrarch, and wrote sonnets, five madrigals and three ballatas, transmitted by the manuscript *I-Vnm* lat.XIV 223, which may be an autograph. His ballata *La sacrosanta carità d'amore*, labelled in this source as 'Balata Florentiae' (*c*1368) was set to music by Bartolino da Padova and was also sent to the poet-minstrel Francesco di Vannozzo to add to his repertoire; another musical setting, for his ballata *Omay çascun se doglia*, survives.

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Ó Rónáin, Muiris. *See* FLEISCHMANN, ALOYS.

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Orozbakov, Saghimbai (*b* Issyk-Kul, Kyrgyzstan, 1867; *d* Issyk-Kul, Kyrgyzstan, 1930). Kyrgyz *jomokchu* (*Manas* bard). He was born to the family of a *kerneeich* musician (player of the *kerney*, a pipe) and belonged to the Saiak clan of the Kurman-Moinok tribe, who were nomads in the Tien Shan area. He heard the performances of many outstanding *Manas* bards, notably Belmurat Kulmanov, also known as Balyk (1793–1873). Unlike many other epic narrators, Orozbakov was literate. From his youth he was famous as an improviser, especially of ceremonial laments or *koshok*, in which the life and acts of the dead were narrated in song. In accordance with the tradition of Kyrgyz bards he did not name his masters but referred only to a dream in which Semetei, a son of the hero Manas, gave him his talent and imposed upon him the duty of glorifying the deeds of Manas. By the time of the Bolshevik revolution Orozbakov was recognized as a *chon jomokchu* ('great creator and epic bard'). A recording of his version in 250,000 verses (the most complete version of the first part of *Manas*) was made during the period 1922–6. The texts were published in four volumes in Frunze (1978–82), and the music was written down by B. Vinogradov in 1947 with the help of the *Manas* researcher Ibraim Abdyrakhmanov, who received the performing tradition from Orozbakov.

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ALMA KUNANBAYEVA

Orozco, Rafael (*b* Córdoba, 24 Jan 1946; *d* Rome, 24 April 1996). Spanish pianist. From 1952 he studied at the Córdoba Conservatory (where his teachers included his father and his aunt) and, from 1960, at the Madrid Conservatory. By the time he graduated in 1964 he had won prizes in competitions at Bilbao and Jaén. From the age of 17 he studied with Alexis Weissenberg, at the Accademia Musicale Chigiana in Siena and elsewhere; Maria Curcio-Diamond was another important influence. After he won the 1966 Leeds Piano Competition he developed an international career, with engagements in London, at several British festivals and in many European and American cities. Giulini's enthusiasm for his playing was a significant factor in the development of his career. Orozco was an exuberant virtuoso, at his best in such works as Rachmaninoff's concertos, which allowed full display of his sparkling technique, in particular of the evenness and dexterity of his fingerwork. He made admired recordings of the Rachmaninoff concertos, and of the complete *Iberia* by Albéniz. In his last years his musicianship became more reflective: with a less hectic concert schedule, he turned to composers he had hitherto avoided, notably Schubert. He died of AIDS-related illnesses at the age of only 50.

MAX LOPPERT/JESSICA DUCHEN

Orozov, Karamoldo (Toktomambet) (*b* 1883; *d* 1960). Kyrgyz *komuz* player and composer. He was a pupil of Murataaly Kurenkeyev and a representative of the classical school of *komuz* players of Kyrgyzstan. His *kyuu* (programmatic instrumental pieces) include *Ibarat* ('Edification'), an orchestral version of which became popular under the title *Prazdnichnaya ubertyura* ('Festive Overture'), *Nasyikat* ('Sermon'), *Kokoi kesti* ('Sad Recollection), *Kambarkan* (a traditional topic for Kyrgyz *komuz* players in honour of Kambar, the legendary inventor of the *komuz*), *Syngan bugu* ('An Aggrieved Representative of the Bugu Clan') and *Dyunyuio* ('Peace'). In 1928 A.V. Zatayevich recorded 31 of Orozov's *kyuu*, and tape recordings of his 60 works are kept in the sound archive of the Krygyz radio station.

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ALMA KUNANBAYEVA

Orpharion. A wire-strung plucked instrument of the BANDORA family, of similar scalloped shape but smaller and tuned like the lute. It appeared slightly later than the bandora, the first literary reference to it being in a poem (1590) by Michael Drayton. Thereafter it was mentioned with increasing familiarity and was listed in household inventories so frequently that it must have been played almost as widely as the lute. By the end of the 17th century it had fallen into disuse, along with many other plucked instruments. The curious name of the instrument was also used for the title of a book, *Greenes Orpharion* (1599), which the author derives from 'Orpheus and Arion, two, famous in their time for their instruments'. It would seem that, like the bandora, the orpharion was redolent of classical symbolism (see Wells, 1982).

Of the surviving instruments hitherto thought to be orpharions, the earliest, made by John Rose in 1580, may well be a high-pitch bandora (*see* BANDORA for further discussion and ROSE, JOHN for illustration). Another, by Francis Palmer and dated 1617, is housed in the Claudius Collection at Copenhagen (fig.1). It has nine double courses and is exactly the shape depicted in contemporary illustrations. Although it is a little smaller than the scale drawing of Praetorius (*Theatrum instrumentorum*, 1620), all its dimensions are within a centimetre of those recorded around 1690 by Talbot (see Gill, *GSJ*, 1960). The bridge and frets are slanted to give a progressive increase in string length from treble (53·5 cm) to bass (60·5 cm). The pegbox, topped with a carved head in typical English style, is of 'viol' type with lateral pegs. The instrument's ribs do not taper in depth, but the neck is cut away on the bass side as on a cittern. Until the 1980s this instrument was the only example of its type known to have survived, though certain features and marks on the pegbox and head suggest that it is not quite in its original state (see Segerman and Abbott, 1976).

In 1982, however, attention was drawn to another orpharion in the Historisches Museum, Frankfurt (see Segerman, 1982; fig.2). This anonymous, undated eight-course instrument is considerably smaller than the one in Copenhagen and has string lengths of only 42·5 cm (treble) and 48 cm (bass). To judge from photographs, there are again features here that may not be original, including the pegbox, metal tuning pins, bridge position and possibly the bridge itself, which may date from a restoration carried out in 1957. Nevertheless the



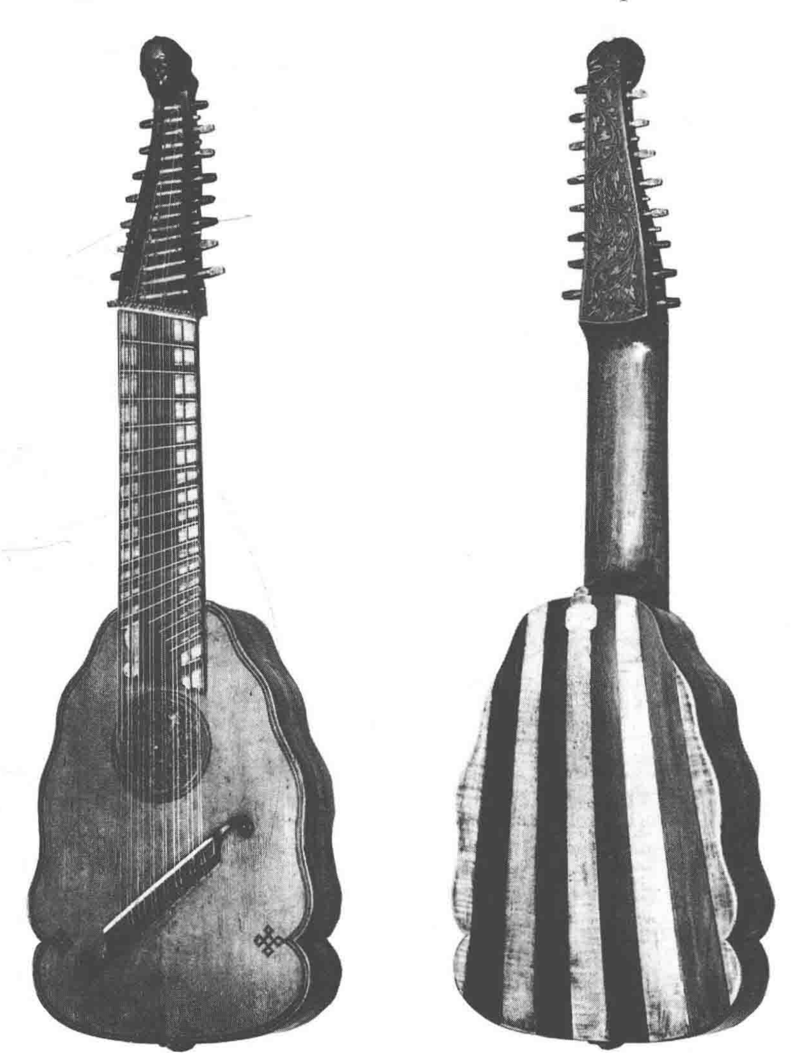
1. Three views of the orpharion by Francis Palmer, English, 1617 (Musikhistorisk Museum, Copenhagen)

instrument is of great interest. A larger example, with nine courses, was reported in 1983 at the Städtisches Museum, Brunswick.

The earliest collection of orpharion music is found in William Barley's *New Booke of Tabliture*, published in three parts for Lute, Orpharion and Bandora in 1596. This also contains the first full description and illustration of the instrument, described as 'the Stately Orpharion'. Barley continues:

... the Orpharion is strong with more stringes than the Lute, and also hath more frets or stops, and whereas the Lute is strong with gut stringes, the Orpharion is strong with wire stringes, by reason of which manner of stringing, the Orpharion doth necessarilie requrie a more gentle and drawing stroke than the Lute, I mean the fingers of the right hand must be easilie drawen over the stringes, and not suddenly griped, or sharpelie stroken as the Lute is: for if yee should doo so, then the wire stringer would clash or jarre together the one against the other; which would be a cause that the sounde would bee harsh and unpleasant.

Barley's reference to the number of strings is explained by the fact that his lute has only six courses, whereas his orpharion has seven, as can be seen in his illustration (fig.3) and in the music itself. The lowest course is tuned



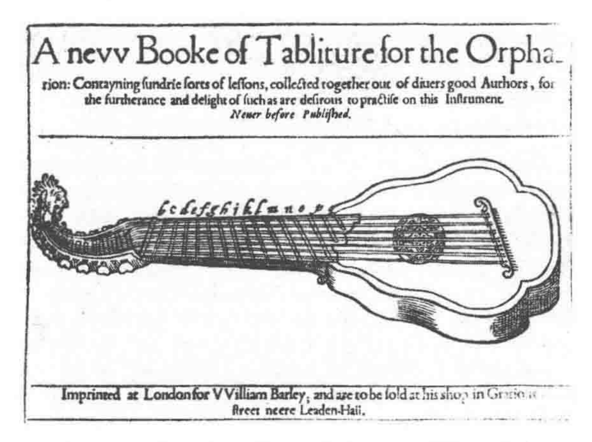
2. Front and back views of an orpharion, maker unknown (Historisches Museum, Frankfurt)

a tone below the sixth, giving the intervals 2–4–4–3–4–4. It has been suggested that this setting for the seventh course distinguishes orpharion music from that for the lute, but in fact there is a considerable repertory, both English and continental, for a seven-course lute tuned the same way. The woodcut also shows the sloping bridge and frets, which had great importance as far as the open string range was concerned; indeed, it was this increase in range that made the orpharion possible.

Whereas the bandora was never extended beyond seven courses, the development of the orpharion was roughly the same as that of the lute. Praetorius illustrated a seven-course instrument, but gave tunings for eight courses (*D–F–G–c–f–a–d′–g′*, and a tone higher). The undated instrument in Frankfurt has eight courses; the Palmer at Copenhagen and the Brunswick example have nine. Ten courses are required for the orpharion pavan in Pilkington's second set of madrigals (1624). When Talbot noted the dimensions of an orpharion (*c*1695), he added:

Tis a kind of tenor to the Cittern carrying 9 double ranks sometimes 7. Fretts 15. Some like the English Theorbo carrie 5 double 8ve ranks of open Basses on 5 Nutts on long head besides those 7 on the plate.

Because of the identical tuning, there is nothing to distinguish music for orpharion from that for lute; indeed, the two instruments were largely regarded as interchangeable, as is made clear by the title-pages of many of the English books of 'lute' songs published between 1597 and 1622. There is some incomplete music 'for 3 Orph' and 'for iii Wiers' [i.e. three viols] in the Cambridge consort



A nevv Booke of Tabliture for the Orpharion: Contayning sundrie sorts of lessons, collected together out of diuers good Authors, for the furtherance and delight of such as are desirous to practise on this Instrument.

Neuer before Published.

Imprinted at London for VVilliam Barley, and are to be sold at his shop in Gratious street neere Leaden-Hall.

3. Title-page, with woodcut of an orpharion, from William Barley's 'A New Booke of Tabliture for the Orpharion' (1596)

books (*GB-Cu* Dd.3.18 f.55–6 [orpharion parts], Dd.5.20 f.10*v* and Dd.5.21 f.11 [viol parts]) that seem to require a bass orpharion, which Praetorius called PENORCON.

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IAN HARWOOD/LYLE NORDSTROM

Orphéon. French male-voice choral movement. It developed from 1815 through the work of GUILLAUME LOUIS BOCQUILLON WILHEM, a strong advocate of the teaching of singing in schools, who first used the term Orphéon about 1830. The Orphéon choral society was established in Paris in 1833 and rapidly expanded (*see* PARIS, §VI, 4); an annual concert was given at the Trocadéro with 1500 performers. A military Orphéon was established at Lyons in 1843, and by 1859 there were 700 provincial societies; 3000 'Orphéonistes' performed in London in 1860. By the turn of the century the movement reached a peak of popularity with over 2000 societies in France, where it was the equivalent of British competitive festivals.

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□

Orpheus. Legendary figure of Greek pre-history. He was thought to have lived during the generation before the Trojan War.

1. Orpheus and music. 2. Later treatments.

1. ORPHEUS AND MUSIC. Various ancient references make Orpheus a Thracian, thus placing him with other legendary singers from Thrace such as LINUS and Thamyris. He was usually accounted the son of the Muse Calliope and of Oeagrus, but Pindar (*Pythian*, iv.176–7) referred to APOLLO ambiguously as either Orpheus's patron or his father. He was at any rate linked with the god in many ways, notably through music (*see* MUSAEUS).

Neither the poetry ascribed to Orpheus or to his followers nor the varying religious practices called Orphism by modern scholars has any strong connection with music. Non-Orphic literature and art, for the most part, provide the evidence for his single most striking aspect, namely his fame as an unequalled singer to the lyre who possessed magical power to move all living things. Orpheus first appears in a sculptured panel of the mid-6th century BCE; here he stands upon a ship's deck, holding a kithara. Certain details identify the scene as being from the Argonaut myth. Later in the 6th century the poet Ibycus noted his fame, but significant literary references first occur in 5th-century writers, beginning with Simonides' lyrical description of the birds and fish listening to Orpheus's singing. Pindar (*Pythian*, iv.177) called him 'the father of song'; Aeschylus (*Agamemnon*, 1629–30) wrote of his power to charm the whole of nature; Euripides mentioned this power repeatedly (*Bacchae*, 560–64 is a representative passage), stressing its magical aspect, and in the *Rhesus* Orpheus showed 'mysteries' (943–4, 966), taken to be the rites of DIONYSUS (Apollodorus, i.3.2).

In the *Argonautica* of Apollonius Rhodius, Orpheus serves as the boatswain whose music set the beat for the rowers (i.540). But the same work, together with the later Orphic *Argonautica* based on it, makes clear that his singing and playing saved Argo's company from the SIRENS and other perils. Through these extraordinary gifts he also won the chance to bring his wife Eurydice up from Hades. His powers continued to manifest themselves even after his own death: after he had been torn apart by Thracian women, his severed head continued to sing and prophesy until carried by the waves to Lesbos, which then became the most musical of all islands (Virgil, *Georgics*, iv.523–4; Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, xi.50–55). Here the myth is clearly aetiological, an attempt to account for the great tradition of TERPANDER, SAPPHO and ALCAEUS (cf Nicomachus, *Excerpts*, 1: ed. Jan, 266). In early Christian times Christians displayed a distinctly contradictory attitude towards the figure of Orpheus, whose worship did not diminish in the midst of Christian observance: they depicted Christ with the lyre, but saw music's power to enchant as an attribute of Satan.

In every case, the incidents that constitute the Orpheus legend have some connection with music. For the Greeks he was the supreme embodiment of music's affective power, intensified to the extreme of literal enchantment. They credited him with this power not only as singer and lyre player but also as poet and seer (cf Euripides, *Alcestis*, 357–62). A modern conception of music will not suffice here: Orpheus represents the broader context inherent in the term *mousikē*, the province of the MUSES.

2. LATER TREATMENTS. Musical treatment of the Orpheus myth has concentrated on the death of Eurydice, Orpheus's wife, and his attempt to retrieve her from the underworld. The tree-nymph Eurydice trod on a snake when chased by Aristaeus, son of Apollo and Cyrene. Orpheus braved the ferryman Charon, the Furies, and the monstrous dog Cerberus, and so charmed death's domain by his music that the return of Eurydice was granted provided he did not look on her during the upward journey. The classical myth consigns Eurydice to the shades once more; opera has usually preferred a happy ending, relying on the immortality of Orpheus as lyre player and the ultimate favour of the gods. In a non-operatic context, certain composers have treated of Orpheus's death at the hands of Thracian bacchantes and the casting of his severed head into the river Hebrus.



Orpheus among the Thracians: Attic Red-figure column krater, 440 BCE from Gela (Antikenmuseum, Berlin)

Operas based on the Orpheus myth cover a period of almost 400 years. Among the more notable are 17th-century works by Jacopo Peri (1600), Giulio Caccini (1602), Monteverdi (1607), Domenico Belli (1616), Stefano Landi (1619), Luigi Rossi (1647), J.J. Löwe von Eisenach (1659), Antonio Sartorio (1672), Matthew Locke (1673), J.P. Krieger (1683), Antonio Draghi (1683), M.-A. Charpentier (c1685), Bernardo Sabadini (1689), Lully (1690), Reinhard Keiser (1698, rev. 1699, 1709) and André Campra (1699, Act 3 of *Le carnaval de Venise*).

Many Orpheus operas stem from the 18th century: John Weldon (*c*1701), Fux (1715), Telemann (1726), J.F. Lampe (1740), Rameau (*c*1740, projected), Ristori (1749), Wagenseil (1750), Graun (1752), Gluck (1762 and 1774), F.-H. Barthélemon (1767), Antonio Tozzi (1775), Bertoni (1776), Asplmayr (1780, lost melodrama), Franz Benda (1785), J.G. Naumann (1786), Dittersdorf (1788), J.F. Reichardt (1788, revision of Bertoni, 1776), Trento (1789), Haydn (1791), Paer (1791), Peter Winter (1792), P.-D. Deshayes (1793, parody of Gluck) and Antoine Dauvergne (composed before 1797).

Orpheus interest continued into the 19th century with such composers as Christian Cannabich (1802), Kanne (1807), Kauer (1813), Offenbach (1858) and Godard (1887); and the myth persisted into 20th-century opera with Azevedo da Silva (1907), Debussy (1907–16, projected *Orphée-roi*), Roger-Ducasse (1913), Malipiero (1925, parts 1 and 3 of the triptych *L'Orfeide*), Milhaud (1925), Krenek (1926), Casella (1932) and Birtwistle (1986).

The Orpheus story has also been treated in other ways. Robert Gallenberg (1831) and Stravinsky (1948) wrote ballets on the subject. Liszt's symphonic poem *Orpheus* (1854), designed as prelude to a performance of Gluck's opera, was arranged by the composer for two pianos (*c*1854–6) and piano duet (*c*1858); Liszt also composed a postlude to the opera on the same themes (unpublished). The dismemberment of Orpheus was tackled by Berlioz in his 'monologue et bacchanale' *La mort d'Orphée* (composed 1827) and by Tippett in 'The Severed Head', first of three songs from part 2 of *The Mask of Time* (1982).

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For further bibliography *see* GREECE, §I.

WARREN ANDERSON/THOMAS J. MATHIESEN (1), ROBERT ANDERSON (2)

Orpheus (Chamber Orchestra). American ensemble consisting of 16 strings and 10 woodwind. It was formed in 1972 by the cellist Julian Fifer. The group rehearses and performs without conductor, treating chamber orchestra literature as chamber music. Completely self-governed, the members themselves are responsible for interpretation, programming, repertory and choice of soloists, and they rotate seating and section leadership. Orpheus presents an annual series at Carnegie Hall, and tours regularly throughout the world. They have made over 50 recordings for Deutsche Grammophon, many of which feature Orpheus musicians as soloists; one, a 1994 recording of Vivaldi's *Four Seasons*, was the first classical CD release with CD-ROM. A documentary film by the director Allan Miller, 'Orpheus in the Real World', was telecast in Europe and Japan in 1995 and 1996. The group's unique style of working has generated interest from the business world as well as the music community; Orpheus is the subject of a two-year study by the Harvard University School of Business, and has worked with New York University and the University of Chicago on projects related to issues of leadership and self-governance.

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J. Traub: 'Passing the Baton: Workplace Democracy in the Orpheus Chamber Orchestra', *New Yorker* (26 Aug 1996)

ELLEN HIGHSTEIN

Orpheus Quartet. German-based string quartet. It was founded in 1987 by Charles-André Linale (*b* Rouen, 1958), Emilian Piedicuta (*b* Bucharest, 1955), Emile Cantor (*b* Laren, nr Hilversum, 1955) and Laurentiu Sbarcea (*b* Bucharest, 1961). Linale had previously led the Ensemble Intercontemporain and the Orlando Quartet. The group won all the competitions it entered: the Valentino Bucchi in Rome (1988), the Karl Klingler in Munich (1990) and the Osaka in Japan (1993). Based in Düsseldorf, it gives a regular concert series in that city and tours widely, collaborating with such guests as the pianists Menahem Pressler and Therese Dussaut, the cellist Pieter Wispelwey and the clarinettist José-Luis Estelles. Its first American tour was made in 1998 and it returned in 1999. Drawing on its members' backgrounds in three countries, it plays with beautiful tone, immaculate ensemble and a rare stylistic sense, mastering a repertory extending from the Viennese Classics to such 20th-century composers as Malipiero – all of whose quartets it has played in concert and recorded – Berg, Bartók, Janáček, Schulhoff and Shostakovich. Its performances of Debussy, Ravel and Dutilleux have attracted much praise, in concert and on record. Other recordings include works by Beethoven and Schubert and the complete quartets of Brahms and Bartók. All four members teach at the Utrecht Conservatory and give summer courses at Arosa, Switzerland, and Sveg, Sweden; in addition Linale and Sbarcea teach in Aachen, Piedicuta in Wuppertal and Cantor in Mainz and Essen. Their instruments are a violin that is a joint production of Giuseppe Guarneri 'Filius Andreas' and Guarneri del Gesù, a 1748 violin by Pietro Paolo de Vitor of Venice, a viola of about 1700 by Giovanni Tononi and a 1694 cello by Giovanni Grancino.

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T. Potter: 'Orpheus in the Overworld', *The Strad*, civ (1993), 656–8

TULLY POTTER



Lady playing an orphica: engraving from K.L. Röllig's 'Orphica: ein musikalisches Instrument' (Vienna, 1795)

Orphica. A portable piano which could be played while carried, in the manner of a guitar, or while set on a table or stand, or while resting in the performer's lap (see illustration). First described in 1795 by its inventor, Karl Leopold Röllig, it has a small soundbox containing a three- to four-octave keyboard that activates a Viennese action; the strings run transversely across the soundbox from a harp-shaped open frame at the performer's left to tuning-pins set at the right. The style of the stringing was intended to imitate the ancient lyre, an attribute of Orpheus.

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J. Koster: *Keyboard Musical Instruments in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (Boston, 1994), 224–7

EDWIN M. RIPIN/JOHN KOSTER

Orr, Buxton (Daeblitz) (*b* Glasgow, 18 April 1924; *d* Hereford, 27 Dec 1997). British composer. He gave up a career in medicine to study at the GSM, where he was taught composition by Frankel and conducting by Buesst (1952–5). His early works include film scores, notably for the 'Hammer' horror films, and the successful one-act opera *The Wager*, which was given its première at Sadler's Wells in 1961. From 1965 to 1990 he was a professor at the GSM, where he founded the Contemporary Music Ensemble, and of which he was made a Fellow in 1971. He was conductor of the London Jazz Composers' Orchestra (1970–80), giving performances across Europe and at the 1972 Jazzfest Berlin. A jazz style is appealingly deployed in several works, notably those for brass band,

as in the brightly scored *A Caledonian Suite* commissioned by the BBC. His individuality and communicability is also evinced in the more serious works, including the series of *Refrains* (1–6), the three piano trios and *Sinfonia ricercante* (1987). These works are characteristic of his style in which lyricism and rhythmic vitality combine with rigorous motivic and contrapuntal processes and pitch-centred atonality. Of his music theatre works of the 1980s, *Ring in the New*, composed while composer-in-residence at the Banff School of Fine Arts, Canada, won the 1988 Seagrams Prize of the America National Music Theatre Network.

WORKS
(*selective list*)

Stage: The Wager (op, 1, C.H.P. Johnston), 1961, arr. chbr ens, 1996; Unicorn (music theatre, Orr), 1981; The Last Circus (music theatre, Orr), 1984; Ring in the New (music theatre, M. Bawtree), 1986; The Alchemist (op), unfinished

Orch: Bulgarian Suite, 1960; A Celtic Suite, str, 1968; Fanfare and Processional, str, 1968; Trbn Conc., trbn, brass band, 1971; A John Gay Suite, sym. wind band, 1972; Interplay, jazz orch, 1973; Refrains III, jazz orch, 1973; Tpt Conc., tpt, brass band, 1976; Triptych, 1977; A Caledonian Suite, brass band, 1980; Sinfonia ricercante, 1987; Narration, sym. wind ens, 1993

Vocal: Songs of Childhood (Scottish poets), Mez/Bar, pf, 1962; Canzona (Scottish poets), T, cl, str trio, 1963; The Ballad of Mr and Mrs Discobbolos (E. Lear), T, gui/pf, 1965; 8 Songs from the Yüan, Ct, pf, 1969; many kinds of yes (e.e. Cummings), 2vv, 1971; The Knight and the Lady (R.H. Barham), 1v, 1978; 10 Types of Hospital Visitor (C. Causley), S, db/pf, 1986

Chbr and solo inst: Bagatelles, pf, 1952; Sonata, vn, pf, 1955; 3 Diatonic Preludes, hp, 1965; Episodes, eng hn/va, pf, 1966; Sonata per 10, double wind qnt, 1967; Refrains I, eng hn/va, pf, 1970; 5 Sketches, 4 trbn, 1970; Refrains II, cl, va, pf, 1971; Str Qt no.1 (Refrains IV), 1977; Side by Side, pf, 1979; Pf Trio no.1, 1982; Str Qt no.2, 1985; Tournament, brass ens, 1985; Variations, pf, 1985; Pf Trio no.2, 1986; A Carmen Fantasy, vc, pf, 1987, arr. orch/(opt. obs, opt hns, str); Portrait of the Don, vc, pf/str, 1987; Refrains V, cl, pf, 1988; Pf Trio no.3, 1990; Refrains VI, 14 insts, 1992; Elegy, vc, pf, 1994; Duo, baroque vn, db, 1994; Str Trio, 1996; Catfish Row, vc, pf, 1997; Tales from the Windsor Forest, vc, pf, 1997

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'The Symphony Today', *The Composer*, no.47 (1973), 11–14

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'Freedom and Structure', *Music Teacher*, lxxii (1993), 18–19

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Obituaries: M. Anderson, *The Independent* (31 Dec 1997); *The Times* (24 Jan 1998); M. Miller, *MO*, cxxi (1998), 188 only

MALCOLM MILLER

Orr, C(harles) W(ilfred) (*b* Cheltenham, 31 July 1893; *d* Painswick, 24 Feb 1976). English composer. In his youth he learnt the piano and musical theory and was inspired by performances of Elena Gerhardt. Attracted to lieder, particularly those by Brahms and Wolf, he decided to be a songwriter and moved to London, where he enrolled at the GSM. Entranced by the music of Delius, he introduced himself to the composer who became his mentor and criticized sympathetically his early compositions; through Delius he met Warlock who helped him publish his first songs. A victim of eczema since a childhood vaccination, in adulthood he developed tuberculosis. Orr married in 1929 and, following medical advice, left London and settled in Painswick, where, except for a spell during World War II, the couple lived until his death.

Orr spent his life perfecting the art of setting words to music. He immersed himself in poetry, particularly that of A.E. Housman and went on to write more Housman settings than any other composer. He penetrated to the heart of each poem, intuitively understanding Housman's repressed emotion. Anguish is portrayed with poignant chromaticism in, for example, *The Lads in their Hundreds* (1936). Piano parts, including many postludes, not only provide the harmony but evoke the scene, ranging from fluttering semiquavers depicting aspen leaves in *Along the Field* (1927) to the heavy chordal march to the scaffold of *The Carpenter's Song* (1922). Orr's harmonic language, a blending of English modality and post-Wagnerian Romanticism, gives him a singular voice. Though his output was small, he proved one of Britain's finest 20th-century songwriters.

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Songs, 1v, pf; Plucking the Rushes (after Chin., trans. A. Waley), 1921; Silent Noon (D.G. Rossetti), 1921; When the Lad for Longing Sighs (A.E. Housman), 1921; 2 Songs from *A Shropshire Lad* (Housman): Tis Time I Think by Wenlock Town, Loveliest of Trees, The Cherry, 1921–2; The Carpenter's Son (Housman), 1922; When I was One-and-Twenty (Housman), 1924; With rue my heart is laden (Housman), 1924; Is my team ploughing (Housman), 1925; On your Midnight Pallet Lying (Housman), 1925; O When I Was in Love with You (Housman), 1926; This Time of Year (Housman), 1926

The Earl of Bristol's Farewell (J. Digby), 1927; Tryste Noel (L.I. Guiney), 1927; When as I Wake (P. Hannay), 1928; 7 Songs from *A Shropshire Lad* (Housman), song cycle (1934): Along the Field, 1927, When I Watch the Living Meet, 1930, The Lent Lily, Farewell to barn and stack and tree, 1928, O fair enough are sky and plain, 1931, Hughley Steeple, 1930, When Smoke Stood Up from Ludlow, 1929; Soldiers from the Wars Returning, 1928; Bahnhofstrasse (J. Joyce), 1932 [see 4 Songs, 1959]; The Lads in their Hundreds (Housman), 1936

3 Songs from *A Shropshire Lad* (Housman) (1940): Into My Heart an Air that Kills, 1935, Westward on the High-Hilled Plains, 1927, O see how thick the goldcup flowers, 1939; The Isle of Portland (Housman), 1938; In Valleys Green and Still (Housman), 1952; Hymn before Sleep (Latin, trans. H. Waddell), 1953; While Summer On is Stealing (Latin, trans. Waddell), 1953; 4 Songs (1959): Bahnhofstrasse (Joyce), 1932, Requiem (Latin, trans. Waddell), 1954, The Time of Roses (T. Hood), 1955, Since Thou, O Fondest and Truest (R. Bridges), 1957

Choral: The Brewer's Man (L.A. Strong), B, TB, 1927; Slumber Song (N. Lindsay), unison vv, pf (1937); Fain would I change that note, SAA, pf (1937)

Inst: Cotswold Hill-Tune, str orch, 1937; Midsummer Dance, vc, pf (1957)

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J. Wilson: *C.W. Orr: the Unknown Song-Writer* (London, 1989)

JANE WILSON

Orr, Robin [Robert] (**Kemsley**) (*b* Brechin, Angus, 2 June 1909). Scottish composer and teacher. He attended Loretto School, Edinburgh, and learned the organ from an early age, for his father, an amateur organist, had built an instrument in his home. Organ studies continued, under Alcock, when he went in 1926 to the RCM, where

he also studied the piano with Benjamin and composition with Moule. In 1929 he was elected organ scholar of Pembroke College, Cambridge, and there he was a pupil of Rootham and Dent, taking the MusB in 1932 and the MA in 1938. He continued his composition studies under Casella at the Accademia Chigiana and under Boulanger in Paris. In 1933 Orr was appointed director of music at Sidcot School, Somerset, and in 1936 he became assistant lecturer in music at Leeds University. He returned to Cambridge in 1938 to succeed Rootham as organist of St John's College, where he taught for the next 18 years, apart from a period of war service as an intelligence officer in the RAF (1941–5). In 1947 he was appointed university lecturer in music; in 1948 he was elected Fellow of St John's; and in 1951 he received the Cambridge MusD. He also taught at the RCM, and was, from 1953, a trustee of the Carl Rosa opera company. Orr left to become professor of music at Glasgow University in 1956, and was the founding chairman of Scottish Opera in 1962; but in 1965 he went back once more to Cambridge, to take the chair of music. There he was the force behind the construction of the new faculty building and concert hall. He was made a CBE in 1972 and received the honorary DMus of Glasgow University the same year. In 1976, the year he retired, Dundee University awarded him the honorary LLD. He was elected an honorary fellow of St John's College in 1987 and of Pembroke College in 1988. The 'Robin Orr' lectures at Cambridge were inaugurated in 1989.

Orr's music, outward-looking and cosmopolitan thanks to the influence of Dent and studies abroad, finds its sources in the interwar music of Stravinsky and Bartók, fusing lively and sometimes startling rhythms with shrewd transformation techniques and at times innovative harmony. He works slowly and methodically, and is keenly responsive to the quality of text in both lyric poetry and drama. Orr is at his best in such compact, impulsive scores as the three symphonies, the *Sinfonietta helvetica* and his three operas. Of these last, the pithy, socially perceptive *Full Circle* (commissioned by Scottish Television) employs identical forces to Stravinsky's *L'histoire du soldat*; *Hermiston* is tense and powerful, lyrical and graphically bleak, with skilfully characterized libretto by Bill Bryden; the witty, artful comic opera *On The Razzle*, commissioned for the opening of the new Royal Scottish Academy of Music and Drama theatre in Glasgow, displays a flurry of ingenious personal vignettes. Equally noteworthy is Orr's vocal output, in particular his settings of Skelton and Rilke, and his useful and substantial contribution to Anglican church music.

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(selective list)

Stage: Oedipus at Colonnus (incid music, Sophocles), 1950; Full Circle (op, 1, S.G. Smith), Perth, 1968; Hermiston (op, 3, B. Bryden, after R.L. Stevenson), Edinburgh, 1975; On the Razzle (op, 3, T. Stoppard), Glasgow Royal Scottish Academy of Music and Drama, 1988

Orch: The Prospect of Whitby, ov., 1948; Italian Ov., chbr orch, 1952; Rhapsody, str, 1956; Sym. in one Movt (Sym. no.1), 1963; Sym. no.2, 1970; Sym. no.3, 1978; Sinfonietta helvetica, 1990

Sacred choral: They that Put their Trust in the Lord, SATB, 1946; A Festival Te Deum, SATB, org/orch, 1951; Te Deum and Jub, C, SATB, org, 1953; I Was Glad, SATB, 1955; Come and Let Yourselves be Built, SATB, org, 1961; Mag and Nunc dimittis, SATB, org, 1967; Sing Aloud unto God, SATB, org, 1968; Make a Joyful Noise unto the Lord, SS, org (1969); Songs of Zion (pss), SATB, 1978; O God, Ruler of the World, SATB, org, 1982; Trinity Blessed, SATB, 1987; Laudate Dominum, SATB, 1987; Jesu, Sweet Son Dear, carol, SATB, 1989

Secular vocal: 3 Songs of Innocence (W. Blake), Mez, str qt, 1932; 3 Chin. Songs, Mez, pf, 1943; 4 Romantic Songs (Lat., trans. H. Waddell), T, ob, str qt, 1950; 3 Pastorals (M. Webb), S, rec/fl, va, pf, 1951; Arr. 7 Scots Songs, medium v, pf, 1954; Spring Cant. (medieval Lat. verse, trans. Waddell, T. Nashe), Mez, chorus, orch, pf obbl 1955; Arr. 7 Trad. Scots Airs, medium v, pf, 1964; From the Book of Philip Sparrow (S. Skelton), Mez, str orch, 1969; Journeys and Places (E. Muir), Mez, str qt, db, 1970; Liebeslied (R.M. Rilke), Mez, pf, 1972 [after R. Strauss]; Versus from Ogden Nash, medium v, str/pf, 1978

Chbr and solo inst: Toccata alla marcia, org, 1937; Sonatina, vn, pf, 1938; Sonata, va, pf, 1947; Serenade, str trio, 1948; Serenade, hn, pf, 1951; Duo, vn, vc, 1953, rev. 1965; Sonata, vn, hpd/pf, 1956; 3 Preludes on Scottish Psalm Tunes, org, 1958; Elegy, org, 1968; 3 Lyric Pieces, pf, 1994; Rondeau des Oiseaux, rec/fl, 1994

Principal publishers: Anglo American, Bayley & Ferguson, Chappell, Hinrichsen, OUP, Paraclete Press

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J. Day: 'Robin Orr at 80', *Centrepiece* [Cambridge], no.4 (1989), 7

C. Grier: 'No Mean In-Between', *The Scotsman* (11 Sept 1989)

PAUL GRIFFITHS/RODERIC DUNNETT

Orrego-Salas, Juan (Antonio) (*b* Santiago, 18 Jan 1919). Chilean composer and musicologist. In 1943 he completed his composition studies with Pedro Allende and Domingo Santa-Cruz, and also took a diploma in architecture. He taught history at the Santiago Conservatory and conducted the Catholic University Choir, which he had founded in 1938. From 1944 to 1946 Rockefeller and Guggenheim grants enabled him to study in the USA: he studied composition with Thompson and Copland and musicology with Paul Henry Lang and George Herzog. He was then appointed professor of composition at the University of Chile (1947), editor of the *Revista musical chilena* (1949) and music critic for *El mercurio* (1950). After completing the degree of Profesor Extraordinario at the University of Chile (1953) he returned to the USA with a second Guggenheim Fellowship. Back in Chile he was for two years director of the Instituto de Extensión Musical and dean of the music department of the Catholic University. He moved again to the USA to found and direct the Latin American Music Center at Indiana University (1961–87), where he was involved in promoting Latin-American music through festivals, concerts, broadcasts and the compiling of the largest existing library of scores and recordings of 20th-century works from this area. In 1971 he received an honorary doctorate from the Catholic University, Santiago, and was accorded corresponding membership of the Chilean Academy of Fine Arts. He has won the Olga Cohen Prize twice (1956 and 1958) and a Biennial Chilean Music Festival Award three times. He received the Gabriel Mistral Prize in 1988 and the Chilean National Arts Prize in 1992. Works have been commissioned by leading institutions and ensembles, and his music has been widely performed.

A neo-classical craftsmanship, tempered by free invention, is characteristic of Orrego-Salas's music. Formal procedures taken from all periods after the Middle Ages are used without strictness. Something of the variety in his output is demonstrated in the modal linearity of the

Canciones castellanas op.20, the colourful instrumentation and energetic rhythm of the Sonata a 4 op.55, and the declamatory monody and concertante writing of the cantata *América, no en vano invocamos tu nombre* op.57. Since 1961, Orrega-Salas has allowed musical absolutes to permeate his music and play a role in the creation of through-composed forms. Through an architectural process which he describes as 'minimalist' he focusses the listener's attention on the most salient modules of a composition, thereby imparting an element of referentiality to ever-changing textures.

WORKS
(*selective list*)

Dramatic: Juventud (ballet) op.24, 1948; [after Handel: *Solomon*]
El retablo del rey Pobre (op-orat), 1950–52 [after ensaladilla by J. de Valdivielso]; Umbral del sueño (Impulsos) (ballet) op.30, 1951; La veta del diablo (film score), op.37, 1953; La caleta olvidada (film score), 1959; The Tumbler's Prayer (El saltimbanqui) (ballet), op.48, 1960; Versos de ciego (incid music, L.A. Heiremans), 1961; Widows (Viudas) (op, prol, 3, Orrego-Salas, after A. Dorfman), op.101, 1990

Orch: Escenas de cortes y pastores, op.19, 1946; Obertura festiva, op.21, 1948; Sym no.1, op.46, 1949; Pf Conc. op.28, 1950; Sym. no.2 'To the Memory of a Wanderer', op.39, 1954; Serenata concertante, op.40, 1954; Jubilaeus musicus, op.45, 1957; Sym. no.3, op.50, 1961; Concerto a 3, op.52, pf trio, orch, 1962; Concerto, op.53, wind, 1964; Sym. no.4 'Of the Distant Answer', op.59, 1966; Variaciones serenas, op.69, str, 1971; Ob Conc., op.77, 1980; Vn Conc., op.86, 1984; Pf Conc. no.2, op.93, 1985; Riley's Merriment (Scherzo), op.94, a sax, pf, perc, orch, 1986; Fantasia, op.95, pf, wind orch, 1987; Fanfare, op.97, 1987; Vc Conc., op.104, 1992; Sym. no.5, op.109, 1995; Sinfonia in 1 movt 'Semper reditus', op.112, 1997

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GERALD R. BENJAMIN

Orso [Celano], **Francesco** (*b* Celano, nr L'Aquila; *d* ?Naples, after 1581). Italian composer and priest. In his *Primo libro de' madrigali* (1567; ed. in SCMad, xxii, 1996) he is called 'Don Francesco Orso da Celano' on the title-page, and 'Don Celano' in the running heads. The

little that is known of his career suggests connections with Naples. He dedicated the 1567 print to a member of the Neapolitan nobility, Don Hernando Alarcon, whom Kaufman identified as the fourth Marquis of the Valle Siciliana and Renda (the dedication is signed from Naples, 25 June 1567). He composed seven three-voice *canzoni napoletane* published by Scotto (1566[9] and 1566[10]) under the name Don Francesco Celano. Documents place him in Naples in 1573 (when he witnessed a contract for Benedetto Serafico of Nardò), and in 1580–81 (when, as prior of the Celestine of S Pietro a Maiella in Naples, he was called before the inquisition; this document has not survived).

Orso's *Primo libro*, published in Venice by Claudio Merulo, contains 12 madrigals: an eight-part canzone, a seven-part sestina, and ten other compositions. Orso was fond of word painting (for example, the playful use of mensuration in *Un lauro mi difese*). He also used chromaticism for text-expressive purposes: there are many instances of consecutive half-steps, quickly shifting, unanticipated harmonic changes, and chords built on B and F♯. Probably the most intriguing aspects of the print are the notational innovations he devised for the final madrigal in the volume, his two-part setting of Petrarch's sonnet *Il cantar nov'e'l pianger* (referred to on the title page as 'due madrigali cromatici nel fine'). As he explained in a letter to his readers (an interesting theoretical statement in its own right), Orso assumed a division of the tone into two equal semitones. He used three signs: sharp (in addition to the usual F♯, C♯, and G♯, he used D♯ and A♯, and the enharmonic B♯ for C and E♯ for F), natural ('bequadro', only in connection with B) and flat ('bemolle', in connection with B and E). Another unusual feature is that he used letters to indicate a half-step down from a sharpened pitch to its usual place (e.g., 'f' to indicate F following an F♯ and so forth, with the exception of B, for which he uses B♮ rather than the letter 'b' which could obviously have been misunderstood). He also used 'cumulative' sharps, in which each notated sharp raises a pitch one half-step. Thus, three successive G♯s are actually: G♯, A, B♭. In addition to the book of five-voice madrigals, Orso probably published a book of six-voice madrigals that has not survived (*MischiatiI*).

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JESSIE ANN OWENS

Ortakov, Dragoslav (*b* Gevgelija, 22 April 1928). Macedonian musicologist and composer. He studied music in Skopje and at the academies in Zagreb (1951–2) and Belgrade (1952–5), and composition with Pierre Wissmer at the Schola Cantorum, Paris (1961). On his return to Skopje, he held appointments as professor at the Music School (1956–63), music critic for Radio Skopje (1963–4), director of the Folklore Institute and director of opera and ballet at the Macedonian National Theatre (1964–7). He taught at the University of Skopje (1966–88), where he established the musicology department and served as dean (1977–88). He took the doctorate at the university (1986) with a dissertation on Macedonian Ars Nova. His early research on Byzantine and Slavonic music included transcriptions of early chant found in manuscripts from religious foundations in Ohrid and elsewhere in Macedonia. He was among the first writers to consider folk music to be the basis for certain Slavonic chant melodies. Tracing the development of early chant, the rise of nationalism in the 19th century and notions of Macedonian musical identity in postwar Yugoslavia, Ortakov's research led to the first scholarly study of Macedonian art music (1982). As a writer, critic and editor over a long period for the journals *Razgledi*, *Kulturen zhivot* and *Zvuk*, his writings have also encompassed broad cultural issues relating to music and art in the Balkans. As a composer, Ortakov has written music in a wide variety of genres, ranging from chamber and orchestral works to film music. While early works such as *Gudachki kvartet* (1962) draw on folk melodies, his *Eleorp '76* (1976) is among the earliest electronic music composed in Macedonia and reveals the influence of western European avant-garde music. Ortakov's interest in melodic and rhythmic variation is manifest in his significant output of vocal music, culminating in *Zidari* (1982), a song cycle for bass, clarinet, cello and piano.

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ORHAN MEMED

Ortega, Sergio (*b* Antofagasta, 2 Feb 1938). Chilean composer. At the age of 20 he abandoned architecture training for a career in music, studying composition with G.B. Schmidt and Roberto Falabella at the University of Chile. In 1969 he became a professor of composition there, taking over the artistic direction of the university television station the following year. Forced by political events to flee Chile in 1973, he settled in Paris, where he

became director of the Ecole Nationale de Musique at Pantin.

Ortega's operas, songs, chamber music and film scores have been heard throughout Europe as well as in Chile. But he has reached his widest audience with his two political anthems *Venceremos* ('We Shall Triumph'), composed in 1970 as the hymn for Salvador Allende's government, and *El pueblo unido jamás será vencido* ('The People United will Never be Defeated'), written in May 1973 in protest against the growing right-wing movement in Chile. Political protest is also central to many of his operatic and vocal works; the writing of Pablo Neruda has proved a particular inspiration in this respect. His music incorporates atonal and other modernist techniques alongside a memorable lyricism, and draws on Chilean musical traditions, though rarely through the use of actual quotation and never merely for the sake of local colour.

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DAVID MILLER

Ortega del Villar, Aniceto (*b* Tulancingo, Hidalgo, 1825; *d* Mexico City, 17 Nov 1875). Mexican composer. A younger son of the *littérateur* and statesman Francisco Ortega (1793–1849), he entered the Seminario Conciliar at Mexico City in 1837, S Ildefonso seminary in 1840, and the School of Medicine in 1841, graduating in 1845. He had a distinguished career in medicine, and was also a founding member (1866) of the Sociedad Filarmónica Mexicana. At the Gran Teatro Nacional on 1 October 1867 a military band and 20 pianists united in a grandiose performance of his march, the *Zaragoza* (1863, published in 1867 as op.9 and dedicated to the hero who defeated the French on 5 May 1862), which became Mexico's second national anthem. At the same concert were played his *Potosina* and *Republicana* marches. His opera in nine scenes *Guatimotzin*, setting a libretto by José Cuellar about the defence of Mexico by the last Aztec ruler Cuauhtémoc (?1502–25), had its première at the Gran Teatro Nacional on 13 September 1871, with Angela Peralta and Enrico Tamberlik in the leading roles. Although Ortega's music for the supposedly Tlaxcalan *tzotzopizahuac* danced in the opera strongly recalls the third movement of Beethoven's Seventh Symphony, the score as a whole later caused him to be hailed as a Mexican Glinka. His piano *Invocación a Beethoven* op.2, first performed in 1867 and published by Wagner & Levien, helped to initiate a vogue that culminated in the first Beethoven Festival at Mexico City in 1871. The same firm also published a number of his salon piano pieces.

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ROBERT STEVENSON

Ortells, Antonio Teodoro (*b* Rubielos, *c*1650; *d* Valencia, 4 Nov 1706). Spanish composer. He was a choirboy at the Real Colegio del Corpus Christi in Valencia from 21 December 1657 until 8 May 1664, and taught the choirboys their dances for the Corpus Christi celebration of 1666. He was *maestro* at the parish church of S Andrés in Valencia and in about 1671 became *maestro de capilla* at Albarracín Cathedral. He returned to Valencia in 1674 as chaplain of the Colegio del Corpus Christi and his appointment as interim *maestro de capilla* there was confirmed on 22 June 1676. The following year he was made *maestro de capilla* of Valencia Cathedral. His duties were typical of those in similar positions, including conducting, composing and the instruction of choirboys; ill-health forced him to relinquish this last responsibility on 1 July 1704, and he died two years later.

Ortells was a dominant figure in Valencian music at the end of the 17th century. His skill as a composer was praised by Francesc Valls in his *Respuesta . . . á la censura de Don Joachim Martínez* (1716) and *Mapa armónico* (1742). His large output survives mainly in Valencia, at the cathedral and the Colegio del Corpus Christi, but works are distributed in a number of other Spanish archives (in *E-Bc*, *E*, *LEc*, *MO*, *ORI*, *PAp* and elsewhere). The Valencia Cathedral archive holds 296 works by Ortells – ten masses, eight *Magnificat* settings, 89 other Latin works and 189 villancicos with Castilian texts – and another 47 works are extant at the Colegio del Corpus Christi, including seven masses and four *Magnificat* settings. He also composed three oratorios for the Real Congregación de S Felipe Neri between 1702 and 1706, but only the texts survive (in *E-VAc*). Ortells was a master of the polychoral style, writing many of his pieces for eight to 12 voices divided into two or three choirs;

often one choir is instrumental. He was not especially influenced by the growing interest in Italian music in Spain, but his music does show a certain harmonic daring, and his villancicos make considerable use of dance rhythms. His villancico *Deliciosas auras* (*E-E*) is for two choirs of four voices each with accompaniment parts for each choir. It is a fine example of the composer's sensitive text-setting and powerful use of chordal textures. A setting of the Lamentations for 12 voices has been published (ed. H. Eslava y Elizondo, Lira sacro-hispana, 2nd ser., i, Madrid, 1869).

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PAUL R. LAIRD

Orthel, Léon (*b* Roosendaal, North Brabant, 4 Oct 1905; *d* The Hague, 6 Sept 1985). Dutch composer and pianist. By 1921 he was already studying with Wagenaar. A state scholarship enabled him to continue his composition training with Juon and Sachs at the Berlin Musikhochschule (1928–9), after which he returned to Wagenaar for one year. He was professor of piano at The Hague Royal Conservatory (1941–71) and of composition at the Amsterdam Conservatory (1949–71). In the 1930s he strived for an independent voice, dissociating himself from the then current polytonal and atonal techniques; the results of this are evident in one of his most popular compositions, the Second Symphony (*Sinfonia piccola*) (1940). His music is at the same time light-hearted, rather French in vein (the sonatines for piano), and dramatic and brilliant, as in the Fourth Symphony (*Sinfonia concertante*) for piano and orchestra (1949) with its Rachmaninoff-like expressiveness. Orthel's chamber music and songs are more economically structured, a trait that can be followed in both his sonatas for cello and piano (1925, 1958) and his important series of Rilke songs, written between 1934 and 1980.

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ROGIER STARREVELD/LEO SAMAMA

Orthochronic notation. A form of notation in which the shapes of the notes indicate the durational relationships between notes. *See* NOTATION, §III, 4(i).

Orthros (Gk.: 'daybreak'). A morning Office in the Greek Orthodox Church, equivalent to Matins and Lauds of the Roman rite. Together with HESPERINOS, the evening Office, it is one of the principal hours in both the urban and monastic rites.

The origins of the morning Office lie in the all-night vigils of the early Christians, particularly in respect of the recitation of canticles and psalms. The singing of some of the fixed psalms, for example, Psalms l and cxlviii–cl and the 'hexapsalmos' (see below), is attested as early as the 5th century. In the 6th century differences began to emerge in the chanting of the Byzantine Offices in monasteries and urban churches: Orthros as celebrated in the urban rite of Hagia Sophia at Constantinople was restricted to prayers, canticles and psalms with a variety of refrains; the monastic rite, influenced by the Palestine tradition, came to be characterized by the addition of *stichēra* and the singing of the KANŌN. By the beginning of the 13th century, however, these different ways of celebrating Orthros and the other Offices had gradually merged into a single 'mixed' rite.

The melodies for the Ordinary chants of Orthos are generally contained in the AKOLOUTHIAI manuscripts, which date from the beginning of the 14th century; the music for the Proper chants is supplied from older liturgical books, such as the STICHĒRARION, the HEIRMOLOGION and the psaltikon (KONTAKARION). Recitation of the full set of chants at Orthros in its most developed form was restricted to Sundays and important feasts. The order is as follows:

(*i*) *Troparia* (*see* TROPARION): psalm refrains sung at the beginning and end of the Office, after the 'Morning Gospel' and the third canticle of the *kanōn*. The rarity of *troparia* (or *kathismata*) melodies in notated manuscripts suggests that they were usually transmitted orally.

(*ii*) The 'hexapsalmos': a group of six psalms, beginning with Psalm iii and ending with Psalm cxlii.10*b*.

(*iii*) The *Theos kyrios*: a verse of Psalm cxvii (27*a*) sung as a refrain to other selected verses of that psalm. Its musical style is that of moderately embellished psalmody and it concludes with the *troparion* of the day. On weekdays and during Lent the *Theos kyrios* is replaced by a triple *allēlouia* sung to simple melodies that are distinct from those chanted in the Divine Liturgy. A series of short *troparia* honouring the Trinity is regularly sung with this triple *allēlouia*.

(*iv*) The *polyeleos* (Gk.: 'many times mercy'): a series of verses from Psalms cxxxiv–cxxxv ending with an *allēlouïa* refrain. The chant is found in a number of different versions in the manuscripts. Some of its melodies are followed by designations such as 'as sung in Constantinople and all over the world', 'as sung in Thessaloniki', 'monastic' or 'Latrinos'; others have single verses ascribed to composers of the 14th and 15th centuries, for example, JOANNES KOUKOUZELES, XENOS KORONES and Demetrios Dokeianos. Although most verses belong to the kalophonic style (*see* KALOPHONIC CHANT and BYZANTINE CHANT §12), a few carry the designation *palaion* ('old' or 'traditional').

(*v*) The *amōmos*: Psalm cxviii, sung on Saturdays and replacing the *polyeleos* on Sundays in Lent. Like the *polyeleos*, it is found in several versions, each consisting of a series of selected psalm verses, and its melodies are generally in the kalophonic style, with each verse ascribed to a different composer or locality.

(*vi*) The *anabathmoi*: a set of three or four *troparia* in each mode. They were originally designed to be sung with the gradual psalms (cxix–cxxx and cxxxii), from which they incorporate textual and melodic quotations. Because the *anabathmoi* were transmitted from the 11th century as 'antiphons' in the oktōēchos section of the stichēraria, they provide valuable evidence about the Byzantine psalm tones before the appearance of the akolouthiai manuscripts in the early 14th century. Such evidence possibly dates back to the late 8th century (see Strunk, 1960).

(*vii*) A PROKEIMENON: a responsorial chant based on selected psalm verses and sung before the reading of the 'Morning Gospel'. The akolouthiai manuscripts contain a set of *prokeimena* (concluding with Psalm cl.6) in each of the eight modes. All the *prokeimena* are set in simple psalmodic style, except for one (for Orthros on Sundays), which is in a florid style and is transmitted in the psaltikon manuscripts with the *prokeimena* for Hesperinos.

(*viii*) The *pentēkostos*: Psalm l, sung after the reading of the 'Morning Gospel'. On important feasts it is performed antiphonally and with a concluding *troparion* or *stichēron*.

(*ix*) The KANŌN: a series of poetic strophes combined with the recitation of the nine biblical canticles. Melodies for the *kanōnes* are transmitted in the heirmologion. Inserted into the *kanōn* after the sixth canticle is the *kontakion*.

(*x*) A KONTAKION. Originally polystrophic in form, it was eventually reduced to the proem and first stanza alone. The earliest extant melismatic melodies for the *kontakia* are contained in psaltikon manuscripts dating from the end of the 12th century; syllabic melodies for the proems, however, appear only sporadically in sources from the 13th century onwards and are usually found with a collection of model stanzas for *troparia*.

(*xi*) An *exaposteilarion*: a short chant following the *kanōn*. Melodies for the *exaposteilaria* are similar in style to those of the *troparia* and are transmitted only in a small number of stichēraria dating from the 11th century onwards. The 11 *exaposteilaria* for Sundays, which are written in a metre of 15 syllables per line, are traditionally ascribed to Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogennetus (reigned 908–59).

(*xii*) *Hoi ainoi*: 'Lauds' psalms (cxlviii–cl), performed on Sundays and feasts with *stichēra* interpolated between the final verses. According to the akolouthiai manuscripts their melodies are in simple psalmodic style, similar to that of the *Kyrie ekekraxa* chanted at Hesperinos.

(*xiii*) The *heōthinon* (Gk:. 'morning *stichēron*'): a set of 11 chants, each written over one of the 11 'Morning Gospels' on the Resurrection, sung with the final doxology of *hoi ainoi* on Sundays. The *heōthina*, which are traditionally ascribed to Emperor Leo VI (reigned 886–912), are considerably more elaborate in their musical style than most other *stichēra*.

(*xiv*) The *Doxa en hypsistois Theō* (Gloria in excelsis Deo): the chant following *hoi ainoi*. Although no completely notated melody for the Byzantine *Doxa* survives, the manuscripts sometimes contain neumations for the incipit, and occasionally longer portions of the text or quotations within other chants, thus providing some idea of the variety of ways in which the *Doxa* was sung.

(*xv*) The TRISAGION: sung before the final *troparion* (*apolytikion*). The earliest notated melodies appear in the 13th-century asmatikon manuscripts. However, a number of different Trisagion melodies, most of them set in the Byzantine modes on G (2nd authentic, 2nd and 4th plagal), are notated in the 14th-century akolouthiai manuscripts.

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For further bibliography *see* BYZANTINE CHANT

CHRISTIAN TROELSGÅRD

Ortigue, Joseph (Louis) d' (*b* Cavaillon, 22 May 1802; *d* Paris, 20 Nov 1866). French critic and writer on music. He studied music first under H.S. Blaze and his son (Castil-Blaze), then went to Aix-en-Provence to study law, where he also played second violin in quartet performances by amateurs who styled themselves *Beethovenistes*(as opposed to *Rossinistes*). During his probation as a lawyer in Paris in 1827 he began to write for the *Mémorial catholique* and soon after he decided to become a music critic. His first brochure, *De la guerre des dilettanti* (1829), set the tone for his criticism which often led to confrontations, namely with Fétis. In the same year his first article on Berlioz appeared in *Le correspondant*. He was to remain a close friend and ardent promoter of Berlioz all his life, although he disagreed with him on religious music. He also wrote the first Berlioz biography (*Revue de Paris*, December 1832, repr. in *Le balcon de l'Opéra*, 1833), known wrongly as the 'autobiography'

since Berlioz merely contributed a sketch (less than half the final text).

In 1830 d'Ortigue, a liberal Catholic, spent six months studying with the controversial Abbé Lamennais, who later introduced him to Liszt (whose first biography he published in the *Gazette musicale*, 1835) and invited him to help write the third volume of his *Esquisse d'une philosophie* devoted to aesthetics. In 1837 d'Ortigue was commissioned to research music manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Royale and he collected material for his major work, the *Dictionnaire liturgique, historique et théorique de plain-chant* (1853). For nearly 30 years he devoted himself to the study of plainsong and religious music, advocated a reform of church music in various publications including *La maîtrise*, which he founded with Niedermeyer (1857–60), the *Journal des maîtrises*, which he founded with Félix Clément (1862), and through a congress for the restoration of plainsong which he organized in 1860.

D'Ortigue eventually contributed more than 700 articles to over 40 periodicals, an output comparable to that of Berlioz. He deputized for Berlioz as music critic for the *Journal des débats*, and eventually succeeded him early in 1864. A few months earlier he had also become chief editor of *Le ménestrel*. His writings include a novel (*La Sainte-Baume*, 1834) in which some chapters are introduced by musical quotes. He published a *Messe sans paroles* (Paris, 1864), a piece for organ and a few songs.

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SYLVIA L'ÉCUYER

Ortiz, Cristina (*b* Bahia region, 7 April 1950). Brazilian pianist. After early studies in Rio de Janeiro she won a fellowship to work with Magda Tagliaferro in Paris. At the age of 19 she won first prize in the 1969 Van Cliburn Competition, and after further coaching and advice from Rudolf Serkin commenced an intensive international career, making her New York début in 1971 and her London début (playing Rachmaninoff's First Concerto with the LSO and Previn in 1973). Her exceptionally wide-ranging repertory extends from standard classics to more exotic fare, notably the music of her native Brazil. Early recordings of music by, among others, Alfredo Vianna, Guarnieri and Oscar Lorenzo Fernandez testified to a natural sympathy for this repertory, later confirmed in discs of works by Villa-Lobos (including the five piano concertos). Ortiz's engaging fluency is also heard to advantage in recordings of music by Constant Lambert, Dohnányi, Shostakovich and Prokofiev, and in an album devoted to music inspired by children (Debussy, Kabalevsky, Khachaturian, Mompou etc.). She has appeared with many of the world's leading orchestras and conductors and is also an experienced and sympathetic chamber musician.

BRYCE MORRISON

Ortiz, Diego (*b* Toledo, *c*1510; *d* ?Naples, *c*1570). Spanish theorist and composer. He was at Naples by 10 December 1553, when he dedicated his *Trattado de glosas* to the Spanish nobleman Pedro de Urríes, Baron of Riesi (Sicily). This work appeared simultaneously in Spanish and in an Italian version full of hispanicisms suggesting that Ortiz served as his own translator. If so, he must already have spent an extended period in the part of Italy under Spanish rule.

By February 1558 Ortiz was *maestro de capilla* of the viceregal chapel maintained at Naples by Fernando Alvarez de Toledo, 3rd Duke of Alba and Spanish Viceroy from 1556 to 1558. In 1565 he was still *maestro de capilla* to the conservative Pedro Afán de Rivera, Duke of Alcalá, Alvarez de Toledo's successor as Spanish Viceroy (1559–71) to whom he dedicated his *Musices liber primus*. A book of masses promised in the preface to this work never appeared.

The *Trattado de glosas*, or 'treatise on the ornamentation of cadences and other types of passage in the music of viols', is the first printed ornamentation manual for the player of bowed string instruments. It teaches neither how to improvise nor how to add ornamentation at sight, but provides numerous written-out ornaments fitting exactly prescribed time limits. The player is told in book 1 to inspect the dozen or more ornamented variants provided after each simple cadence or passage, to choose the most apt and to write it into his part at the appropriate place. The accidentals shown in the simple cadence are to be retained in whatever ornamented variant the player selects. The second book begins with four solo *recercadas* (studies) for bass viol, followed by six *recercadas* on the bass *La spagna* in which agile tenor-clef counterpoints

for *violón* are accompanied by keyboard harmonizations of the theme. Next come four *recercadas* (ornamented versions) of Arcadelt's four-voice madrigal *O felici occhi miei* for viol and keyboard, followed by four of Pierre Sandrin's four-part chanson *Douce mémoire*. Book 2 concludes with eight *recercadas* for bass viol and keyboard over passamezzo basses. Neither book quotes any distinctively Iberian air. Ortiz's preoccupation with bowed rather than plucked instruments contrasted with contemporary Spanish preference. The sole 16th-century peninsular manuscript that cites his ornamentation formulae is a Portuguese keyboard source (*P-Cug* Mus.242), not a Spanish viol source.

The hymns, psalms, Salves and *alternatim Magnificat* settings of Ortiz's *Musices liber primus*, for four to seven voices, are without exception based on plainsong. Although one setting of *Pange lingua gloriosi* quotes a Spanish chant, few other native traits are evident in the collection. His use of accidentals (the same note may be unaltered in one verse and sharpened in the next) agrees with Infantas's treatment of plainsong cantus firmi in *Plura modulationum genera* (1579). In his dedication Ortiz encouraged the Spanish predilection for accompanying sacred polyphony with instruments. In his preface he referred to Ockeghem, Josquin Des Prez and Mouton as the 'true doctors of music', a view in accord with the conservative style of his compositions, which show the distinctive influence of Morales.

A five-part funeral motet, *Pereat dies* (ed. H. Eslava in *Lira sacro-hispana*, Madrid, 1869), is not in the book of 1565 and may be by another Ortiz, like the three long six-part motets of *I-Rvat* C.S.24, copied in 1545. Vicente Lusitano, the probable author of an anonymous treatise (ed. in Collet), mentioned a *Missa 'L'homme armé'* by 'Ortiz'. Two intabulations in Valderrábano's *Silva de sirenas* (1547) are ascribed in that collection not to Diego but to Miguel Ortiz.

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ROBERT STEVENSON

Ortiz (Fernández), Fernando (*b* Havana, 16 July 1881; *d* Havana, 10 April 1969). Cuban ethnomusicologist, lawyer, ethnologist and writer. He spent his childhood in Minorca and studied law at the universities of Havana, Barcelona and Madrid, where he took the doctorate in 1901. After working in the Cuban diplomatic service (1903–9) he taught political science and law (1909–18) and later Cuban ethnography at the University of Havana. His interest in musicology dated from his early student years; he was self-taught in music, and became an authority on Cuban folk music and folklore, making outstanding contributions to Cuban ethnomusicology during a period of some 50 years. His interests were particularly in the Afro-Cuban tradition. He edited several periodicals, such as *Revista bimestre cubana* (1911), and founded others, such as *Archivos del folklore cubano*, *Estudios afrocubanos* and *Ultra*. He also founded the Society of Cuban Folklore, the Society of Afro-Cuban Studies, was president of the Academy of Cuban History and after the 1959 Cuban Revolution was made a member of the National Commission of the Academy of Sciences. His numerous publications all deal with Cuban studies; his music research primarily concerns Afro-Cuban musical instruments, traditional religious music repertories, and the study of African aspects of Cuban music.

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GERARD BÉHAGUE

Ortiz, Gabriela (*b* Mexico City, 20 Dec 1964). Mexican composer. She graduated in composition (1990) from the Escuela Nacional de Música, where she studied under Ibarra; she also took classes there in analysis and composition with Lavista (1985–90). She went on to study in England with Saxton, as well as attending courses at London Contemporary Dance Theatre (1992), Dartington International Summer School (1992) and Darmstadt (1994). Her works have been performed widely and

commissions include *Altar de muertos* (1996) for the Kronos Quartet.

Ortiz's music, for the most part conventionally notated, combines a free use of tonality with references to traditional and popular styles, rock, African and Afro-Caribbean music. These are particularly evident in the rich rhythmic nature of works such as *Altar de neón* and *Concierto candela* for percussion and orchestra. Her experimental electro-acoustic pieces have led to a more complex manipulation of sounds.

WORKS

Dance scores: Hacia la deriva, 1989; Eve and all the rest, 1991; Errant maneuvers, 1993

Orch: Patios, 1989; Concierto candela, solo perc, orch, 1993; Altar de neón, perc qt, chbr orch, 1995; Zocalo-Bastille, vn, perc, orch, 1996

Chbr and solo inst: Danza, prep pf, 1984; Patios serenos, pf, 1985; Divertimento, cl, 1986; Str Qt no.1, 1987; Huítzitli, ganassi s rec, 1989, pic, rev. 1993 Apariciones, ww qnt, str qnt, 1990; Elegía, 4 S, fl, vn, va, vc, db, perc, hp, 1991; En pares, 2 fl, 2 cl, 2 tpt, 2 hn, perc, 2 vn, 2 vc, db, hp, 1992; 5 pa'2, gui, fl, 1995; Río de las mariposas, 2 hp, steel drum, 1995; Atlas-Pumas, vn, mar, 1995

El-ac: Magna Sin, steel drum, tape, 1992; 5 Micro Etudes, tape, 1992; Things like that happened, vc, tape; El trompo, vib, tape, 1994; Altar de muertos, str qt, tape, 1996

Other works: Music for sculptures, 1989 [for works by E. Osterwalder]

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RICARDO MIRANDA-PÉREZ

Ortiz (Alvarado), William (*b* Salinas, 30 March 1947). Puerto Rican composer. He studied composition with Campos-Parsi and Veray at the Puerto Rico Conservatory of Music (BMus 1976), continuing with Billy Jim Layton and Arel at SUNY, Stony Brook (MA 1978). His doctorate in composition followed studies with Lejaren Hiller and Morton Feldman at SUNY, Buffalo (PhD 1983). He was assistant director of Black Mountain College II (1982–), and in 1986 was appointed a teacher at the Bayamón campus of the University of Puerto Rico.

A great deal of Ortiz's music is associated with the 'street music' of the Latino and black sections of the great US urban centres, principally New York City, where he lived during much of his youth. This 'urban-folk' usage, often evoking the style and the spirit of youthful street-corner gatherings, reflects Ortiz's vision of his music as the 'violent beauty of urban life: the expression of the shouts in the street – those that are felt, that are muffled'. His expressed intention was to 'convert the language of the street into a legitimate instrument', a goal realized to a great extent in such works as *Street Music* (1980) and *Graffiti Nuyorican* (1983). Ortiz's palette has more recently expanded to embrace a broader range of stylistic references, including insular Puerto Rican and generalized Caribbean allusions; characteristic of this broader vision is his *Suspensión de soledad en tres tiempos* (1990).

Ortiz has actively participated in international congresses since early in his career, and has received commissions from such organizations as the Guitar Society of Toronto, the Puerto Rico SO, the New York State Council on the Arts, Seton Hall University and the National Association of Puerto Rican Composers.

WORKS
(selective list)

Op: Rican (bilingual street op, W. Ortiz), 1986, American Opera Projects, New York, 8 June 1991

Orch: Kantuta, ritual, orch, 1976; Antillas, 1981; Resonancia esférica, 1982; Llegó la banda, 1984; Joceo, str, 1987; Pasacalle, band, 1988; Concierto de metal para un recuerdo, brass, metal perc, 1989; Suspensión de soledad en tres tiempos, 1990

Vocal: 9 poemas Zen, S, T, fl, gui, 1975; Canto: 28 de septiembre, S, pf, 1975; 3 Songs from El Barrio, Bar, pf, 1977; Elegía a los inocentes caidos, SATB, orch, 1978; A capella, 4vv, 1983; Madrigal, Ct, T, B, 1984; A Delicate Fire, A, gui, 1986; Mano de hielo, A, gui, 1987; Romance, boy S/S, gui, 1988, arr. chorus, 1988; Unknown Poets from the Full-Time Jungle, S, pf, 1992

Chbr: Str Qt no.1, 1976; Suite, Tercer mundo, fl, rec, 2 gui, perc, 1977; Música, 2 vc, fl, cl, 1978; Rumbo, vc, pf, 1980; Street Music, fl, trbn, 2 perc, 1980; Cool Breeze, fl, bn, cl, 1982; Graffiti Nuyorican, perc, pf, 1983; Housing Project, sax qt, 1985; Bolero and Hip-Hop on Myrtle Avenue, ob, pf, 1986; Str Qt no.2, 1987; Caribe urbano, fl, ob, cl, hn, pf, 1990; A Sensitive Mambo in Transformation, elec gui, synth, drumset, elec db, 1991; Obra pública, wind qnt, 1992; Loasisai, b cl, mar, 1993; Trío concertante en tres realidades, vn, va, vc, 1995

Perc: Tamboleo, 1972; 124 E. 107th Street, 6 perc, tape, nar/actor, 1979; Bembé, 4 perc, 1981; Urbanización, 1985; Palm Tree in Spanglish Figurines, timp, 1987; Rapeo, snare drum, 1988; Eco pare un grito gris, mar, 1994

Pf: 4 piezas, 1974; Montuno, 1981; Del tingo al tango, 1984; Danza pare Rhonda, 1986; Mulata fantasía, 1987; Bella Aleyda, 1989

Gui: 3 fragmentos, gui, 1973; Pavana, gui/pf, 1977; Dualidad, 2 gui, 1979; Síntesis, gui, tape, 1979; Piezas típicas puertorriqueñas, 2 gui, 1981; Toque, 4 gui, 1981; Abrazo, 4 gui, 1984; Fotografía de Méctor, 1997

Tape: Composición electrónica, 1978; 3 estudios, computer, 1979

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C. Aharonián: 'Die gewaltsame Schönheit des urbanen Lebens', *Musiktexte*, no.61 (1995), 33–4

DONALD THOMPSON

Ortiz de Zárate, Domingo (*b* *c*1650; *d* after 1704). Spanish friar and composer. From early 1673 he lived at the Augustinian friary in Madrid and for eight years carried on an active correspondence with his teacher Miguel de Irízar, *maestro de capilla* of Segovia Cathedral from 1671 to 1684. From 1702 until at least 1704 Ortiz de Zárate was *maestro de capilla* of the Mercedarian convent, Madrid. His letters contain much valuable information about the state of contemporary Spanish music; they reveal the wide use of villancicos, the difficulty of finding appropriate texts, the emphasis placed on high voices and the increasing vogue of music for ten or more parts. The compositions and activities of various Madrid musicians, including Juan Hidalgo, Cristóbal Galán, Mathías Ruiz, Carlos Patiño and Juan del Vado, are also mentioned. Three eight-part villancicos by him (one with an obbligato part for clarion) are in manuscript (*D-Mbs*).

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ROBERT STEVENSON

Orto, Marbrianus [Marbriano] **de** [Dujardin, Marbrianus] (*b* Tournai, *c*1460; *d* Nivelles, Jan or Feb 1529). Franco-Flemish composer. Archival documents discovered by Jeremy Noble indicate that his surname was Dujardin, as Fétis had suspected, but he himself used the Latin form

'de Orto', as is shown by various autograph signatures. He was the illegitimate son of a priest; in papal registers he is called 'citizen of Tournai', and it is likely that he was born and received his early training there.

The earliest documents of his career name him as a member of the household of Ferry de Cluny, Cardinal-Bishop of Tournai, with whom he travelled to Rome in May to June 1482. Cardinal Ferry died in Rome in October 1483, and in December Orto was appointed a singer in the papal chapel of Sixtus IV. He continued to serve under Innocent VIII and Alexander VI until at least 1499. He was particularly favoured by Innocent VIII (1484–92), who awarded him many benefices and removed the impediment created by his illegitimacy. Orto obtained the lucrative post of procurator, allowing him to represent individuals from his own diocese of Tournai, as well as those in which he held canonries (Liège and Cambrai), at the papal court. In the papal chapel he worked closely with Josquin des Prez. In 1491–3 he and Josquin both sought certain benefices at churches in the diocese of Cambrai. The outcome is not known, but in 1494 Orto was appointed by Alexander VI to serve on a commission to assist Josquin in acquiring a canonry at Cambrai.

At some time between 1489 and 1496, while still a member of the papal chapel, Orto became dean of the collegiate church of Ste Gertrude in Nivelles. As spiritual head of the chapter of canons and canonesses, he eventually took up residence there and maintained a close connection with the community for the rest of his life. He bestowed many gifts on the church, the most lavish being a splendid bronze coffer designed to hold the saint's reliquary (it is still displayed in the transept).

On 24 May 1505 Orto was appointed singer in the Habsburg-Burgundian chapel of Philip the Fair, who legitimized him. In late 1505 or 1506 Orto became *premier chapelain* and in this capacity he accompanied the court on Philip's ill-fated voyage to Spain in 1506. The 17th-century historians Ryckel and Chifflet credited Orto with translating the medieval Latin *Vita Gertrudis* into French to fulfil a vow he made during the journey, but this translation does not survive.

After Philip's unexpected death in September 1506, Orto and other members of his chapel were retained in Spain by Juana, Philip's widow, until the dissolution of her court in August 1508. Returning to the Netherlands, Orto helped to reorganize the chapel for Philip's son Charles (later Charles V) under the regency of Philip's sister, Margaret of Austria. A document of 1509 refers to him as 'first chaplain of my gracious lord' (i.e. Charles). From 1510 to 1517 he shared that office, on an alternating six-month basis, with Anthoine de Berghes.

In 1510 Orto was recorded as a canon at the church of Our Lady, Antwerp, and in 1513 as a canon at Ste Gudule, Brussels. Although his name is crossed out on the list of payments of Charles's court on 21 June 1517, in a document dated 18 May 1518 he is called 'councillor and first chaplain of Charles's chapel' and in 1522 he was engaged for Charles's voyage to England and Spain. He died at Nivelles in 1529, possibly during the epidemic that ravaged the town in that year.

Until 1940, when Ste Gertrude suffered severe bomb damage, Orto's tomb inscription could be seen in the pavement of the choir: 'Here lies Marbrianus Orto, dean and canon of this church, who decorated it with the present bronze coffer and other gifts, February 1528' [new style 1529].

Among his works the masses are the most important. All five published by Petrucci in *Misse de Orto* (Venice, 1505) are of the cantus-firmus type, but the treatment of the borrowed melodies is varied. Liturgical chants of the Ordinary are paraphrased in the tenor of the *Missa dominicalis*. *Missa 'L'homme armé'* presents the well-known tune schematically in various mensurations, diminution and transposition, generally in the tenor but sometimes in one or more of the other voices. *Missa 'La belle se sied'* treats the popular melody more freely, whereas *Missa 'Petita camusetta'*(also called *'Mi mi'*) borrows only the first five notes of the tune, using them as head-motif and ostinato. *Missa 'J'ay pris amours'*, with two different Credo settings, is built on both the tenor and superius of the anonymous chanson in a technique approaching that of the parody mass.

Like his masses, Orto's motets are generally based on cantus firmi. The five-part *Salve regis mater* celebrates the election of Pope Alexander VI in 1492. Although anonymous in *I-Rvat* C.S.35, it is placed among Orto's works in that manuscript and is almost certainly by him. His two hymn settings are included in *Rvat* C.S.15 together with hymns by Dufay and Josquin, and along with anonymous hymn settings in late 15th-century style. Gerber and Osthoff have suggested that Dufay's hymn cycle (composed around 1430) was revised jointly by Josquin and Orto when both were members of the papal chapel.

Some of his chansons exhibit retrospective traits. *D'ung aultre amer* and *Fors seulement* are built on voices from rondeaux by Ockeghem, and the three-part rondeau *Venus tu m'a pris* is an accompanied duo in the Burgundian manner. Other chansons are more forward-looking: *Je ne suis poinct*, *Mon mary m'a diffamée* and *Se je perdu mon amy* treat popular tunes in lively imitation. *Et il y a trois dames a Paris* is similar; its homogeneous four-part texture, fluent imitation and attractive themes suggest the 'modern' French chanson style of the early 16th century. Standing apart among Orto's works is *Dulces exuviae*, a setting of Dido's lament from the *Aeneid*. Its chromatic inflections and expressive dissonance, evoking the tragic queen's grief and despair, make this one of the outstanding examples of musical humanism in the Renaissance.

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only principal sources given

MASSES AND MASS SECTIONS

Misse de Orto (Venice, 1505) [1505]

Missa dominicalis, 4vv, 1505, *I-VEcap* 761 (c.f. Mass XI, XV, Credo IV)

Missa 'J'ay pris amours' (cum duobus Patrem), 4vv, 1505; Ag II ed. in MSD, vi (1965) (c.f. Superius, T of anon. chanson; has 2 Credo)

Missa 'La belle se sied', 4vv, 1505, *A-Wn* 1783 (c.f. popular melody)

Missa 'L'homme armé', 4vv, 1505, *I-Rvat* C.S.64; ed. in Monumenta polyphoniae liturgica, 1st ser., i/7 (Rome, 1948)

Missa 'Petita camusetta' (Mi mi), 4vv, 1505, *A-Wn* 1783, *D-Ju* 32; Ag III ed. in *AmbrosGM*, v, 198 (c.f. motto)

Missa, 4vv, *I-Rvat* C.S.35 (Superius in canon)

Kyrie in honorem beatissime virginis, 4vv, 1505[1] (c.f. Kyrie IX); ed. in CMM, xcv (1982)

Credo 'Le serviteur', 4vv, *A-Wn* 1783 (c.f. T of Du Fay's chanson)

Credo, 5vv, *I-Rvat* C.S.35 (c.f. Credo IV)

MOTETS

Ave Maria gratia plena, 4vv; ed. in H. Hewitt, *O. Petrucci: Harmonice musices odhecaton A* (Cambridge, MA, 1942, 2/1946) (c.f. ?chant)

Ave Maria mater gracie, 5vv, *B-Br* 9126, *I-Rvat* C.S.35
Da pacem Domine, 5vv, *Rvat* C.S.35 (c.f. chant)
Descendi in ortum meum, 4vv, *A-Wn* 15941 (Superius lost; c.f. chant)
Domine non secundum, 4vv; ed. as part of 'Missa carminum' in J. Wolf, *Werken van Jacob Obrecht* (Amsterdam and Leipzig, 1908–21), xx–xxi; repr. (Farnborough, Hants., 1968), iv, 101–11 (c.f. chant)
Salve regis mater/Hic est sacerdos, 5vv, *I-Rvat* C.S.35 (for the election of Pope Alexander VI, 1492; c.f. chant; anon. in source but surrounded by works by Orto and probably by him)

OTHER LITURGICAL WORKS

Lamentatio Jeremie prophete, 4vv, ed. in Musikalische Denkmäler, vi (Mainz, 1965)
Lucis creator optime, 4vv, *I-Rvat* C.S.15 (c.f. chant; verse 2: Superius and B in canon; verse 4: Superius, T in canon)
Ut queant laxis, 4vv, *Rvat* C.S.15 (c.f. chant in S, B; verse 2, Nuncius celso, is by Du Fay)

CHANSONS

D'ung aultre amer, 4vv, ed. in MRM, ii (1967) (c.f. Superius of Ockeghem's rondeau; A, B are riddle canons)
Et il y a trois dames a Paris (Les troys filles de Paris), 4vv, 1504[3], *I-Fc* B.2442 ed. M. Honegger and G. Dottin (Paris, 1967)
Fors seulement, 4vv, *Fc* B.2439; ed. in RRMMA, xiv (1982) (c.f. Superius of Ockeghem's rondeau)
Je ne suis poinct, 4vv, *Fc* B.2442 (B lost but probably in canon with T; c.f. popular melody)
Les troys filles de Paris, see Et il y a trois dames a Paris
Mon mary m'a diffamée, 4vv, ed. in MRM, ii (1967) (c.f. popular melody in canon)
Se je perdu mon amy, 4vv, *CH-SGs* 461; ed. in F.J. Giesbert, *Ein altes Spielbuch aus der Zeit um 1500* (Mainz, 1936) (c.f. popular melody)
Venus tu m'a pris (rondeau), 3vv, ed. in H. Hewitt, *O. Petrucci: Harmonice musices odhecaton A* (Cambridge, MA, 1942, 2/1946)

OTHER WORKS

Dulces exuviae, 4vv, ed. in Picker (1965) (text: Virgil, *Aeneid* iv.651–4)
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DOUBTFUL WORKS

Impulsus eversus sum, attrib. 'Joannes de Horto' in 1564[5], probably by a later composer
Je cuide se ce temps me dure, frag., attrib. 'De orte' in *D-ISL* 1544, elsewhere attrib. Japart and Congiet

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MARTIN PICKER

Orvieto, Ugolino of. *See* UGOLINO OF ORVIETO.

Ory, Kid [Edward] (*b* La Place, LA, 25 Dec *c*1890; *d* Honolulu, 23 Jan 1973). American jazz trombonist and bandleader. Between 1912 and 1919 he led one of the most prominent bands in New Orleans. He then moved to California, where he also led a group; in Los Angeles in 1922, as Spikes' Seven Pots of Pepper, it became the first of the black New Orleans-style jazz bands to issue a recording, *Ory's Creole Trombone/Society Blues* (Nordskog). In 1925 Ory went to Chicago, where he participated in some of the period's most important jazz recording sessions, with Louis Armstrong's Hot Five, Jelly Roll Morton's Red Hot Peppers, the New Orleans Wanderers and King Oliver's Dixie Syncopators. He returned to Los Angeles in 1930 and in 1933 abandoned music to work on a poultry farm and in a railway post office; in 1942, however, he resumed playing, and in 1944 regained prominence through his performances on Orson Welles's radio broadcasts. He then toured extensively with his band until 1966, when he retired to Hawaii. Ory's playing was highly rhythmic; he made full use of slurs and glissandos in the early tailgate trombone style, of which he was the most famous exponent, and was also notable for his use of mutes. He composed the well-known *Muskrat Ramble* (1926, OK).

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Oral history material in *LNT*

JOSÉ HOSIASSON

Oryema, Geoffrey (*b* Uganda, 1953). Ugandan composer. Born into a prominent musical family, Oryema received a privileged education in Western music. His father, a prominent government minister, was one of the last great *inanga* (seven-string harp zither) players in Acholiland, and taught him to play, together with the *myamulere* (flute), the *lukeme* (thumb piano) and other indigenous percussion instruments. While still young, Oryema also received training from his mother, director of the Ugandan national dance company, and attended the Kampala School of Dramatic Arts, where he founded a theatre company. At the age of 24 his father was murdered by Idi Amin, forcing him to flee in the trunk of a car to Kenya. Today, Oryema is a respected musician-songwriter, maintaining the songs of his youth and experimenting with the diversity of musical cultures offered in Paris. Oryema's moody and contemplative music reflects an original combination of acoustic African rhythms with ambient electronic pop. He has recorded three albums with Peter Gabriel's Real World label, accompanied by such pop luminaries as Brian Eno and Daniel Lanois. He has performed on the 1993–4 WOMAD USA tours, at the 1994 Reebok Human Rights Awards and at the 1995 Rainforest Foundation International Benefit.

RECORDINGS

Exile, Real World Records CDRW14 (1990)
Beat the Border, Real World Records CDRW37 (1993)
Night to Night, Real World Records CDRW58 (1996)

FRANK GUNDERSON

OSA [Ochranny Svaz Autorsky]. *See* COPYRIGHT §VI, (under Czech Republic).

Osaka. City in Japan. It is the country's second largest city and is musically the most active town in west Japan. The traditional musical style of Osaka and Kyoto is known as the Kamigata style, in contrast to the Edo style of Tokyo. When European music was introduced to Japan (after 1868), Osaka, Kyoto and Kōbe (west of Osaka) formed an important musical centre second only to Tokyo.

The musical distinction of Osaka began in the 17th century when *gidayū* singing for the *bunraku* puppet play became popular there. Asahi-za (formerly Bunraku-za) is the main theatre for puppet plays; for *kabuki* there is the Osaka New Kabuki-za. The major concert halls are the Nakanoshima Kōkaidō (built in 1918), the Festival Hall (1958; also used for opera), the Osaka Kōsei-nenkin Hall (1968) and the Symphony Hall (1982), while the small Izumi Hall (1990) is used for chamber music. In Kōbe there is the Kōbe Bunka Hall (1973).

The Osaka PO (founded in 1947 as the Kansai SO and renamed in 1960) and the Osaka Century Orchestra (founded in 1989) are the two major orchestras, while the Telemann Chamber Orchestra specializes in Baroque music. Choral groups are active in Osaka and its vicinity, including the Kwansei Gakuin Glee Club, a student organization founded in the 1890s. The Kansai Opera Company (founded in 1949) is the major opera company in west Japan.

The annual Osaka International Festival was founded in 1958. Almost all Japanese composers participated in Expo '70 in Osaka, as did several from abroad including Stockhausen and Xenakis. The Fourth Symposium of the IMS in July 1990, entitled 'Tradition and its Future in Music', was the first international musicological congress held in Asia. The three major newspapers in Japan, each with its own broadcasting stations and musical sponsorship, have their headquarters in Osaka: they are the *Asahi*, the *Mainichi* and the *Yomiuri*.

Osaka Music School (founded in 1915) became Osaka College of Music in 1958. Several other colleges have competent music departments, for example Ōsaka Geijutsu Daigaku, Osaka University of Education, Sōai Women's College and Kōbe Jogakuin Daigaku (Kōbe Women's College). In Hiroshima (west of Osaka) the Elizabeth Music College (founded as a conservatory in 1948, and a college since 1963) specializes in sacred music.

For bibliography *see* JAPAN.

MASAKATA KANAZAWA

Ōsaki, Shigemi (*b* Yokohama, 3 Jan 1948). Japanese musicologist. He graduated from the Tōhō Gakuen College of Music in Tokyo (BM 1970) and from the Graduate School of the Tokyo National University of Fine Arts and Music (MA 1972). He undertook extensive Haydn studies in Europe (1978–9) and was visiting professor at the University of Mainz (1986–7). He became full professor at the Tōhō Gakuen College of Music in 1993. His research interest has centred around the performing practice of Western (especially German) music of the 18th and 19th centuries. He has approached this from the point of view of the social context of music, orchestral practice and music printing, and has made a contribution to advancing research on the meaning of musical performance in different social contexts and on the function of musicology.

WRITINGS

Ōkesutora no shakai-shi: doitsu no ōkesutora to gakuin-tachi no ayumi [A social history of the orchestra: the courses of orchestras and their musicians in Germany] (Tokyo, 1990)
Gakufu no bunka-shi [A cultural history of music publication] (Tokyo, 1993)
Ongaku-ensō no shakai-shi: yomigaeru kako no ongaku [A social history of musical performance: the sound of the past revived] (Tokyo, 1993)

TATSUHIKO ITOH

Osanz, Miguel Antonino (*b* Botaya, Huesca, 1760; *d* Soria, 28 May 1825). Spanish composer. After staying at the monastery of S Juan de la Peña, near Jaca, he arrived at Soria in 1781. He was appointed *maestro de capilla* at Soria from 1781 until his death in 1825. In total, 168 of his works survive, and a further 13 works have been attributed to him; all his music was composed for Soria Cathedral. The voices and instruments he used depended on the varying membership of the chapel, which decreased during this time. His style employs the homophony and vocal ornamentation that were typical at the time, though he used counterpoint in his more solemn works.

WORKS

MSS in the cathedral of S Pedro Apostol, Soria

Vocal: 24 masses; 2 requiems; 8 grads; 4 seqs; 20 villancicos; 6 Mag; 11 Lamentations; 26 responsories; many pss, 1 (Laudate Dominum omnes gentes) ed. J. López Calo and others, *Las edades del hombre: la música en la iglesia de Castilla y Leon: Polifonia y organo* (Valladolid, 1991), hymns, ants, etc.
Inst: Concerto, fl, vns, hns, b; Versos, vns, hns, va, b

M. MONTSERRAT SÁNCHEZ SISCART

Osborn, Franz (*b* Berlin, 11 July 1905; *d* Basle, 8 June 1955). British pianist of German birth. He was educated at Berlin University. His piano studies were mainly with

Schnabel, and he also studied composition with Schreker and conducting with Fritz Busch. The rise of the Nazi regime caused him to leave his native country in 1933, by which time he had won an international reputation as a discerning pianist. He became a British subject in 1946. In London his association with Max Rostal led to many distinguished performances, especially of Classical sonatas for violin and piano. Osborn also won high praise for his performances of Mozart's later concertos and Beethoven's sonatas and concertos. Earlier in his career he had given a number of important premières, including those of Prokofiev's Fifth Sonata and Hindemith's *Klaviermusik* op.37.

FRANK DAWES/R

Osborne, Charles (Thomas) (*b* Brisbane, 24 Nov 1927). British writer on music, poet and critic of Australian birth. He studied the piano, composition and singing privately in Brisbane and Melbourne, and moved to England in 1953. He was assistant editor of the *London Magazine* from 1958 before being appointed assistant literature director of the Arts Council in 1966 and director in 1971. Besides his writings on literary topics Osborne has written mainly on vocal music, particularly 19th-century opera, including a useful descriptive survey of Verdi's operas; he is also known as a critic and broadcaster.

WRITINGS

The Complete Operas of Verdi (London, 1969)
ed. and trans.: *The Letters of Giuseppe Verdi* (London, 1971)
ed. and trans.: *Richard Wagner: Stories and Essays* (London, 1973)
The Concert Song Companion (London, 1974)
Wagner and his World (London, 1977)
The Complete Operas of Mozart (London, 1978)
The Complete Operas of Puccini (London, 1981)
The Dictionary of Opera (London, 1983)
Verdi: a Life in the Theatre (London, 1987)
The Complete Operas of Richard Strauss (London, 1988)
The Complete Operas of Richard Wagner (London, 1990)
The Bel canto Operas of Rossini, Donizetti and Bellini (London, 1994)

DAVID SCOTT/R

Osborne, Conrad L(eon) (*b* Lincoln, NE, 22 July 1934). American music critic. He was educated at Columbia University and also studied singing with Cornelius Reid and acting with Frank Corsaro. He has acted in the theatre and on television and has sung operatic baritone roles with various musical organizations in the New York area. As a writer, he was chief vocal critic and contributing editor of *High Fidelity* (1959–69), and New York music critic of the London *Financial Times* (1962–9). In 1970 he was appointed advisory editor of the *Musical Newsletter* and in 1978 his critical guide *The Complete Operas of Mozart* (New York, 1978/*R*) was published.

Osborne has contributed numerous articles to publications in the USA and England, including detailed critical discographies of the operas of Verdi (1963), Mozart (1965), Wagner (1966–7) and Russian composers (1974–5) for *High Fidelity*, and articles and reviews for *Opus* (from 1984). His chief interest is opera, and his background as a performer has strongly influenced his critical writing on the subject. Since the early 1970s he has devoted more of his time and interest to private singing teaching than to journalism. Osborne is widely regarded as one of the most discriminating vocal critics in the USA.

PATRICK J. SMITH

Osborne, George Alexander (*b* Limerick, 24 Sept 1806; *d* London, 16 Nov 1893). Irish pianist and composer. The son of an organist and lay vicar of Limerick Cathedral, he was intended for the clergy and first studied theology. Later he learnt to play the piano, in which he was virtually self-taught. He spent the year 1825 as the guest of the Prince of Chimay in Belgium, where he came to know the Classical repertory by attending private and public concerts. He went to Paris the following year and studied the piano with J.P. Pixis and harmony and counterpoint with Fétis. Soon afterwards he perfected his piano technique under the guidance of Frédéric Kalkbrenner, and became one of the finest exponents of Kalkbrenner's playing style in France.

Osborne rapidly became a fashionable pianist and a well-known teacher in both Paris and London. He settled in London in 1843, but made frequent trips to Paris where his patrons were drawn from the aristocracy and intellectual society, and included in particular wealthy Irishmen and Englishmen living in France. His concerts in Paris attracted the most fashionable audiences, and his friends included the most eminent musicians of the period, among them Chopin, Bériot and particularly Berlioz, who admired Osborne's playing of Chopin's works and consulted both Chopin and Osborne about writing for the piano. That Osborne's fame was perhaps not commensurate with his abilities as a pianist is documented by a critic for the *Revue et gazette musicale de Paris* of 20 March 1842, who wrote of him as 'the elegant, fluent, clean and not too energetic pianist whom you well know'.

Osborne's compositions include a few dozen violin and piano duos, written in collaboration with Bériot, and numerous piano fantasias and transcriptions, mostly derived from operas by Auber, Rossini, Donizetti and Verdi. He also wrote some chamber music, including a septet, a sextet, a piano quintet, several string quartets, three piano trios and a number of songs. Two operas, several scenas, three overtures and some marches for orchestra, are all apparently lost (mentioned in *Brown-StrattonBMB*). Although his music is not distinguished by its invention or originality, it is well made and had popular appeal; Berlioz found his songs and trios 'lofty in style and spacious in design'.

In London, Osborne was a member of the Philharmonic Society and was for a time its director; he was also a director of the RAM. He lectured before the Musical Association four times between 1879 and 1885; his reminiscences of Chopin, Berlioz and other musicians active in Paris in the middle of the 19th century are valuable for their biographical – and autobiographical – information and insight into the personalities of his musical friends.

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G.A. Osborne: 'Musical Coincidences and Reminiscences', *PMA*, ix (1882–3), 95–113
A.W. Ganz: *Berlioz in London* (London, 1950/*R*)

JEAN MONGRÉDIEN

Osborne [Osborn], **John** (*b* New England, *c*1792; *d* New York, 27 May 1835). American piano maker. He was one of several apprentices who learned their craft under Benjamin Crehore of Milton, Massachusetts. He is said to have served this apprenticeship during the years (*c*1810–14) when Crehore was associated with the Boston shop of Lewis and Alpheus Babcock and Thomas

Appleton. By 1815 Osborne had set up his own shop on Newbury Street, Boston, and by 1820 had moved to Orange Street. Among his Boston apprentices were Jonas Chickering, Lemuel and Timothy Gilbert, and Ebenezer R. Currier. Osborne entered into a short-lived partnership with James Stewart in 1822, and in that year removed his shop to Boylston Square. From about 1830 until his death Osborne worked primarily in New York, although it appears that for much of that time he concurrently had business relationships in Albany, New York, first with Meacham and Pond, and then as a partner with Peter King. According to Spillane, in October 1834 Osborne moved into a large factory that he had built on Third Avenue at 14th Street.

Osborne described himself as a builder of upright, grand, square and cabinet pianos. His pianos won several awards, including the first premium at the American Institute. Of the relatively few Osborne pianos that survive, most are squares, several of which incorporate a longitudinal metal bar that was patented on 29 July 1824 by a Boston medical doctor and inventor named John Dwight. Two extant upright pianos of Osborne's, which were made between 1818 and 1821, with a range of six octaves (*F′* to *f″″*), are among the earliest such pianos built in America. Representative instruments are at the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC, and at Sturbridge, Massachusetts.

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D. Spillane: *History of the American Pianoforte* (New York, 1890/*R*)

CYNTHIA ADAMS HOOVER, DARCY KURONEN

Osborne, Nigel (*b* Manchester, 23 June 1948). English composer. He studied composition with Leighton and serial techniques with Wellesz at Oxford (BMus 1970). His studies continued at the Warsaw Academy with Rudziński, and at the Polish Radio Experimental Studio (1970–71). While in Poland, Osborne helped establish an artistic commune and the Materials Service Corporation, a live electronic improvisation group which toured students' and workers' clubs. In 1978 he was appointed lecturer in music at the University of Nottingham, leaving in 1990 to become professor at the University of Edinburgh. Awards for his works include the Radio Suisse Romande Opera (1971), Gaudeamus (1973) and Radcliffe (1977) prizes.

Osborne's compositional development has involved working through the modernism which formed his artistic background. The Concerto for flute and chamber orchestra (1980) employs seven metres, superimposed in various combinations, with seven corresponding sets of pitch relations. Such structuring reflects both the legacy of the avant garde's concern for pre-compositional organization, and his own capacity and enthusiasm for analytical thought: 'I don't view music romantically, if you think about the brain, then part of its natural function is organizing and processing sound' (Osborne). In the 1970s, he found a useful analogue to musical processes in structuralist thought. *Prelude and Fugue* (1975), for example, transposes into musical terms a pattern of tensions in the structure of a South American folktale. His interpretation of structuralism led to an exploration of universal 'deep' musical structures which he sees as common to different cultures. Osborne's other pre-compositional interests have centred upon acoustical research, and he developed a chord-building technique derived from the overtones of the harmonic series. *Zansa* (1985) employs harmonies extrapolated from both harmonic and inharmonic spectra, relating the two in a manner suggesting the traditional interplay between consonance and dissonance. *Albanian Nights* (1991) uses the beats produced by two classical horns playing pitches close together to set the tempos and metric modulations within the piece. However, such organizational means are always put to serve concrete musical, rather than conceptual, ends; Osborne's practical sensibility partly is further borne out by his skills in orchestration. He has increasingly sought to be part of music-making which is 'physically and mentally liberating . . ., optimistic in spirit and even capable . . . of giving its strength to a weakened society', allying himself with such a society in *Sarajevo* for clarinet, cello and piano (1994).

WORKS
(*selective list*)

Ops: Hell's Angels (chbr op, 2, D. Freeman, after O. Pinizza: *Das Liebeskonzil*), 1985, London, Royal Court, 6 Jan 1986; The Electrification of the Soviet Union (2, C. Raine), 1987, Glyndebourne, 5 Oct 1987; Terrible Mouth (1, H. Barker), 1991, London, Almeida, 10 July 1992

Vocal-orch: Seven Words (after Schütz), T, T, B, chorus, orch, 1971; The Sickle (S.A. Esenin, V.V. Mayakowski), S, orch, 1975; Tracks, double SATB, orch, wind band, 1990

Orch: Vc Conc., 1977; Conc., fl, chbr orch, 1980; Esquisse, str, 1987; Eulogy, chbr orch, 1990; Vn Conc., 1990; The Sun of Venice, 1991; Albanian Nights, 1991; The Art of Fugue, vc, orch, 1993

Chbr and solo inst: Remembering Esenin, vc, pf, 1974; Prelude and Fugue, ens, 1975; After Night, gui, 1977; Figure/Ground, pf, 1977; Figure/Ground, pf, 1978, rev. 1979; In camera, gui, ens, 1979; Quasi una fantasia, vc, 1979; Mythologies, fl, cl, tpt, hp, vn, vc, 1980; Sonata, pf, 1981; Fantasia, ens, 1983; Wildlife, ens, 1984; Zansa, ens, 1985; Mbira, vn, pf, 1985; Lumière, str qt, 4 children's groups, 1986; The Black Leg Miner, ens, 1987; Zone, ob, cl, str trio, 1989; Canzona, 4 tpt, hn, 4 trbn, 1990; Sarajevo, cl, pf, vc, 1994

Other vocal: Heaventree (various), SATB, 1973; Kinderkreuzzug (textless), children's vv, ens, 1974; Chansonnier (medieval Fr. ballads), chorus, ens, 1975; Passers By, 3 vv, b rec, vc, slides, 1976; I am Goya (A. Voznesensky), B-Bar, fl, ob, vn, vc, 1977; Orlando furioso (Osborne, after Ariosto), chorus, wind, 1977; 2 Spanish Songs (trad.), S, 1977; Vienna. Zurich. Constance. (D.M. Thomas), S, vn, vc, 2 cl, perc, 1977; Madeleine de la Ste-Baume, S, db, 1979; Songs from a Bare Mountain (medieval texts), SSAA, 1979; Under the Eyes (T. Paulin), 1v, fl, ob, perc, pf, 1979; Gnostic Passion (Gnostic texts), 1980; Choralis I, vv, 1981; Choralis II, vv, 1981, rev. 1982; Cant. piccola (Raine), S, str qt, 1982; Choralis III, vv, 1982; Alba (S. Beckett), Mez, ens, 1984; Pornography (Raine), Mez, ens, 1985: see also El-ac

El-ac: Musica da camera, vn, tape delay, audience, 1975; Kerenza at the Zawn, ob, 4-track tape, 1978; Poem without a Hero (A. Akhmatova, trans. D. Thomas), S, Mez, T, B, live elecs, 1980; The Cage (J. Whiting), T, ens, live elecs, 1981; Alba (S. Beckett), Mez, ens, 1984; The Four-Loom Weaver, Mez, tape, 1985

Principal publisher: Universal

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P. Griffiths, ed.: *New Sounds, New Personalities: British Composers of the 1980s* (London, 1985)

DAVID REVILL

Osborne, Richard (Ellerker) (*b* Hessle, E. Yorks, 22 Feb 1943). British broadcaster and critic. He studied English at the University of Bristol (BA 1965, MLitt 1967) and in 1970 became a contributor to BBC Radio 3. In 1971 he began an association with the programme 'Record

Review', of which he was the presenter from 1988 until it ceased to be broadcast in 1998. From 1967 to 1972 he was a reviewer for *Records and Recording* and since 1973 he has reviewed regularly for *Gramophone*. Since 1992 he has been the music critic for *The Oldie*. He also writes for *Opera*, the *Times Literary Supplement* and *The Independent*.

As a broadcaster and reviewer, Osborne is well known to a generation of musicians and their audiences. His Master Musicians monograph on Rossini (1986) was acclaimed for its scholarship and readability and is still the standard work in English on its subject. He has also written two books on Karajan, the second a sympathetic, detailed biography, rich in documentation, including assessments of every significant performance and recording.

WRITINGS

Rossini (London, 1986, 2/1993)
Conversations with Karajan (Oxford, 1989)
'Beethoven', *A Companion to the Symphony*, ed. R. Layton (London, 1993), 80–106
Herbert von Karajan: a Life in Music (London, 1998)

ROSEMARY WILLIAMSON

Osculati, Giulio [Iulio; Osculatus, Iulius] (*b* Lodi; *d* after 1615). Italian composer. About 1601 he entered the chapel of the Polish king, Zygmunt III, at Kraków, probably as a tenor; he left before 1614. His two collections of works dedicated to Polish patrons (1604–9), as well as one piece included in the collection *Melodiae sacrae* (ed. V. Lilius, Kraków, 1604), containing works by King Zygmunt's musicians, date from this period. He returned to Lodi, where in October 1614 he was *maestro di cappella* of the church of the Incoronata. The textures of his works are those of classic *a cappella* polyphony but they also include polychoral pieces, some of which were reprinted in anthologies and also copied into manuscripts. (See A. and Z.M. Szweykowski: *Włosi w kapeli królewskiej polskich Wazów* [Italians in the Chapel Royal of the Polish Vasa Kings]; Krakow, 1997.)

WORKS

Missae, liber primus, 5vv (Venice, 1604)
Liber primus motectorum, 5–10, 12vv (Venice, 1609)
Sacra omnium solemnitatum vespertina psalmodia cum cantico Beatae Virginis Mariae tam vocibus quam instrumentis concinenda (Venice, 1615)
Motets, 1604², 1611¹, 1612³, 1613², 1615¹³, 1617¹, 1621²

ZYGMUNT M. SZWEYKOWSKI

Osghian, Petar. *See* OZGIJAN, PETAR.

O'Shaughnessy. *See* LEVEY family.

Osiander, Lucas (*b* Nuremberg, 15/16 Dec 1534; *d* Stuttgart, 17 Sept 1604). German theologian and composer. He was the son of the famous Nuremberg Protestant Andreas Osiander. His study of theology began after his father had moved to Königsberg, and continued in 1553 in Tübingen. After serving for three years as a deacon in Göppingen, he was promoted to the coveted position of *Spezial-Superintendent* in Blaubeuren (1558). In 1563 he became city pastor at St Leonhard's in Stuttgart and in 1569 court minister and member of the consistory in the same city. His position as private tutor to Prince Ludwig of Württemberg gave rise to certain difficulties with Ludwig's successor, Prince Friedrich. In 1594 he was appointed chaplain of the collegiate church in Stuttgart, and two years later prelate in Adelberg near Göppingen. As a result of a disagreement with the prince in 1599, however, he was exiled. From then until 1603, when he was allowed to return from exile, he was a cleric in Esslingen near Stuttgart.

In 1569 Osiander (then court minister) wrote the preface to Sigmund Hemmel's four-part *Der gantz Psalter Davids, wie derselbig in teutsche Gesang verfasset*; this expressed the intention of the collection to render the chorale melody 'understandable to the entire Christian communion'. Hemmel's edition may have given Osiander the initial idea for his own *Fünffzig geistliche Lieder und Psalmen mit vier Stimmen auff contrapunctsweise (für die Schulen und Kirchen in löblichen Fürstenthumb Württenberg) also gesetzt, das eine gantze Christliche Gemein durchaus mit singen kann*, published in Nuremberg in 1586 (modern edn by F. Zelle, Berlin, 1903; see also Schuler). The latter consists entirely of purely homophonic settings (*contrapunctsweise*) which might enable choir and congregation to sing together easily; as such it soon came to be used in Lutheran churches following Reformation precepts. The cantus firmus is placed in the soprano, unlike the Reformation metrical psalm settings in which the melody is given to the tenor. Osiander's settings, harmonized throughout with 5-3 chords, are of slight musical value, but the *Kantionalsatz* principle used here was taken up and improved by Raselius, Eccard, Franck, Vulpius and others up to and including Schein who published a *Cantionale* in 1627. The prefaces to many of these later works repeat Osiander's title almost word for word. The *Kantionalsatz* principle was later superseded by that of thoroughbass accompaniment. Two reports on organs that he wrote bear witness to his musical expertise in other directions.

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E. Wolf: *Der vierstimmige homophone Satz: die stilistischen Merkmale des Kantionalsatzes zwischen 1590 und 1630* (Wiesbaden, 1965)
L.E. Schuler: *Lucas Osiander and his 'Fünfftzig geistliche Lieder und Psalmen': the Development and Use of the First Cantional* (diss., Washington U., 1986)

WALTER BLANKENBURG

Osijek (Ger. Essek; Hung. Eszék). The largest town in Slavonia, the region of Croatia on the Drava. It was first mentioned in 1196. Immediately after the expulsion of the Turks, in 1687, Jesuits and Franciscans arrived. The first full organ was built in 1762 in the Franciscan church by Antonius Römer of Graz; the Franciscans employed organists and Kapellmeister, and assembled extensive musical archives. The military band ('musica turcica') also participated in church and civic festivities.

In the 19th century increased prosperity brought a flourishing of music. The Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde der Königlichen Freistadt Eszék (1830–38) took part at mass and in concerts, and organized a music school. Founded in 1847 by Pajo Kolarić, the first civilian band planted that tradition in the town. The Esseker Zivilkapelle (1867–76) had 20 members under a board led by Count Gustav Prandau, a musical amateur whose legacy includes about 600 compositions of his own and of Central European masters (held by the Museum of Slavonia in the town); the board helped arrange promenade concerts and supervised music in the primary schools and Gymnasium. Choral groups also date from this

period: the Essegger Gesangsverein was founded in 1868 by the teacher and organist Ivan Nepomuk Hummel, and the Lipa society (1876–8, refounded 1894) remains active. The Osječko Dobrovoljno Glazbeno Društvo (Osijek Voluntary Music Society) – founded in 1891, renamed Kuhač in 1907 (after the Osijek-born musicologist Franjo Ksaver Kuhač, 1834–1911) and active until the end of World War II – had about 100 members, an orchestra (from 1891) and a music school (from 1921, still in existence). Also born in the town was the violin virtuoso Franjo Krežma (1862–81).

German troupes brought opera and operetta in the 19th century. The foundation in 1907 of the Hrvatsko Narodno Kazalište (Croatian National Theatre), with an opera company, attracted many professional musicians. That theatre has stayed in operation (with breaks during 1927–35 and World War II), specializing in chamber pieces in the Croatian and international repertories. In 1970 an annual festival of chamber opera and ballet was initiated, the Annale Komorne Opere i Baleta, and in 1976 a biennial piano competition, Memorijal Darko Lukić. A Filharmonijsko Društvo (Philharmonic Society) existed between 1921 and the start of World War II.

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VJERA KATALINIC

Oscar I, King of Sweden. Composer and patron of music, father of Prince GUSTAF.

Oscar II, King of Sweden. Patron of music, younger brother of Prince GUSTAF.

Oslo. Capital city of Norway. It was founded about 1050 and became the capital in 1299. It was officially known as Oslo until 1624, when it was renamed Christiania; from 1897 it was called Kristiania, and in 1925 reverted to Oslo.

Little survives of the music of the Middle Ages. The so-called 'Olavsmusikken' was used during the Mass of St Olaf on 29 July, and was probably partly composed in a church or religious house in Oslo; the sequences *Lux illuxcit* and *Predicasti* are extant. Another sequence, the 'St Hallvardsekvensen', may also have originated in Oslo. The Reformation was introduced to Norway in 1536, but Catholic musical practice continued until the introduction of Reformed liturgical music (Hans Thommissøn's *Psalmebog*, 1569, and Niels Jesperssøn's *Graduale*, 1573). The leading musicians in Oslo, as in the rest of Norway, from the end of the 16th century until the beginning of the 18th, were the organists and municipal musicians; grammar schools (formerly the cathedral schools) also cultivated music.

The first municipal musician in Oslo recorded by name was Peter Trompeter (1637); later figures were Erik Piber (*c*1650), Paul Røder (1655–72), Henrik Meyer (1710–58), Peter Høeg (1758–60) and C.F. Groth (1795–1828). The earliest known organist was Lauris Orgemester (1524); later organists included Antoni Walter (*d* 1668), Johan Utrecht (from 1668), J.F. Classen (from 1749) and J.C. Krøyer (from 1777, *d* 1809). The cathedral school existed by about 1250. The first known cantor was Narve Toresson (1474); others were Klemet Pederssøn (*d* 1581), Claus Berg (from 1581, *d* 1614) and Classen (from 1720). After 1800 the office of cantor in Oslo was combined with that of organist at the Vor Frelsers Kirke. From the mid-18th century the number of semi-public and public concerts in the city increased; many foreign performers visited it, including Mingotti's opera company and G.J. Vogler, and musical societies were founded. Its first dramatic society was formed in 1764; the better-known Dramatiske Selskab was established in 1780, reorganized in 1799 and disbanded in 1838. The municipal musicians generally directed public concerts.

Although the city was the capital of Norway for hundreds of years, it did not replace Trondheim and Bergen as the country's musical centre until the early 19th century. This status was connected with the institutions then established: the Musikalske Lyceum (1810–38) and the Christiania Theater in 1827 (which became the Nationale Theater in 1899). The first Norwegian Singspiel, Waldemar Thrane's *Mountain Adventure*, was presented at the Musikalske Lyceum in 1825. Light opera was occasionally performed at the Christiania Theater from as early as 1827. From about 1860 the theatre produced one new opera a year as well as many operettas. When the renowned L.M. Lindeman became organist at the cathedral (formerly the Vor Frelsers Kirke) in 1839, the city gradually became a centre of sacred music; Lindeman's comprehensive work on the collection of Norwegian folk music was also carried out there.

Famous teachers, composers and conductors now came into closer contact with the capital, among them Kjerulf, Grieg, Johan Svendsen, J.G. Conradi and J.D. Behrens. Conradi founded the first choral societies there, and Behrens had considerable influence on Norwegian choral singing as founder and conductor of the Norske Studentersangforening (1845), the Christiania Handelsstands Sangforening (Mercantile Choral Society, 1847) and the Christiania Haandverkersangforening (Artisans' Choral Society, 1848). The German 'Harz-Verein' orchestra went to Norway in 1840 and in six years gave more than 300 concerts in and around Oslo, mainly of music by such composers as the elder Johann Strauss and Joseph Lanner. Many of its members, including Ferdinand Rojahn and Carl Warmuth, settled there. In 1843 Warmuth founded a music business which continued until 1908; as the country's largest music dealers and publishers it was of considerable importance in Norwegian musical life. Other significant names in this sphere were the Hals Brothers (who founded a piano factory in 1847, a concert office in 1880, a music shop and press in 1887), Edvard Winther (a music shop from 1822 and press from 1826), P. Håkonsen (shop and press from 1881) and H. Zapffe (shop and press from 1893).

The Musikalske Lyceum presented a series of vocal and instrumental works as well as light opera, and the Philharmoniske Selskab, formed in 1846, continued this tradition. Purely symphonic concerts were rare until Kjerulf and Conradi began their subscription concerts in 1858, and the attendance at these concerts was disappointing; they had to be suspended the following year, and the Philharmoniske Selskab came once more to the fore.

However, in 1867 Grieg and Otto Winter-Hjelm started their subscription concerts, which this time met with success. Until 1871 Grieg often conducted these concerts and in 1871 the Musikforening was founded, largely on his initiative; it was active until the Filharmoniske Selskap was formed in 1919. Some of Norway's greatest musicians served as conductor of the Musikforening: Grieg, Svendsen, Ole Olsen, Johan Peter Selmer and Iver Holter. Between 1899 and 1919 the orchestra of the Nationale Theater also gave popular orchestral concerts, conducted by Johan Halvorsen.

The Musik-konservatori was of great importance in the musical life of the country; founded in Christiania in 1883 by L.M. Lindeman and his son Peter, it was initially a school for organists, but was designated a conservatory of music in 1894. Choral activity increased steadily during the century. Many new societies were founded, such as Grøndahl's Choir (1878), the Ceciliaforening (1879) and Holter's Korforening in 1897. On several occasions these took part in great choral and orchestral concerts. Several song festivals were held in Christiania (1866, 1896, 1914 and 1935). The Christiania Strygekvartet (1865–94) was the first Norwegian chamber group; another ensemble, the Kvartetforening, was formed in 1876.

For economic and social reasons there was no opera company in Oslo before 1950, and until then there were only occasional performances of opera. Foreign groups paid occasional visits, the Lyceum had given some performances, and a series of works was presented at the Christiania Theater, often with foreign performers; until 1919 the Nationalteatret gave performances of many operas and light operas. Between 1918 and 1921 Kristiania had a regular stage for opera, the Opéra Comique, but it was plagued by economic difficulties. In 1950 the Norsk Operaselskap (Norwegian Opera Company) was formed, giving opera a considerably firmer foundation. It gave frequent performances, and eventually the Norske Opera was opened in 1959 under the direction of Kirsten Flagstad, subsequently presenting opera and ballet of an international standard. The company is now funded by the government. The Oslo Sommeropera festival (1983–92) gave several Norwegian premières, such as *Ariadne auf Naxos*, *La clemenza di Tito*, *La finta giardiniera* and *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, and also church concerts. Both the Oslo Nye Teater and the Norske Teater give many musicals.

The Filharmoniske Selskap (Philharmonic Society) was formed in 1919 to replace both the Musikforening and the orchestra of the Nationale Theater, and has become Norway's foremost professional symphony orchestra. In 1980 it changed its name to the Oslo Filharmoniske Orkester. Mariss Jansons became chief conductor in 1979 and Esa-Pekka Salonen was the permanent guest conductor from 1984 to 1989. The orchestra, which had 102 members in 1995, has made a number of tours to the USA, Japan and several European countries, attended several international festivals and made many outstanding recordings. The Oslo Filharmoniske Kor, founded in 1921, has some 90 members; Stefan Sköld became director in 1990. The Norske Kammerorkester (founded 1977) is based in Oslo. It was directed by Terje Tønnesen from 1977 to 1981, succeeded by Iona Brown in 1984. It has made many recordings and tours and collaborated with leading soloists including Mstislav Rostropovich. The city acquired a Konserthus in 1977; its two halls can seat 1700 and 300 and the organ in the large hall has 90 stops. The city's newest and largest concert venue is the Oslo Spectrum (opened 1991), accommodating an audience of 11,000 (major sports events are also held there). The orchestra of the Norwegian Opera has occasionally performed away from the opera house. The establishment of a broadcasting station, Norsk Rikskringkasting (NRK), in 1925 was of great importance for the country's musical life. It has supported many Norwegian performers and ensembles, and founded its own orchestra in 1946; it also has several choirs.

Chamber groups in the capital in the 20th century included the quartets of G.F. Lange (1899–1906), Buschmann (1911–19), Johan Halvorsen (1915–19), the Filharmoniske Selskap (formed in 1919) and Hindar (1944), the Norske Blåsekvintett (1955) and the Oslo Blåsesolister (1972). The Oslo Sinfonietta, established in 1986, plays mainly contemporary music, as do the Borealis and Cicada ensembles. The city's most important music traders and publishers are Norsk Musikforlag (founded 1909) and Musik-Hus (1939). Among the leading organists in the city during the 1990s were Terje Kvarn and Kåre Nordstoga (at the cathedral), John Lammethun (Uranienborg Kirke) and Harald Herresthal (Majorstua Kirke).

The conservatory was reorganized as the Musikkhøgskole in 1973, and came under full government funding in 1978. The Statens Operahøgskole was established in 1964 as Statens Operaklasse. The Østland Musikkonservatorium also serves as a conservatory for the Oslo district. Private schools include the Barratt-Dues Musikkinstitutt (1927). The University of Oslo set up its institute of musicology in 1958. The Norwegian music collection in the university library in Oslo is the country's largest music library. The Norsk Folkemusikkinstitutt (1951) has a comprehensive collection of Norwegian traditional music. There are also collections of music in the Deichman Library and the Musikkhøgskole, and collections of musical instruments at Bygdøy Folk Museum and at the Musikkhøgskole.

The capital has also become a centre of jazz. Not until about 1950 was there any great activity in Norwegian jazz; the Norsk Jazzforbund was founded in Oslo in 1953 and the Norsk Jazzarkiv in 1981. Most of the country's musical organizations are based in Oslo: the Norges Organistforbund (1904), the Norsk Musikerforbund (1911), the Norsk Musikklaereres Landsforbund (1914), the Norsk Komponistforening (1917), Ny Musikk (the Norwegian branch of the ISCM, 1938), Norske Populaerautorer (NOPA, 1957), the Landslag for Musikk i Skolen (1955) and the Rikskonsertene (1967), a foundation for the promotion of new music. Festivals based in Oslo include the Oslo Kammermusikkfestival (founded 1989), the Oslo Jazzfestival and the Ultima-Oslo Contemporary Music Festival. World Music Day was held in Oslo in 1953 and 1990. Queen Sonja's international music competition was established in 1988.

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KARI MICHELSEN

Osman [Uthman], **Muhammed** (*b* Cairo, 1855; *d* Cairo, 19 Dec 1900). Egyptian composer. The son of a teacher in a Cairo mosque, he learnt music with the *qānūn* player Qustandi Mansy, and then underwent another period of apprenticeship as a singer with the ensemble of El-Rasheedy, thus learning much about modes, Arab rhythms and the vocal repertory. He achieved fame as a singer but lost his voice through illness and turned to composition in the classical monodic style of the period. Soon acknowledged as one of the leading composers of his time, he had his vocal pieces performed by the best singers, in particular Abdo El Hamouly. His most important contribution to the vocal repertory was in the genre of the *dawr*, an elaborate form for solo singer, small chorus of about four men and *takht*, a traditional ensemble of *'ud* (lute), *qānūn* (zither), *nay* (end-blown flute), violin and percussion. Osman took up the *dawr*, which originated in Egypt with El-Masloub, and invested it with new life, establishing it as the most important and widely performed type of Egyptian vocal art music. With him the *dawr* consisted of three (or four) sections with short instrumental interludes, the first solo and the subsequent ones alternating the soloist with the chorus in melodies that soared higher in range. In the middle (*hank*) section he introduced elaborate melismatic passages, still in antiphony, where the tempo became more lively. The beautifully rounded lines and subtle modulations of his compositions reveal a particular melodic gift.

Osman also taught music and singing. One of his most famous students was the Jewish composer-singer Dawood Hosny. On one occasion he travelled to Istanbul, with a musical delegation, to sing for the sultan, who decorated him. On his return he is said to have introduced certain Turkish modes previously unknown in Egypt. In addition to many *dawr* pieces (reckoned by recent research to number 68) he composed *mūwashshaḥ* songs, which are shorter traditional vocal pieces in which the complex irregular rhythmic patterns are preserved. His music was transmitted orally until the early decades of the 20th century, when it was notated in outline, leaving many details to the imagination and skill of the performer. Once neglected, his pieces have returned to full favour. Among his most important disciples were two of his sons, the singers Aziz and Ibrahim. Some later composers revived his music in new forms; Gamal Abdel-Rahim's orchestral-choral work *Kadni'l hawa* is based on Osman's *dawr*.

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SAMHA ELKHOLY

Osnabrück. City in Lower Saxony, Germany. It was established as an ecclesiastical centre with the foundation of a bishopric by Charlemagne in about 785, and as a result the strong influence of Alcuin was felt in the cathedral school (founded 9th century). For several centuries the *Scholaster*, and from 1221 the cathedral Kantor, was responsible for training the 'poor scholars' who constituted the cathedral choir. In the 13th and 14th centuries there were also musical establishments in the Marienkirche, Johanniskirche and Katharinenkirche. There was a corps of town musicians (*Stadtmusikanten*) whose history is recorded continuously from 1386 to 1842.

Dramatic presentations of biblical narratives were common in medieval Germany, and a manuscript, dating from the early 16th century, that belonged to the Gertrudenkloster on the outskirts of the town contains an Easter play; the play is in German, but the hymns (which have musical notation) are in the customary Latin. There are also fragments of a processional, a Christmas celebration, and a *Bischofsspiel*; after the Reformation such dramatic activity was taken over by the students of the town Gymnasium.

During the Reformation the Protestant cause was supported by the citizens of Osnabrück, but the cathedral and the Johanniskirche remained Roman Catholic. Dual loyalties led to the maintenance of both Protestant and Catholic traditions, the latter being strengthened in 1625 with the arrival of the Jesuits, at whose school biblical drama was cultivated. At that time Bishop Franz Wilhelm von Wartenburg, an acquaintance of Carissimi, took a special interest in church music, emphasizing its importance at synods in 1628 and 1651; a German songbook with traditional Catholic liturgical music was issued in 1628, and in 1652 a *Directorum chori*. After the Peace of Westphalia (signed at Osnabrück in 1648) it was determined that the bishopric of Osnabrück should be held alternately by a Catholic and a Protestant.

During the 16th and 17th centuries many organ builders worked in Osnabrück, among them members of the Berner, Adam and Eberhard families in the town, as well as Reinking of Bielefeld, Vater from Hanover and the Klausings from Herford. In the 17th century the town benefited from the musicians of Duke Philipp Sigesmund of Brunswick-Lüneburg's coming from his palace at nearby Iburg to assist those of Osnabrück.

Public concerts, held at first in a room in the Wappen von London, were given from 1770 when Graun's *Der*

Tod Jesu was sung; four years later there were regular weekly concerts. At the end of the 18th century and for the first quarter of the 19th, M.B. Veltmann (organist of the Marienkirche, 1790–1835) was responsible for many musical undertakings. In 1813 a school for singing was instituted, in 1832 the Alte Liedertafel, followed by the Neue Liedertafel in 1835 and the Dom-Gesangverein in 1843.

In 1800 the Theater an der Gildewart was built, and opera performances were given there from 1819 until 1909. Albert Lortzing worked in Osnabrück for six years from 1827. A small theatre built in 1871 was taken over by the city in 1882 and replaced in 1909 with the Grosses Haus on the Domhof. This was destroyed during air raids in 1945 and rebuilt in 1950. In 1920 a conservatory was founded in Osnabrück by F.M. Anton.

The Osnabrücker Symphonieorchester is maintained by the theatre, while concerts are organized by the Musikverein. The conservatory provides chamber music recitals and houses a special studio for the cultivation of 'new music'. An annual festival, the Osnabrücker Musiktage, is held in June in the nearby spa town of Bad Rothenfelde.

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PERCY M. YOUNG

Osorio, Jorge (Federico) (*b* Mexico City, 22 March 1951). Mexican pianist. He trained at the conservatory in Mexico City and the Paris Conservatoire, and later at the Tchaikovsky Conservatory in Moscow, making his official début in 1964 at the Palacio de Bellas Artes in Mexico City. The winner of numerous international awards, he has made admired recordings of music by Beethoven, Brahms, Ponce, Prokofiev, Ravel and Tchaikovsky. He has also proved to be a sensitive interpreter of Debussy and Schubert. His playing combines a beautiful, rounded tone with an impressive grasp of large-scale structure, and while he commands a virtuoso technique he has never been a flamboyant player. Osorio's interpretations are notable for a classical sense of proportion and an eloquence which always puts the composer first. Two works by the Mexican composer Carlos Jiménez Mabarak have been dedicated to him, and in 1969 he gave the first ever performances in Mexico and Guatemala of Mozart's Piano Concerto in C, K503. He is also an accomplished chamber musician whose partners have included Henryk Szeryng, Mayumi Fujikawa, Richard Markson, the mezzo-soprano Conchita Antuñano, and the Tel-Aviv and Moscow string quartets.

JEREMY SIEPMANN

Ossia (It.: 'alternatively'; originally *o sia*: 'or be it'). A word used in musical scores – as also, more rarely, *oppure* (particularly in Verdi), *overo* or *ovvero* (literally 'or rather') – to mark an alternative to a passage. This occurs in several different circumstances: (*i*) simpler versions, particularly in 19th-century piano music; (*ii*) embellished versions, particularly in bel canto vocal music; (*iii*) in scholarly texts, readings from other sources or alternative interpretations of the same source; (*iv*) changes made to accommodate the music to an instrument with a slightly shorter range, whether a piano with a smaller keyboard or an oboe, for instance, playing violin music; (*v*) alternative orchestration for an orchestra smaller or larger than that originally intended.

DAVID FALLOWS

Ossian [Oisean, Oisín]. The legendary poet of the Celtic cycle of heroic tales surrounding Fionn mac Cumhaill (Fingal), leader of the Fenian warband, who is said to have lived in Ireland and Scotland before the Christian era. Ossian, the son of Fionn, is traditionally regarded as the author of most narratives concerning the Fenians and is imagined to have survived until the time of St Patrick (*d* 461), when the saint had the tales written down. The name of Ossian became known throughout Europe with the publication in 1760 of James Macpherson's *Fragments of Ancient Poetry, Collected in the Highlands of Scotland and Translated from the Galic or Erse Language*, which was followed by *Fingal, an Ancient Epic Poem together with Several Other Poems Composed by Ossian, the Son of Fingal* (1761–2), *Temora* (1763) and *The Works of Ossian, the Son of Fingal, Translated from the Gaelic Language* (1765); these books contained epic poems in English purportedly translated from ancient Gaelic originals. Although the poetry was partly adapted from Gaelic lays that Macpherson knew from oral tradition and from manuscripts, it was written in a style modelled on Homer, Milton and the King James Bible. Although Hume and Samuel Johnson criticized Macpherson's work, the Ossianic poems were widely praised in Europe and North America, and had an immense influence on the Romantic movement in literature and the arts, inspiring operas, songs, instrumental pieces, verses and artworks.

The basis of Macpherson's poems rests on heroic tales in Irish and Scottish oral and literary traditions, some of which, both prose narratives and sung lays, were recorded in the 20th century, a few of the latter from Ireland but most from Scotland. The Fenian or Ossianic lay (Gaelic *dán*, *duan*, *laoidh*) first appeared as a sung form in Ireland in the 12th century and was very popular from at least the 15th. A version of *Fin as Oshin* ('The Burning of Fionn's House') survives in Manx, the Gaelic of the Isle of Man, in copies made soon after the publication of Macpherson's poems. The earliest notation of music from the oral lay tradition appears in Patrick MacDonald's *Highland Vocal Airs* of 1784, which includes the melody of *Laoidh Mhanuis* ('The Lay of Manus'); a version of this tale as sung by Donald Sinclair of the island of Tiree in the Hebrides was recorded as late as 1968. The third volume of Edward Bunting's *A General Collection of Ancient Irish Music* (1840) contains the airs of two lays from Irish sources obtained earlier, and in 1870–71 Frances Tolmie noted five lays from a cottar, Margaret MacLeod, on Skye. Walker (1786), O'Curry (1873) and Tolmie (1911) suggested that singing of the lays was confined to a solo voice, although in bardic times a harp would normally have accompanied the singer (*see* BARD). Tolmie remarks that the lays were 'sung to the same air with a similar refrain'. The use of repeated couplets found in some lays suggests that a structure of call and response, such as is found in waulking songs, may have applied at one time. In the 20th-century recordings from oral tradition, the melodic line is sometimes freely sung in a chant-like fashion, at other times with a perceptible or even a marked regularity of rhythm.

Several Ossianic lays were recorded in the 20th century, for example, *Laoi na mná móire* ('Lay of the Big Woman')

found in County Waterford in Ireland (1936) and documented from elsewhere, including Donegal, where Séamus O hÍghne of Glencolumbkille was recorded singing a version of the lay in 1945 and again in 1949. *Teanntachd mhór na Féine* ('The Great Difficulty of the Fiann') was recorded on wire in 1953 by Angus MacIsaac of Antigonish, Nova Scotia, for J.L. Campbell. The islanders of the Hebrides have been the most prolific source for lays: in 1953 Duncan MacLeod of South Uist sang a version of *Laoidh Fhraoich* ('The Lay of Fraoch'), a tale that has also been recorded in Mull, Skye, South Uist and Tiree. A pair of lays, *Duan na Muilgheartaich* ('Song of the Sea Hag') and *Duan na Ceardaich* ('Song of the Smithy'), were recorded from Penny Morrison of South Uist in 1953–4. The latter song, the best known of all the lays in the Uists and Barra, and *Laoidh Chaoilte* ('The Lay of Caoilte') were recorded from Mrs Archie MacDonald of South Uist in 1965. All these songs were learnt from oral tradition and tell of encounters and struggles between the Fenian warriors and hostile forces; two warriors of the cycle, Diarmuid and Fraoch, die tragically.

Although these remarkable fragments show that the Ossianic lays have survived in oral tradition, it is the glosses on Macpherson's poems that marked them for worldwide fame. The ever-popular symphonic work noted for its Ossianic associations, Mendelssohn's overture *Die Hebriden* (op.26), was inspired by a visit to Scotland in 1829. His publisher, Breitkopf & Härtel, suggested the title *Fingals Höhle* ('Fingal's Cave') for the overture, although Mendelssohn had conceived the main theme before seeing Staffa, the island off the coast of Mull noted for its basalt pillars and cavern, and had originally named the piece *Der einsame Insel* ('The Lonely Island'). The popularity of the Ossianiac poems moved other composers to write songs, notably Schubert and Brahms, both of whom completed works for voice. Schubert wrote nine songs on Ossianic poems between 1815 and 1817: *Lodas Gespenst* (D150), *Kolmas Klage* (D217), *Ossians Lied* (D278), *Das Mädchen von Inistore* (D281), *Cronnan* (D282), *Shilric und Vinvela* (D293), *Der Tod Oskars* (D375), *Lorma* (D376; and fragment D327) and *Die Nacht* (D534). Five of the nine are lengthy, taking up to ten minutes to perform, and some, such as the dramatic *Der Tod Oskars* or *Die Nacht* with its lyrical dialogue, come close to an operatic conception. *Shilric und Vinvela* is subtitled a 'dramatic cantata for three voices and piano'. Brahms wrote a setting from Ossian for chorus with accompaniment, *Gesang aus Fingal* (op.17 no.4, 1859–60) and the unaccompanied choral piece *Darthulas Grabgesang* (op.42 no.3, 1861). Bizet also composed an overture (now lost) inspired by the tales of Ossian, *La chasse d'Ossian* (1860–61).

A string of operas, overtures, tone poems and songs by lesser figures appeared soon after the publication of Macpherson's poems, including F.-H. Barthélemon's *Oithona* (1768) and F.W. Rust's monodrama *Colma* (*c*1780). William Reeve composed the music for the pantomime-ballet *Oscar and Malvina, or The Hall of Fingal*, which was performed with great success at Covent Garden in 1791. Le Sueur's opera, *Ossian, ou Les bardes* (1804) greatly pleased Napoleon; and Gade's overture *Efterklänge af Ossian* (1840) was widely admired. The attraction of Ossian lingered on into the 20th century with Liza Lehmann's cantata *Leaves from Ossian* (1909), Ippolitov-Ivanov's *Iz pesen Ossiana* ('From Ossian's Songs', 1925) and works by the Scottish composers Ian Whyte, who wrote the opera *Comala* (1929), and Cedric Thorpe Davie, whose cantata *Dirge for Cuchullin* (1935) was composed almost 200 years after Macpherson's poems were written.

SETTINGS

The Maid of Selma (song), James Oswald, *c*1765; Oithona (dramatic poem), F.-H. Barthélemon, 1768; Colma (monodrama), F.W. Rust, *c*1780; Fingal (incid music), Rust, 1782; Sonnengesang Ossians (lyric scene), J.R. Zumsteeg, 1782; Ossian auf Slimora (ballade), Zumsteeg, 1790; Oscar and Malvina, or The Hall of Fingal (pantomime-ballet), William Reeve, collab. William Shield, 1791; Colma (song, trans. J.W. von Goethe), Zumsteeg, 1793; Das Mädchen von Kola; ein Gesang Ossians (aria), C.D. von Dittersdorf, 1795

Ossians Harfe (aria), F.L.A. Kunzen, *c*1800; Chant gallique (song), J.-F. Le Sueur, 1802; Sulmalle (lyric duet), B.A. Weber, 1802; Comala (dramatic poem), Harriet Wainwright, 1803; Ossian, ou Les bardes (opéra), J.-F. Le Sueur, 1804; Fingallo e Camala (op), Stefano Pavesi, 1805; Ossians Harfe (song), F.L.A. Kunzen, 1806; Uthal [orig. Malvina] (opéra), E.-N. Méhul, 1806; Scène tirée des poésies d'Ossian (scène lyrique), Christian Kalkbrenner, ?1806; Colmal (heroische Oper), Peter Winter, 1809

Kolmas Klage [D217], Ossians Lied nach dem Falle Nathos [D278], Das Mädchen von Inistore [D281], Cronnan [D282], Shilric und Vinvela [D293] (songs), Schubert, 1815; Lodas Gespenst [D150], Der Tod Oskars [D375], Lorma [D376], and frag. [D327] (songs), Schubert, 1816; Die Nacht [D534] (song), Schubert, 1817; Malvina (ballad op), George Macfarren (the elder), 1826; Die Hebriden [Fingal's Cave] op.26 (ov.), Mendelssohn, 1830; Oskars Tod (op), J.-G. Kastner, *c*1833; Ur Ossians dunkla sagovärld (male vocal qt), O.J. Lindblad, c1835; Efterklänge af Ossian (ov.), Niels Gade, 1840; Comala (cant), Gade, 1846

Ossian, 2 ballades, L.M. Gottschalk, ?1847–9; Danse ossianique, Gottschalk, ?1850; Le lever de la lune (song), Saint-Saëns, 1855; Marche de nuit, Gottschalk, 1855; Comala (ov.), W.H. Glover, *c*1855; Komala, die Königstochter von Inisthore (op), Eduard Sobolewski, 1857; Gesang aus Fingal op.17 no.4, Brahms, 1859–60; Darthulas Grabesgesang op.42 no.3, Brahms, 1861; Kuwala (cant), J.H. Malling, *c*1865; Ossian (sym. poem), Arthur Coquard, 1882; Ossian (ov.), Frederick Corder, 1882; Moïna (op), Sylvain Dupuis, 1884

Comala (sym. poem), John McEwen, 1897; Diarmid, (grand op), Hamish MacCunn, 1897; Leaves from Ossian (cant), Liza Lehmann, 1909; Ossian (sym. prelude), Eugène Goossens, 1915 (withdrawn); Iz pesen Ossiana [From Ossian's songs], Ippolitov-Ivanov, 1925; Comala, (op), Ian Whyte, 1929; Dirge for Cuchillin, Cedric Thorpe Davie, 1935

Lost works: Comala (incid music), F.G. Fleischer, ?late 18th century; Comala (ode), Thomas Busby, ?1800; Le chant d'Ossian, E.-N. Méhul, 1811; La chasse d'Ossian (ov.) Bizet, 1860–1; Oithona (op), Edgar Bainton, 1906

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JAMES PORTER

Ossman, Vess [Sylvester] **L(ouis)** (*b* Hudson, NY, 21 Aug 1868; *d* Fairmount, MN, 7 Dec 1923). American ragtime banjoist. He began studying the banjo at the age of 12, and by 1896 was recording ragtime for Victor, Columbia, Berliner and Edison. He extended his popularity by accompanying Arthur Collins, a leading popular singer. He made concert tours of England in 1900 and 1903, when he played for Edward VII; he also performed for President Theodore Roosevelt. Ossman formed various recording groups, usually consisting of banjo, mandolin and harp-guitar. The most popular of these was the Ossman-Dudley Trio (with Audley Dudley, mandolin, and Roy Butin, harp-guitar); its recording of *St Louis Tickle* (1906, Vic.) was particularly successful. After 1910 Ossman preferred to travel with his groups away from the eastern recording centres, and made extended stays in both Indianapolis and Dayton, Ohio. He consequently recorded less frequently – his last disc was made in 1917 – and his position in the recording world passed to the banjoist Fred Van Eps. Ossman, however, was the leading ragtime banjoist at a time when the five-string banjo was preferred to the piano for recording purposes. He had an especially clean technique and a flair for syncopation, emphasizing strong two-step rhythms in his playing. One of his last and best recordings, his arrangement of Tom Turpin's *Buffalo Rag* (1906), remained in the Victor catalogue until 1925.

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TREBOR JAY TICHENOR

Ossovsky, Aleksandr Vyacheslavovich (*b* Chişinău, 19/31 March 1871; *d* Leningrad, 31 July 1957). Russian musicologist, historian and critic. Drawn to music from an early age, he began to learn the violin at the age of seven, and music theory at the age of 11. He studied law at Moscow University from 1889 to 1893, and moved to St Petersburg in 1894 to study composition with Rimsky-Korsakov, with whom he maintained a close friendship. From 1906 to 1908 he studied officially in Rimsky-Korsakov's theory of composition class at the St Petersburg Conservatory. At this time he attended musical gatherings at Rimsky-Korsakov's house, and came into contact with Cui, Glazunov, Lyadov, Stasov and the members of Belyayev's circle; he soon found himself at the centre of St Petersburg's musical life.

From 1894 Ossovsky contributed to the journals *Artist*, *Russkaya muzïkal'naya gazeta* (of which he was deputy editor from 1895) and from 1903 to 1908 wrote for *Izvestiya S-Peterburgskogo obshchestva muzïkal'nïkh sobraniy*. From 1904 to 1909 he headed the music section of the newspaper *Slovo*. He also wrote encyclopedia articles, and programme notes for the Ziloti Concerts between 1906 and 1917. He was on the board (with Medtner, Rachmaninoff and Skryabin) of Koussevitzky's publishing house (which appeared in the West as Edition Russe de Musique) from 1910 to 1918. Between 1915 and 1917 he organized, with Andrey Rimsky-Korsakov and Vyacheslav Karatïgin, the academic journal *Muzïkal'nïy sovremennik*. In 1907, on Rimsky-Korsakov's suggestion, he became deputy chairman of the Glinka Awards, established by Belyayev.

In 1915 he was offered a professorship in the department of music history, aesthetics and the history of the arts at the Petrograd Conservatory. After the October Revolution he worked at the Kiev and Odessa conservatories. He returned to the Petrograd Conservatory in 1921 as assistant and deputy to the rector, Glazunov, becoming pro-rector in 1922 and rector during Glazunov's illness. Under Ossovsky's direction, the world's first students' opera theatre was founded at the conservatory, and, together with Asaf'yev, he established a wide-ranging series of music history courses.

From 1921 to 1925 and again from 1933 to 1936 Ossovsky was artistic director of the Leningrad Philharmonic. He was also a member of the Insititute for the History of the Arts (1921–9; it later became the Institute for the Theatre, Music and Cinematography and he was deputy director of the research section, 1937–43, and director of the Institute, 1943–52), and held professorships at Petrograd University (1921–3) and the Hermitage (1931–3). In 1943 he was made a corresponding member of the Academy of Sciences; he worked mainly there in his last years.

Ossovsky's academic work covered Russian music from the earliest times to contemporary developments. He planned a multi-volume textbook, chapters of which were published after his death. Central to his output are his translations of books from French and German and his editions of works by Glazunov, Glinka, Rimsky-Korsakov and others. In 1955 he was co-editor of Rimsky-Korsakov's autobiography for the collected edition of Rimsky-Korsakov's works.

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Poyasneniya ko vsem programmam simfonicheskikh i kamernïkh kontsertov A. Ziloti v Peterburge i k kontsertam nekotorïkh drugikh organizatsiy (vsego okolo 500) [An elucidation of all programmes of symphonic and chamber concerts of A. Ziloti and the concerts of certain other organizations (approximately 500 in total)] (St Petersburg, 1906–7)
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LARISA GEORGIEVNA DAN'KO

Oste da Reggio. See HOSTE DA REGGIO.

Osten, Eva von der (*b* Heligoland, 19 Aug 1881; *d* Dresden, 5 May 1936). German soprano. She studied in Dresden, where she made her début at the Hofoper in 1902 as Urbain (*Les Huguenots*). She remained a member of the company until her farewell performance in 1927 as Brünnhilde (*Die Walküre*). Her most notable creation there was Octavian, which she recorded, and she was also the first Dresden Ariadne, Dyer's Wife (*Die Frau ohne Schatten*), Kundry, Tatyana and Maliella (*I gioielli della Madonna*). She was the first Covent Garden Octavian (1913) and Kundry (1914); she also appeared as Ariadne at His Majesty's Theatre in 1913. She toured the USA with the German Opera Company (1922–4), as Isolde and Sieglinde. Her large repertory also included Senta, Carmen, Louise, Tosca and Zazà. Osten's acting and beauty were much admired, as was her fine dramatic soprano voice. Her recordings, most notably of Elsa's solos from *Lohengrin*, show the purity of her tone. She was married to the bass-baritone Friedrich Plaschke.

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HAROLD ROSENTHAL/R

Osterc, Slavko (*b* Veržej, Slovenia, 17 June 1895; *d* Ljubljana, 23 May 1941). Slovenian composer. After lessons with Emerik Beran, a pupil of Janáček, in Maribor, he studied with Novák, Jirák and Hába at the Prague Conservatory (1925–7). He then taught at the conservatory in Ljubljana, establishing himself as a leader of Slovenian musical life: he founded a school of composer-disciples, campaigned for a progressive attitude among Yugoslav musicians and was particularly active in the ISCM. After some works in a late Romantic style, he adopted new techniques, from atonality to athematicism and from 12-note writing to quarter-tone music. Within his wide stylistic range there are characteristic tendencies towards Expressionism and neo-Baroque polyphony. He took as his models the music of Stravinsky and Hindemith. The expression of humour, irony and satire in his music, on the other hand, constitutes a personal trait.

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insts, 1928; Ave Maria, S, A, 3 wind, 1929; 4 Gradnik Poems, A, str qt, 1929; Magnificat, chorus, pf 4 hands, 1934; other choral works

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ANDREJ RIJAVEC/KATARINA BEDINA

Ostermaier [Ostermayer, Ostermeier], **Andreas** (*b* Torgau, *c*1560; *d* Kassel, bur. 17 April 1621). German ?composer, music copyist and musician. As a boy he may have known Johann Walter, who was living at Torgau at the time. From 1585 to 1588 he was a member of the Kapelle of the Bishop of Olomouc and may well have been vice-Kapellmeister. From 1590 to 1593 he was a tenor in the Hofkapelle of Margrave Georg Friedrich of Brandenburg-Ansbach and later, until 1595, an instrumentalist in the Hofkapelle at Wolfenbüttel. In 1595, principally through the intervention of the Kassel Kapellmeister, Georg Otto (who was also a native of Torgau), he moved to Kassel as an instrumentalist in the Hofkapelle of Moritz, Landgrave of Hessen-Kassel. He was appointed vice-Kapellmeister and copyist in 1599 after Hans Leo Hassler had turned down the position. In this post he was one of the teachers of the young Schütz. His retirement in 1618 or 1619 was almost certainly linked with Otto's death in November 1618; that he did not succeed him was probably due simply to his age. During his last years he was the proprietor of an inn at Kassel. He is scarcely known as a composer. A *Te Deum* and a *Cantio sacra* said to have been by him were once known at Darmstadt (the latter was destroyed in *D-DS* during World War II). According to Zulauf a four-part *Magnificat per universos 8 tonos* of 1594 used to exist (in *D-Kl*), but this was probably identical with the four-part *Canticum beatae Mariae* of 1599 (in *D-WH*), which has been shown to be a copy by Ostermaier of a work by Otto. Ostermaier's work as a copyist is more significant. It can be seen in two carefully written choirbooks in the Luther Room of the Stadtkirche at Schmalkalden, one of the residences of the Landgraves of Hessen-Kassel; they contain mainly music of the Venetian school from about 1600 and works by Aichinger and Hassler.

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WALTER BLANKENBURG

Österreich, Georg (*b* Magdeburg, bap. 17 March 1664; *d* Wolfenbüttel, 6 June 1735). German music collector, singer and composer. The son of a brewer, he began his musical education with the Magdeburg Kantor Johann Scheffler, spent two years (1678–80) at the Thomasschule in Leipzig under Johann Schelle and continued his studies at the Johanneum in Hamburg. There he began his professional career as alto and later tenor soloist in the city's Kantorei, interrupted by a year at the university in Leipzig (1683–4). From 1686 to 1689 he worked as a tenor at the court in Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel; during this time he lived with the Kapellmeister Johann Theile, receiving lessons in composition from him and in singing from the two Italian castratos in residence at the court. He himself became Kapellmeister in 1689 to Duke Christian Albrecht of Schleswig-Holstein and moved to Gottorf Castle with his new bride, Magdalena Darnedden, daughter of a Brunswick brewer.

Music flourished at Gottorf under Österreich until the death of Christian Albrecht in 1694, whereupon many musicians were dismissed by his successor, Frederick IV. Österreich took a temporary position as Kapellmeister in Coburg (1695–7) but returned to Gottorf when the duke promised to employ more musicians. After Frederick's death in battle in 1702, however, he moved to Brunswick, living off the income from the brewery inherited from his father-in-law. He soon became involved again at the court in Wolfenbüttel as opera singer, singing teacher, acting Kapellmeister in Georg Schürmann's absence and eventually (?1724) court Kantor, the position he held until his death. His daughter Sophie Amalia (bap. Brunswick, 20 June 1696) was a singer in Wolfenbüttel until her marriage on 18 October 1729; the biographical information given by Walther must have been supplied immediately before this event.

At least 47 compositions by Österreich survive, of which 28 are sacred and 19 secular. A further 13 sacred works in a manuscript attributed to Georg's brother Michael (*b* Magdeburg, 4 Oct 1658) may also be by Georg – one piece in the manuscript names Georg as the composer, whilst another exists in a variant version ascribed to him. Österreich's sacred works contain examples of all the principal forms and styles of German sacred music at the close of the 17th century. The earliest date from his first period at the court of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, including two Psalm settings in Latin, but most come from his period as Kapellmeister at Gottorf (and briefly at Coburg) between 1689 and 1702. Some are settings of single texts, taken from the Bible (*Wir haben nicht einen Hohen Priester*), some set contemporary poetry (*Wie eilstu edler Geist*, a sacred ode by the poet, composer and physician Johann Phillip Förtsch) or chorales (*Herr Jesu Christ mein Lebens Licht*), whilst others show the characteristic amalgamation of complementary texts found in much Lutheran church music of this period. The latter include *Aller Augen warten auf dich* (which follows the order biblical verse–aria–chorale–biblical verse, repeated) and extended multi-sectional works such as *Alle Menschen müssen sterben*. Several

developments may be noted in the compositions dating from the mid-1690s onwards including the increasing prominence of the trio of two oboes and bassoon, the use of all violins in unison, the tendency towards distinct formal sections (including non-strophic aria movements with obbligato instruments), the use of extended fugal sections for chorus and the occasional appearance of secco recitative. Notable features of the works include the vivid portrayal of biblical scenes and references, such as the setting of 'Tue ein Zeichen' in *Weise mir Herr deinen Weg*, employing unison strings and dramatic pauses, and the depiction of the valley of the shadow of death in *Alle Menschen müssen sterben*, set for two bassoons, two basses and continuo. For the extended funeral motet on the death of his employer Frederick IV in 1702, *Plötzlich müssen die Leute sterben*, Österreich employed an unusually large continuo section including a 'Violono maggiore' and a 'Contra Fagott', the latter being possibly the earliest documented use of this instrument in a sacred work.

At least eight of Österreich's secular works date from his years at Gottorf and Coburg, and their style is closely related to that of the sacred music of the same period. The compositions include birthday odes and other occasional works, including the cantata *Entweiche Sorgennacht* which appears to celebrate the marriage in 1695 of Princess Sophia Amalia of Schleswig-Holstein (after whom Österreich may have named his own daughter) with August Wilhelm of Brunswick, a union that had an obvious parallel in Österreich's own career. Only two secular works date from his first years back at the court of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel after 1702, and one of these, *Durch Klippen, Berg und Stein*, re-uses material from *Entweiche Sorgennacht*. Most of the later secular works date from after 1717, including four cantatas for New Year's Day. Many are written for soprano solo and may have been intended for performance by his daughter (who is cited as the composer as well as the performer of the 1717 cantata for New Year's Day). These later cantatas show the clear distinction between arias (da capo) and recitative (secco) that was by then standard in secular vocal music composed under Italian influence (although one da capo aria with the final section written out in full can be found in three different secular works from the 1690s, the earliest of which is *Gläntze du erwünschtes Licht* dating from 1695). Italian music and musicians were an established feature of court life at Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, which Österreich had already experienced in the late 1680s. Similarities exist between the style of the late cantatas and the corresponding output of Österreich's colleague at the court, Georg Schürmann.

Österreich is primarily important not as a composer, however, but as the original assembler and main copyist of the 'Bokemeyer' collection of manuscripts, one of the two main sources of German Protestant vocal music of the later 17th century (the other being the slightly earlier collection of Gustav Düben). Although a considerable quantity of material has been lost, the collection still contains over 1800 compositions by German and Italian composers, mostly in score, and 24 theoretical treatises. Like Österreich's own compositions the collection reflects a shift in interest during his career from sacred to secular music. Over half the collection consists of sacred music and appears to have been assembled before Österreich's departure from Gottorf in 1702, whilst the second part of the collection dates from his return to Wolfenbüttel and consists principally of secular cantatas. Although music by Italian composers forms a substantial portion of the earlier part of the collection (some 237 sacred works survive attributed to named Italian composers), the later segment is overwhelmingly Italian in origin, consisting principally of cantatas and arias. Many of Österreich's copies are *unica*, including three acts of Albinoni's opera *Engelberta*, five cantatas by Alessandro Scarlatti, three sacred concertos by Buxtehude, and many of the compositions by other north German composers such as Georg Böhm, Nicolas Bruhns and Vincent Lübeck. His collection of treatises includes copies of theoretical works by Carissimi, Johann Theile and Christoph Bernhard, as well as one of his own, *Aufsatz von den gedoppelten Contrapuncten* (MS, *D-Bsb*), by his own admission a compendium of other theorists' ideas. Österreich sold his collection in 1718 to his friend and former student Heinrich Bokemeyer, who added further material. The collection is now housed in the Deutsche Staatsbibliothek in Berlin.

WORKS

(in D-Bsb, mostly autograph)

SACRED

Ach Herr wie sind meiner Feinde, 1699, T, tpt, 3 str, bn, bc; Alle Menschen müssen sterben, 1701, motetto concertato, SATBB, 3 ob, 4 str, 2 bn, bc; Aller Augen warten auf dich, concerto, SATB, 4 str, bc; Der Gerechten Seelen sind in Gottes Hand, SSATB, 4 str, bc; Dixit Dominus, motetto concertato, STB, 3 str, 2 ob, bc; Du Tochter Zion freue dich, 1689, SATB, 5 str, bc; Fahr hin o Welt, SATB, 4 str, bc; Freue dich sehr o meine Seele, 1697, motetto concertato, SATB, 4 str, bn, bc; Gottes Ruhm muss stets erschallen, aria, S, vn, ob, bc; Herr Jesu Christ, 1704, SATB, 4 str, bn, bc; Herr Jesu Christ mein Lebens Licht, 1698, corale concertato, SATB, 4 str, bn, bc; Ich bin die Auferstehung, 1704, motetto concertato, SSAATTBB, 2 ob, 2 fl, 4 str, bn, bc; Ich habe einen guten Kampf gekämpfet, SATB, 3 str, bc; Ich weiss dass mein Erlöser, 1690, T, 4 str, bc; Ich will den Herren loben, 1688, SATB, 4 str, bc

Laetatus sum in his, 1687, ATB, 4 str, bn, bc; Levavi oculos meos, 1688, SATB, 5 str, bc; Plötzlich müssen die Leute sterben, 1702, actus funebrus, SSATBB, 2 vn, 2 ob, 3 str, violono maggiore, bn, contrafagotto, bc; Ruhe sanft in Gottes Hand, 1701, aria, SATB, 3 str, bc; Seelig sind die Todten, SSATB, 4 str, bc; Sie ist fest gegründet, 1691, SSATB, 5 str, bc; Und Jesus ging aus von dannen, 1693, dialogo, SSATB, 4 str, bn, bc; Unser keiner lebet ihn selber, SSATB, 4 str, 2 fl, bn, bc; Unser Leben wäret siebenzig Jahr, SSATTBB, 10 str, bn, bc [wrongly attrib. J.P. Förtsch]; Valet will ich dir geben, corale, SATB, 3 str, bn, bc; Weise mir Herr deinen Weg, 1695, motetto concertato, SATB, 2 ob, 2 vn, 3 str, bc; Wie eilstu edler Geist, 1694, ode, SSATB, 4 str, 2 ob, bc; Wir haben nicht einen Hohen Priester, 1695, motetto concertato, SSATTBB, 6 str, bn, bc

Attrib. Michael Österreich, possibly by Georg: Ach bleib bei unss, 1693, ATB, 3 str, bn, bc; Das Wort ward Fleisch, 1694, SATB, 4 str, bn, bc; Des Menschen Sohn wird seine Engel senden, 1693, SATB, 4 str, bn, bc; Es ist hier kein Unterschied, 1693, ATB, 3 str, bn, bc; Et cum spiritu tuo, SATB; Ich habe einen guten Kampf gekämpfet, concerto, ATB, 4 str, bc; San, 1691, SATB, 4 str, bn, bc; San, 1692, SATB, 4 str, bn, bc; San, 1693, SSATB, 2 tpt, 4 str, bn, bc; San, 1694, SSATB, 2 tpt, 4 str, bn, bc; Sende dein Licht und deine Wahrheit, 1690, TTB, 3 str, bn, bc; Vater unser, der du bist im Himmel, 1693, SSAT, 4 str, bn, bc; Zweyerley bitt ich von dir, 1690, SSB, 4 str, bc

3 works of uncertain attribution, see Kümmerling

SECULAR

Die Schönheit die ein Hertz, cant., S, ob, 3 str, bc; Durch Klippen, Berg und Stein, 1711, S, 2 ob/fl/vn, va, bn, bc; Entweiche Sorgennacht, ?1695, S, 3 str, bn, bc; Erklähret Euch ihr Gottheits schwangern Blicke, cant., S, bc; Frohlocket ihr getreuen, 1719, cant., S, 2 vn, 2 ob, va, vc, bc; Gläntze du erwünschtes Licht, 1695, aria, S, 3 viols, bc; Gnädigste Fürstin, der Cimber Vergnügen, 1694, ode, T, 4 ob, 5 str, bn, bc; Ist wohl dein Helden

Mut, 1697, duett, TT, b viol; Meine Sonn ist gantz verschwunden, cant., S, 3 str, bn, bc

O du hochdurchleucht'ges Paar, Taffel-Music, 1693, SSATB, 4 str, bc; O höchst beglückte Tages Blicke, 1717, S, 2 ob, 3 str, bc [for New Year's Day; possibly by S. A. Österreich]; Seelge Fürstin ruhe wohl, SATB, 3 viols, bc; So müss demnach die Zeit verschwinden, 1718, cant., S, 2 vn, 2 ob, va, bc; Verknüpftes Götter Paar, 1698, S, tpt, ob, 3 str, bn, bc; Welt gepriesnes Fürsten-Kind, 1711, SS, 4 str, bc; Wenn heute Land und Lufft erschallen, 1721, cant., S, 2 ob, 3 str, 2 bn, bc; Wie kömbt es doch dass Phöbus, 1695, SATB, 4 str, bn, bc; Wie süss ist es geliebt zu sein, cant., S, 2 ob, vc, bc; Zeige dich erwünschtes Licht, 1698, ode, S, 3 viols, bc

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KERALA J. SNYDER/GEOFFREY WEBBER

Österreichischer Bundesverlag. Austrian publishing house. It was set up in 1771 by Empress Maria Theresa to publish school books, and from its inception it published music, particularly songbooks. After the reopening of the firm in Vienna in 1945, a music department was set up under Wilhelm Rohm in 1946 which produced new music in a modern idiom required by Austrian music education, and concentrated on following modern educational principles. The resultant output has included music for all types of schools, books on music theory and history, music for amateur performance, contemporary Austrian chamber music, instrumental tutors, a series on elocution (with records), and folksongs, folkdances and wind music from all parts of Austria. In addition the series Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich was published by the firm from volume lxxxv onwards. In 1961 Alois Rottensteiner was appointed head of the music department. The firm also publishes the periodical *Musikerziehung*, established by Joseph Lechthaler in 1947, which under Rohm, its chief editor until 1961, and since then under Eberhard Würzl, has published articles by Austrian and foreign authorities on every aspect of modern musical education. *Musikerziehung* was until 1961 the official journal of the Arbeitsgemeinschaft der Musikerzieher Österreichs and the mouthpiece of the Vienna Mozartgemeinde, the Österreichischer Musikrat (UNESCO) and the Franz Schmidt Gemeinde. (*MGG1* (W. Rohm))

WILHELM ROHM

Osthoff, Helmuth (*b* Bielefeld, 13 Aug 1896; *d* Würzburg, 9 Feb 1983). German musicologist, father of Wolfgang Osthoff. His early musical training was in Bielefeld and Münster, and after serving in the war (1915–18) he studied musicology, art history and philosophy, starting in 1919 at Münster University, but transferring in 1920 to Berlin University. At Berlin he was decisively influenced by Johannes Wolf, who introduced him to medieval and Renaissance music. He took the doctorate at Berlin in 1922 with a dissertation on the lutenist Santino Garsi of Parma, and remained in Berlin for a year to study composition with Wilhelm Klatte, the piano with James Kwast and conducting with Gustav Brecher, for whom he subsequently worked as a répétiteur for the Leipzig Opera (1923–6). He then became an assistant lecturer in the musicology department of Halle University where, with the decisive support of Schering, he became deeply involved in the study and performance of early music. In 1928 he became Schering's chief assistant in the music history department of Berlin University. He completed his *Habilitation* there in 1932 with a dissertation on the Netherlands and the German lied (1400–1640), and subsequently taught there as *Privatdozent*. He was sent to Frankfurt University in 1937 and appointed reader and director of the musicology institute in 1939. Following a temporary suspension during denazification in 1945, he became full professor there in 1950; he retired in 1964.

The period of Osthoff's researches extends from the late Middle Ages to Mahler, but his most eminent work concerns the Renaissance and consists of valuable source studies, analytical and historical works, and numerous editions. Within this field he concentrated particularly on Josquin Des Prez, on whom he wrote a definitive monograph (1962–5). He also composed songs, a cantata and a string quartet.

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HANS HEINRICH EGGEBRECHT/PAMELA M. POTTER

Osthoff, Wolfgang (*b* Halle, 17 March 1927). German musicologist, son of Helmuth Osthoff. He studied at the Staatliche Hochschule für Musik, Frankfurt (1939–43), where he was a composition pupil of Kurt Hessenberg; at this time and subsequently he was much influenced by Gerhard Frommel. He took lessons in conducting with Kurt Thomas (1946–7) and studied musicology (1947–9) at the University of Frankfurt with his father, and (from 1949) with T.G. Georgiades at Heidelberg University, where he also studied philosophy, chiefly with Hans Georg Gadamer. In 1954 he took the doctorate at Heidelberg with a dissertation on Monteverdi's later stage works. After doing research in Italy for several years he became assistant lecturer in the musicology department of Munich University (1957–64), obtaining a teaching post in 1959. He completed the *Habilitation* at Munich in 1965 with a dissertation on theatre music in the Italian Renaissance. He was appointed university lecturer at Munich in 1966 and professor and chair of musicology at Würzburg in 1968; he also founded and edited the series Würzburger Musikhistorische Beiträge (1971–98). In the 1970s Osthoff began a collaboration with the Deutsches Studienzentrum in Venice; he was appointed adviser there in 1980. He retired in 1995, but has remained active as a member of the advisory board of the Beethoven-Archiv, Bonn, which he joined in 1997. He is vice president of the Hans Pfitzner-Gesellschaft.

Osthoff's research covers music history from the 15th century to the 20th. In particular, he has published numerous perceptive analytical and historical studies on the history of opera (notably on Monteverdi and Verdi), the works of Beethoven and the relationship between music and poetic form. Osthoff is also known for his work on Pfitzner, Shostakovich and German music of the 1920s to 40s. He is co-editor of the *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, editor of many congress reports and has contributed to a number of encyclopedias.

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HANS HEINRICH EGGEBRECHT/R

Ostiano, Vincenzo (*fl* late 16th century). Italian composer, poet and organist. His only known publication is a book of 22 *napolitane* for three voices (Venice, 1579). It is dedicated to Nicolo Lanzanico, a nobleman from Treviso, who had a country estate at Seravalle where Ostiano served as organist. In the dedication Ostiano claimed that enjoyment is the ultimate goal of music; therefore, '*napolitane* deserve more than the usual praise for the great pleasure they impart'. His book contains songs of homage to patrons, a strophic paraphrase of the madrigal *Poiche morte* and two *proposta–risposta* exchanges; the remainder are Arcadian villanella types. Tripartite musical forms, short points of imitation, syncopated rhythms and occasional parallel 5ths characterize his style.

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DONNA G. CARDAMONE

Ostinato (It.: 'obstinate'). A term used to refer to the repetition of a musical pattern many times in succession while other musical elements are generally changing. A simple and easily remembered method of construction, ostinato is extremely widespread in oral musical traditions. It has also been used in Western art music, one of the earliest surviving examples being the 13th-century canon SUMER IS ICUMEN IN. Ostinato enjoyed a Golden Age during the Baroque period (*see* CHACONNE; PASSACAGLIA; FOLIA; RUGGIERO; and BORROWING, §8) and, after a decline during the Classical and Romantic eras, it reappeared in other guises in the 20th century (*see also* GROUND and VARIATIONS).

1. Types. 2. Ostinato variations. 3. The place of ostinato in musical structure. 4. Ostinato as a means of expression.

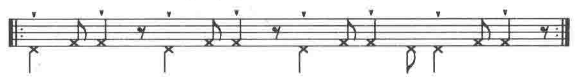
1. TYPES. The adjective 'ostinato' first appeared in a musical context in 1687 in Berardi's *Documenti armonici*, where the expression 'contrapunto ostinato' is found, although Zarlino had already described its use in 1558 in his *Le istituzioni harmoniche* under the name 'pertinacie'. In the music dictionaries of Brossard (1703), Walther (1732) and J.-J. Rousseau (1768) the terms 'contrapunto perfidiato' and 'contrapunto obligato' are used in the same sense.

The use of the term as a noun, without specifying which is the 'obstinate' element, is relatively recent (Hermann Mendel first used it in his *Musikalisches Conversations-Lexicon* in 1877), and the term has long been understood, even in some 20th-century dictionaries, to be an abbreviation of *basso ostinato*.

The regular repetition of a pattern requires, as a minimum, the existence of a rhythmic structure, to which other elements may be added. Several types of ostinato may thus be distinguished according to the elements involved.

An exclusively rhythmic ostinato can be stated in a single instrument (as in the side drum in Ravel's *Boléro*), by many instruments (as in 'Mars' from Holst's *The Planets*) or by different instruments in opposition (ex.1). This type of ostinato is found above all in oral musical traditions, in jazz and in popular music. The rhythm in ex.1 uses the pitches of the piece's scalar system, but a

Ex.1 Double bells accompanying a chant of the Ngbaka of Central Africa



rhythmic ostinato may also be on a single, repeated pitch. Examples are found in Schubert's lied *Die Sterbende*, the first of Jolivet's *Cinq danses rituelles* for piano (ex.2) and

Ex.2 Jolivet: *Cinq danses rituelles*, no.1 (1939)



'Le gibet' in Ravel's *Gaspard de la nuit*. In notated Western music, however, a rhythmic ostinato is usually applied to non-repeating or 'free' pitches. This type of ostinato is common, ranging from 13th-century rhythmic modes to the characteristic rhythms of individual dances. Among the many examples are the 'Course à l'abîme' from Berlioz's *La damnation de Faust* and Purcell's air 'The pale and the purple rose' (ex.3).

Ex.3 Purcell: 'The pale and the purple rose'



When two elements, rhythm and pitch, are both 'obstinate', either their respective periodicity coincides or it does not. If it does not, the melodic phrase usually includes the repetition of the rhythmic structure. Purcell's ground basses contain several examples of this (ex.4). In

Ex.4 Purcell: 'A prince of glorious race'



some isorhythmic motets of the Ars Nova, the two elements, called 'color' (pitch organization) and 'talea' (rhythmic period), are treated independently (*see* ISORHYTHM). When a melodic-rhythmic ostinato is in the bass it may form a harmonic ostinato or GROUND (*see* §3 below). This is commonly found in music of the Baroque era, and also in jazz (notably BOOGIE-WOOGIE), and it may be considered the 'high point' of ostinato, since it involves three 'obstinate' elements – rhythm, pitch and harmony. The character of an ostinato bass varies according to whether its function is essentially harmonic – with equal, sometimes long, note values, particularly when it supports instrumental variations (e.g. the English 'divisions upon a ground') – or whether, on the other hand, it has its own distinct melodic-rhythmic line (e.g. numerous vocal pieces by Purcell and Blow). The harmonic function of the bass line can dominate to such an extent that any sense of a melodic bass is obliterated, the realization of the chords being left to the performer's inspiration. In jazz, for instance, it is often the type of chord only that is indicated; the internal organization of the notes (i.e. whether root position or an inversion) is not specified.

Conversely, in contemporary music an ostinato rhythm may be applied to a series of chords that have no harmonic function, as, for example, in Ligeti's *Hungarian Rock* (ex.5). Examples of earlier chordal ostinatos include Soler's *Fandango* and Chopin's *Berceuse* op.57.

Ex.5 Ligeti: *Hungarian Rock* (1978)

2. OSTINATO VARIATIONS. An ostinato is often used to support variations in other voices, when it may be repeated strictly or varied. It serves here as the 'reference model' which imprints itself in the listener's memory and secures the identity of the pattern throughout the variations. This is why in ground basses of the Baroque period the variations begin only after a number of strict repetitions, which varies according to the ostinato's length and character. The reference model is often reintroduced in the middle of the variations and almost always at the end of the piece. The descending minor tetrachord is the only formula to have become so stereotyped that it can be presented from the outset in a varied form (the reference model in this case being implicit).

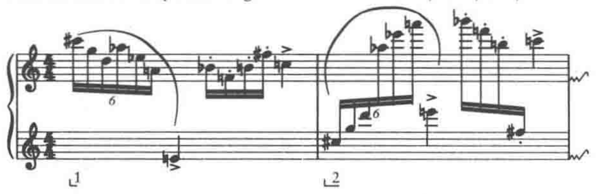
Variations may operate on two different levels, affecting the regularity of the repetitions or the motif itself. First, variations in periodicity may involve elongating or shortening the pattern (as in Blow's 'Oh when ye powers'; 'Anco in cielo' in Stradella's *S Giovanni Battista*; Khachaturian's *Ostinato* for two pianos), temporarily interrupting it (as at the beginning of Falla's *El amor brujo*) or even inserting a new element between two repetitions (as in Bach's Cantata no.78). At the second level of variation, the ostinato may move to a different voice, perhaps entailing changes in harmony (as in Bach's Passacaglia in C minor for organ) or in instrumentation (as in Bach's Cantata no.78; the second movement of Beethoven's Seventh Symphony; the 'Carillon' from Bizet's *L'Arlésienne* Suite no.1). The pattern may also be affected by internal transformations: in addition to the traditional melodic and rhythmic modulations (rhythmic mutation, addition of passing notes, filling in etc.). There may be more specific modulations, borrowings or simple transpositions (as in Blow's 'The sacred nine', Dido's first air in Purcell's *Dido and Aeneas*, Jacob and George's duet in his *Timon of Athens*), as well as the stereotyped variations (in Baroque music) of the descending minor tetrachord, such as statement in the major, inversion, chromatic inflection and metric transformation (triple to duple) (*see* GROUND).

The repetitive structure of minimalist music in the 20th century introduced a new type of ostinato variation – progressive transformation – where there is no longer a single reference model but each transformation is repeated and becomes in its turn the model for the following one (e.g. in Ligeti's *Continuum*).

3. THE PLACE OF OSTINATO IN MUSICAL STRUCTURE. The structural importance of an ostinato varies according to whether the support it provides is continuous (as in the chaconne and passacaglia), partial (as in the *A* section of an *ABA* structure, e.g. the 'Carillon' from Bizet's *L'Arlésienne* Suite no.1) or only sporadic (as in many of Stravinsky's works).

Although melodic-rhythmic ostinatos generally appear in the bass, 20th-century composers, particularly Stravinsky, also used them in the highest voice or in an intermediate voice, thus changing the way they are perceived. Some composers incorporated a change of register into the ostinato pattern (as in the third of Messiaen's *Trois petites liturgies de la Présence Divine*; ex.6), sometimes combining this with a change of instrumentation, following the concept of *Klangfarbenmelodie* (e.g. in the Passacaglia of Stravinsky's Septet).

Ex.6 Messiaen: *Trois petites liturgies de la Présence Divine*, no.3 (1944)



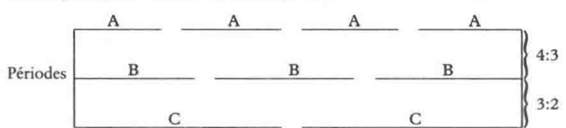
When an ostinato is accompanied by free ('non-obstinate') voices, the regularity of its repetition may be affected. If it functions as a framework for variations (as in the English 'divisions upon a ground'), its periodicity coincides exactly with that of the parts playing the variations, generally in a ratio of one (sometimes two) statements to one variation in the upper parts. If the bass accompanies a vocal line, however, the ends of the vocal phrases may not coincide with the ends of the bass pattern, resulting in overlapping, as used by Monteverdi (*Lamento della ninfa*), Cavalli (Erisbe's aria in *L'Ormindo*) and especially Purcell (Dido's airs; *O solitude, my sweetest choice*). In order to avoid or, at least, mask the monotony of too frequent and too regular cadences the voice may be particularly charged at the link between statements of the ostinato (ex.7). The overlap in periodicity thus creates variety while maintaining unity, and allows great freedom in the vocal part. Furthermore, the use of a repeated formula in the bass allows attention to be focussed completely on the text and the emotional power of the voice.

Ex.7 Purcell: *O solitude*



Sometimes several ostinatos may be superimposed, with or without their phrases coinciding. The best examples of this art, which may involve up to four different ostinatos, are found in the traditional polyphony and polyrhythms of Central Africa. The superimposed phrases are usually of different lengths but always in simple ratio, such as 2:1, 3:1, 3:2, 4:2 and their multiples (ex.8). Western

Ex.8 Superimposed ostinatos (S. Arom, 1985)



composers in the 20th century have used both superimposed ostinatos of the same length with overlapping statements (e.g. Bartók's *Music for Strings, Percussion and Celesta*; Reich's *Clapping Music*) and those of different lengths (e.g. the third of Messiaen's *Trois petites liturgies de la Présence Divine*; the first of Stravinsky's Three Pieces for string quartet).

4. Ostinato as a means of expression. The regular and persistent repetition of an ostinato facilitates the perception and understanding of a motif: only after several repetitions will a listener associate a descending 3rd with the cuckoo's song, for example. Composers using ostinato have thus sought expression on two levels – in the repetition and in the character of the repeated elements. In the 15th century, for instance, the *Gloria ad modum tube* attributed to Du Fay provides an example of an ostinato imitating the sound of trumpets. From the 16th century, especially in England (in the works of Byrd, Morley and Weelkes), ground basses imitating bells and carillons became widespread. In Romantic music an ostinato commonly consists of a single repeated note, imitating a death knell (as in Schubert's *Die Sterbende*; 'Le gibet' in Ravel's *Gaspard de la nuit*). The regular repetition of a rising and falling melodic outline often evokes the rocking motion of a swing (as in Satie's *La balançoire*), a lullaby (as in many berceuses, such as that by Chopin or Fauré's *Dolly*) or the waves of the sea (as in Debussy's *La mer*; 'Une barque sur l'océan' from Ravel's *Miroirs*; Satie's *Le yachting*).

Imagery may also be derived from rhythm, and there are many examples of ostinatos that suggest the rhythm of horses' hooves (e.g. the piano part of Schubert's *Erlkönig*; the 'Course à l'abîme' from Berlioz's *La damnation de Faust*). Often a more abstract notion is represented: since the development of diastematic notation a series of sounds moving from high to low has been associated with descent and, when repeated obstinately, can symbolize depression or even moral failing (e.g. Bach's organ chorale *Durch Adams Fall ist ganz verderbt*).

Repetition itself can be used to symbolize moral restraint or obsessive torment (indeed, in the 17th century the French term for an ostinato bass was *basse contrainte*), as in the second act of Lully's *Acis et Galatée* or Schubert's *Gretchen am Spinnrade*. This becomes even more plaintive when combined with the descending minor tetrachord, with its closing minor 2nd, which in the 1640s came to symbolize lamentation. Cavalli used this in several of his operatic laments, and chromatic versions of it (e.g. Climene's aria in Cavalli's *Egisto*; Dido's final air in Purcell's *Dido and Aeneas*) serve as even stronger symbols of suffering (*see* Lamento).

Repetition, especially when unvaried, can cause the loss of a sense of time and induce a torpor that, by association, may be used to evoke sleep. In Baroque opera ground basses were used in this way, not only in laments but also in sleep scenes, where dreams were used to justify the intervention of gods and supernatural apparitions. In the 20th century repetition, perhaps surprisingly, is associated with one particular form of sleep – death (e.g. Ravel's 'Le gibet'), especially in opera (e.g. the passacaglia in the fourth interlude of Britten's *Peter Grimes*; Act 2 scene iv of Shostakovich's *Lady Macbeth of the Mtsensk District*; the beginning of Puccini's *Gianni Schicchi*).

Ostinato repetition, particularly at high pitches, can also be an effective way of establishing an atmosphere of insecurity and suspense: this technique has been freely exploited by composers of film music (e.g. Bernard Hermann for Hitchcock's *Vertigo*). An ostinato may also be articulated by dynamic variation: decreasing the tempo, intensity or dynamic may create an impression of appeasement (as at the end of Stravinsky's *Apollon Musagète*); more commonly, increasing the dynamic can suggest the onset of a trance or madness (as in Ravel's *Boléro* and, in oral traditions, the music accompanying trances).

While repetition in itself is expressive, contrast is also important, the simplest and most effective contrast being to stop the repetition dead. Monteverdi interrupted the ostinato in *Zefiro torna* in this way in order to emphasize the lover's complaint 'sol io per selve abbandonate et sole'. In Berlioz's *La mort de Cléopâtre* the ostinato slows and stops completely at the image of the heart ceasing to beat, following Schubert who, at the end of *Erlkönig*, slows the rhythm of the horses and stops it completely to symbolize the end of life at the words 'in seinen Armen das Kind war tot'.

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LAURE SCHNAPPER

Östman, Arnold (*b* Malmö, 24 Dec 1939). Swedish conductor. He studied first art history, then music, in Paris and in Stockholm, where later he taught at the

Musikhögskölan. He was music director at the academy at Vadstena in southern Sweden, 1970–82, where he fostered the study and performance of Baroque opera, notably works by Monteverdi and Stradella, and in 1979 became music director of the Drottningholm court theatre near Stockholm, where he remained until 1991. There he directed many performances, in particular of Mozart's operas but also of works by Gluck, Kraus and others, on period instruments. A production of Cimarosa's *Il matrimonio segreto* that he conducted in 1983 at Cologne, also seen in Washington, DC, and London, won much praise for its spirit and style. The next year he made his Covent Garden début, in *Don Giovanni*, since when he has conducted widely in Europe, chiefly in a Classical repertory but also in operas by Rossini, notably a *Cenerentola* at Dresden in 1991. He conducted *Lucio Silla* at the Vienna Staatsoper in 1990. Östman's recordings of the three Da Ponte-Mozart operas, made in the late 1980s, set new standards in period-style performance of these works and did much to enhance general awareness of the advantages of light instrumental textures, lively tempos, stylish ornamentation and observation of the obligatory appoggiaturas. *Così fan tutte*, the first to appear, attracted criticism for its tempos (often substantially faster than traditional ones), as have many of his performances; but some mild moderation of his approach, coupled with an increasing public sympathy with his artistic aims, led to the two other recordings receiving critical and general praise as well as winning a number of awards. In recent years Östman has continued to conduct regularly at Drottningholm, and has made admired recordings of *Die Zauberflöte* and the Vienna version of Gluck's *Alceste*.

STANLEY SADIE

Ostrava (Ger. Ostrau). City in north Moravia, Czech Republic. Between 1850 and 1930 it was known as Moravská Ostrava (Mährisch Ostrau). Its major development began in the 19th century, following the coal mining boom. Workers' choral groups appeared before 1848 and were especially active in the 1870s, but were severely restricted during World War II. The Marx choir, founded in 1900 by Czech and German workers together, is still active under the name Mužský Pěvecký Sbor (Men's Choir). Other existing choirs with long traditions are the Pěvecké Sdružení Moravských Učitelů (Moravian Teachers' Choir, founded 1903), Pěvecké Sdružení Ostravských Učitelek (Ostrava Women Teachers' Choir, 1955), Vysokoškolský Pěvecký Sbor (University Choir, 1966) and Ostravský Dětský Sbor (Ostrava Children's Choir). The Hornická Hudba (Miners' Band, 1922) is also still playing, as are the Vítkovák and Ostravanka brass bands. These enjoy great popularity and take part in many international festivals.

Between 1894 and 1918 theatre companies, which also presented operas and operettas, performed in the Národní Dům (National House). The Městské Divadlo (Municipal Theatre) was built in 1906–7, enlarged in 1942, destroyed in World War II and rebuilt in 1955 and 1971 (cap. 874). Originally it served as a German theatre, but in 1919–20 performances in Czech and German were given alternately and it took the name Národní Divadlo Moravsko-Slezské (National Moravian-Silesian Theatre). From 1920 performances were in Czech, except during World War II, when German was the only language. Thereafter its name was changed to Zemské Divadlo v Ostravě (Provincial Theatre in Ostrava); in 1948 it was nationalized as Státní Divadlo Zdeňka Nejedlého (Zdeněk Nejedlý State Theatre), and from 1992 it was again known as the National Moravian-Silesian Theatre.

A Czech opera ensemble was organized under Emanuel Bastl in 1918. It had a remarkable repertory, giving a Smetana cycle in 1924 and focussing on contemporary works, especially Janáček. Its next conductor, Jaroslav Vogel (1927–44), successfully established the company in the forefront of Czech musical culture. Later conductors were Zdeněk Chalabala (1945–7), Vogel again (1947–9), Rudolf Vašata (1949–56), Bohumil Gregor (1958–62), Zdeněk Košler (1962–6) and Jiří Pinkas (1966–78). For 27 seasons (1951–78) the stage director was Ilja Hylas. Bastl also started a tradition of regular concerts. So as to perform works by modern composers (e.g. Schoenberg and Bartók) he combined the theatre orchestra with that of the radio station. Hindemith, Stravinsky and Prolofiev conducted their own works.

The Ostrava radio station, with its orchestra, started activity in 1929. The orchestra subsequently became the Ostravský Symfonický Orchestr (1954, conducted by Otakar Pařík); the Státní Filharmonie Ostrava (1962, Václav Jiráček) and then the Janáčkova Filharmonie Ostrava (1971, Otakar Trhlík). Chamber ensembles associated with it included the Ostravské Kvarteto and the Komorní Orchestr Leose Janáčka, founded and conducted for more than 20 years by Josef Staněk, which twice won the Karajan competition in Berlin. In 1923 the amateur Ostravská Filharmonie was founded; in 1926 it was renamed the Filharmonické Sdružení (Philharmonic Association), and in 1935 the Orchestrální Sdružení. It was active until the late 1970s.

The Matiční Hudební Škola (Foundation Music School) existed before 1918. After World War II a music education department was established. In 1953 the Vyšší Hudební Pedagogická Škola (High School of Music Education) was founded, from which the Státní Konzervatoř Hudby (State Conservatory of Music) developed in 1959. Musical activities have also been reflected by the *Moravsko-slezský hudební věštník* (Moravian-Silesian Musical Bulletin, 1891) and the *Moravské Hudební Noviny* (Movarian Musical Newspaper 1909)

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EVA HERRMANNOVÁ

Ostrčil, Otakar (*b* Prague, 25 Feb 1879; *d* Prague, 20 Aug 1935). Czech composer, conductor and administrator. He studied modern languages at Prague University (1897–1901) and worked initially as a professor of Czech and German at the Czech-Slavonic Commercial Academy,

Prague (1903–19). His personal development was strongly influenced by his university teachers: Jan Gebauer, Hostinský and Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk, later first president of the Czech Republic. He studied music privately, taking piano lessons with Mikeš and, from 1895, Fibich, with whom he also studied composition, serving in the latter years as his amanuensis, for instance in the orchestration of Fibich's last opera. He gained experience in conducting with the Academy Choir in Prague and with the city's Orchestral Association (1908–22). From 1909 he appeared as a guest conductor at the National Theatre, and between 1914 and 1918 he worked as chief conductor at the Prague Vinohrady Theatre. He joined the staff of the National Theatre as Dramaturg in 1919 and, after Kovařovic's death, became musical director (1920–35). In addition he taught conducting at the Prague Conservatory (1926–9), and had a considerable influence in musical circles as co-founder and president (1924–33) of the Society for Modern Music. He was also first president of the J.B. Foerster Society and, from 1912, a member of the Czech Academy of Arts and Sciences. The Otakar Ostrčil Society of Prague was founded in 1935.

Concern for the development of modern music was a constant feature of every aspect of Ostrčil's artistic activity. As the conductor of the Prague Orchestral Association, he performed, even before World War I, works by Czech composers little favoured in the city's concert repertory (Fibich, Foerster, Janáček, Jeremiáš, Zich), and it was he who acquainted Prague with Mahler's music. He introduced Foerster's *Debora* and Zich's *A Painter's Whim* to the Vinohrady Theatre. However, his principal achievements were at the National Theatre. He built up an exemplary basic repertory stretching from Gluck through Mozart, Beethoven, Verdi and Bizet to Wagner and Strauss. In the sphere of Czech music, he revived the classics and included cycles of operas by Smetana (1924, 1927 and 1934), Dvořák (1929 and 1934), Fibich (1925 and 1932), Foerster (1929) and Novák (1930). He conducted a new production of *Jenůfa* in 1926, gave the première of *The Excursions of Mr Brouček*, and introduced all Janáček's postwar operas to Prague immediately after their world premières in Brno. With the exception of *From the House of the Dead* he conducted all of them himself. Among the other Czech stage works whose first performances he conducted were Zich's *Guilt* (1922) and *Les précieuses* (1926), Karel's *Ilse's Heart* (1924), Emil Burian's *Before Sunrise* (1925), Jeremiáš's *The Brothers Karamazov* (1928) and Karel Hába's *Jánošík*. He also gave the Czech premières of important foreign works, including *Pelléas et Mélisande* (1921), *Petrushka* (1925), Max Brand's *Maschinist Hopkins* (1930) and Szymanowski's *King Roger* (1932). For his conducting of *Wozzeck* in 1926 he was awarded the Czech State Prize the following year, though reactionary elements incited a demonstration in the theatre and unleashed a lengthy controversy in the daily and specialist press.

Ostrčil's conducting style was rational: he carefully calculated everything down to the very smallest detail, producing measured forms and avoiding impulsive outbursts. He was largely responsible for establishing the modern performing practice for Smetana's operas, which he recorded for HMV in 1933. As well as presenting the stage works of the foremost contemporary Czech composers, he also helped to guide the leading Czech operatic singers of his time (Ada Nordenová, Emil Burian, Otakar Mařák, Vilém Zítek and others) to maturity, and he brought the orchestra to an outstanding level of performance. He thus shaped a whole era in the development of the National Theatre. His work for the society for Modern Music was similarly important. He attempted to direct the society towards acquainting the Czech public with the latest international developments and providing a platform for new Czech works, mainly chamber and vocal. Under the society's aegis many of the most celebrated contemporary works had their Czech premières, both foreign pieces (by Schoenberg, Berg, Webern, Bartók, Stravinsky, Prokofiev, Hindemith, Les Six etc.) and Czech (from Hába's quarter-tone school, Martinů, Jirák, Vítězslav, Novák, Suk, Foerster, Ostrčil himself etc.). Also, it was through the society, which was part of the Czech section of the ISCM, that Ostrčil shared in the exchange of musical discoveries on an international scale. Some of the early ISCM festivals, those of 1924 and 1925, were held in Prague.

In his compositions Ostrčil developed from late Romanticism to the Expressionism of the inter-war years. He had a special flair for instrumentation, and orchestral pieces predominate in his modest output. (A self-critical composer, he left only 25 works with opus numbers.) The rational takes precedence over the emotional in his creative as well as in his interpretative work. His first opera to be performed was *Vlasty skon* ('The Death of Vlasta', 1904), a piece still patently influenced by Fibich in its idiom and subject matter. *Kunálovy oči* ('Kunála's Eyes', 1908) and *Legenda z Erinu* ('The Legend of Erin', 1921) both have texts by the Czech symbolist Julius Zeyer and are set respectively in ancient India and mythic Ireland, though the emphasis is less on exoticism than on the ethical aspects of the texts, which deal with questions of guilt and forgiveness. In their idiom these operas are near to Mahler and Strauss though their musical structures remain based on Wagner and Smetana.

Between these two philosophical dramas Ostrčil wrote the one-act opera *Poupě* ('The Bud', 1911), one of the most original of 20th-century Czech stage works. Based directly on a largely unmodified play text it is the first Czech prose opera after Janáček's *Jenůfa*. Ostrčil's final opera, *Honzovo království* ('Johnny's Kingdom' 1934), lacks the complex and altered harmony of the earlier works, and in many places makes effective use of folksongs. The simple Tolstoyan theme, a trust in the victory of good over evil, symbolizes in legendary guise the conditions in Europe on the eve of World War II, and the work embodies Ostrčil's personal belief in democracy and humanism.

Ostrčil's main creative contribution to Czech music, however, is in his orchestral output. The Impromptu (1911) and the Suite in C minor (1912) use Romantic material, but Ostrčil's approach to it is already here unconventional and non-Romantic. This treatment was developed to its peak in the Symfonietta (1921, Czech State Prize 1923), with its complicated polyphonic musical frame, and in the symphonic variations *Křížová cesta* ('Stations of the Cross', 1928). Ostrčil's orchestration is not lavish or seductive, for he used timbre in a strictly structural manner. The chromaticism of his harmony led him, through *The Legend of Erin* and his orchestral works, to tonal flexibility, but he never took the

consequent final step to atonality. He did, however, achieve the shift from vertical-harmonic to horizontal-contrapuntal thought. His compositions place him alongside Janáček, Novák, Suk and Foerster in leading the evolution of Czech music from Nationalism to the interwar avant garde.

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STAGE

op.	
—	Rybáři [The Fishers] (op, J. Prušák), 1893, inc.
—	Jan Zhořelecký (op, 3, A. Šetelík), 1896–8, extracts, Prague, Smetana Museum, 7 March 1939
—	Cymbeline (op, F. Zákrejs, after W. Shakespeare), 1899, inc.
5	Vlasty skon [The Death of Vlasta] (op, 3, K. Pippich), 1900–03, Prague, National, 14 Dec 1904, unpubd
10	Sirotek [The Orphan] (incid music, J. Kvapil, after B. Němcová), 1906, Prague, National, 20 June 1906
11	Kunálovy oči [Kunála's Eyes] (op, 3, K. Mašek, after J. Zeyer), 1907–8, Prague, National, 25 Nov 1908, unpubd
12	Poupě [The Bud] (op, 1, F.X. Svoboda), 1909–10, Prague, National, 25 Jan 1912
19	Legenda z Erinu [The Legend of Erin] (op, 4, Zeyer), 1913–19, Brno, National, 16 June 1921
25	Honzovo království [Johnny's Kingdom] (op, 7 scenes, J. Mařánek, after L.N. Tolstoy), 1928–33, Brno, National, 26 May 1934

VOCAL

6	Balada o mrtvém ševci a mladé tanečnici [The Ballad of the Dead Cobbler and the Young Dancer] (melodrama, K. Leger), 1904
8	Balada česká [A Czech Ballad] (melodrama, J. Neruda), 1905
9	Osiřelo dítě [The Orphaned Child] (ballad, trad.), Mez, orch, 1906
15	Česká legenda vánoční [Czech Christmas Legend] (J. Vrchlický), male chorus, 1912
16	Cizí host [The Strange Guest] (ballad, K.J. Erben), T, orch, 1913
17	Legenda o svaté Zitě [The Legend of St Zita] (cant., J. Vrchlický), T, chorus, orch, org, 1913
18	Tři písně [3 Songs] (B. Wojkowicz, O. Březina, V. Dyk), 1v, pf, 1910–13
21	Prosté motivy [Simple Motifs] (Neruda), 4 nos., male chorus, 1922

ORCHESTRAL

1	Selská slavnost [Village Fête], 1898, unpubd
2	Suite, G, 1898
3	Pohádka o Šemíku [The Tale of Šemík], sym. poem, after J. Vrchlický, 1899, unpubd
7	Symphony, A, 1905, unpubd
13	Impromptu, 1911
14	Suite, c, 1912
20	Symfonietta, 1921
23	Léto [Summer], sym. poem, 1925–6
24	Křížová cesta [Stations of the Cross], sym. variations, 1928

CHAMBER

4	String Quartet, B, 1899
22	Sonatina, vn, va, pf, 1925

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OLDŘICH PUKL/R

Ostrogórski [Ostrowski], **Maciej.** *See* SZARFENBERG, MACIEJ.

Ostrovsky, Aleksandr Nikolayevich (*b* Moscow, 31 March/12 April 1823; *d* Shchelïkovo, Kostroma province, 2/14 June 1886). Russian dramatist. He was the son of a government clerk and was brought up in the merchant quarter of Moscow; he worked for eight years as a clerk of the commercial court, thus acquiring wide knowledge of the merchants and low-grade civil servants whom he later portrayed vividly in his plays. His first published work was *The Bankrupt* (1847–9), and his first work staged *Poverty is no Vice* (1854). From then until his death he wrote some 40 plays in prose and eight in blank verse, mostly social comedies (he is regarded as the creator of the Russian comedy of manners), but also dramas, historical plays and one poetic fairy tale *The Snow Maiden* (1873). His best-known work, the drama *Groza* (known in English as *The Storm* or *The Thunderstorm*), is his only play widely known outside Russia, although translations of other plays exist in most European languages. Ostrovsky's unparalleled pictures of Russian life are perhaps too closely observed and specifically rooted in particular communities of the Russia of his day to appeal widely to foreigners; but his importance in the history of the Russian theatre is exceeded only by that of Gogol′ and Chekhov, between whom he forms a vital link.

Ostrovsky was particularly interested in folksongs, which he collected and sometimes used in his plays. He was friendly with many musicians; in 1865, with Nikolay Rubinstein, he founded an Artists' Circle in Moscow, in which the music critic Prince V.F. Odoyevsky also played a prominent part. Ostrovsky collaborated, unsuccessfully, with Serov, and also with Rimsky-Korsakov and Tchaikovsky; he wrote a scene for Ippolitov-Ivanov's *Ruf′*. His closest collaboration was with Kashperov, for whom he wrote the libretto of *Groza*. He was the first president of the Society of Russian Dramatists and Opera Composers,

founded in Moscow in 1874 to protect authors' and composers' performing rights.

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Groza [The Storm; The Thunderstorm] (1860): Ov. op.76 by Tchaikovsky, 1864; op by Kashperov, 1867; Kát'a Kabanová, op by Janáček, Brno, 1921; film music by Shcherbachyov, 1934, also arr. as sym. suite, 1934; op by Asaf'yev, 1940; op by Trambitsky, 1941; L'uragano, op by Rocca, 1942–5; op. by I.I. Dzerzhinsky, Moscow, 1956; op by V. Pushkov, 1962
Son na Volge [A Dream on the Volga] (1865): Voyevoda, incid music by Blaramberg, 1865; Voyevoda, opera op.3 by Tchaikovsky, 1869; incid music by Kashperov, 1886; opera op.16 by Arensky, 1888
Dmitriy Samozvanets [Dmitry the Pretender] (1867): incid music by Tchaikovsky, by 1867
Tushino (1867): Tushintsï [Inhabitants of Tushino], op by Blaramberg, 1895
Les [The Forest] (1871): op by Kogan, 1954; La forêt, op by Liebermann, Geneva, 1987
Komik XVII stoletiya [A Comedian of the 17th Century] (1872): Skomorokh [The Minstrel], op by Blaramberg, 1887
Snegurochka [The Snow Maiden] (1873): incid music op.12 by Tchaikovsky, 1873; op by Rimsky-Korsakov, 2 versions, 1880–81, *c*1895; incid music op.23 by Grechaninov, 1900; ballet by A. Kotilko, Saratov, 1946; Vesennyaya skazka, ballet by N. Nakhabin, Khar'kiv, 1954; vocal sym. suite by Yu. Rozhavskaya, 1955
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APRIL FITZLYON

Ostrowski, Feliks (*b* Kraśnik, nr Lublin, 3 Jan 1802; *d* Warsaw, 14 Nov 1860). Polish pianist, teacher and composer. He received his early musical education, probably under Józef Lubaczewski at the suggestion of Józef's son Antoni, at Gościeradów near Kraśnik, and continued his studies at the Warsaw Conservatory under Würfel and Alojzy Stolpe senior (organ and piano). For a time he lived in Lithuania. He gave successful concerts in Poland, the Ukraine (one on 25 January 1827 at Kiev with Karol Lipiński) and St Petersburg, where he played Chopin's works. In about 1840 he gave up his career as a concert artist and became a piano teacher at the Aleksandryjski Institute in Warsaw. Only a small number of his compositions are extant. They are all for piano and include three polonaises (1821–4) after the style of Michał Ogiński, and an Adagio and Rondo op.11 (*c*1830), published in Warsaw after 1850. His Variations and Rondo and a *Rondo à la valse*, mentioned in the contemporary Warsaw press, are lost.

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BARBARA CHMARA-ŻACZKIEWICZ

Ó Súilleabháin, Mícheál (*b* Clonmel, Tipperary, 10 Dec 1950). Irish composer and keyboard player. He studied at the National University of Ireland, Cork (BMus 1972, MA 1973), where he was appointed to a lectureship in 1975, and completed the PhD at Queen's University, Belfast, in 1987. In 1994 he was appointed professor at the University of Limerick, where he founded the Irish World Music Centre. Active in the academic and performance worlds, his focus in both domains has been Irish traditional music. He has written numerous popular compositions for radio, television and film, completed many arrangements of Irish folk music and made several recordings. In 1993 he founded the ensemble Hiberno-Jazz, and in 1995 wrote and presented *River of Sound*, a television series on Irish traditional music. A pioneer in writing for combined ensembles of Irish traditional classical musicians, which he typically directs from the keyboard. Ó Súilleabháin draws in his compositions on the musics of both orality and literacy. His concerto *Oileán* ('Island', 1989) is characterized by the deliberate avoidance of shared thematic material between the traditional and classical forces in the first and third movements, improvisation by the traditional soloist on classical motifs in a slow middle movement, and the use of tone rows derived from his theory of 'set accented tones' in Irish music.

Principal recording companies: Virgin, Gael-Linn

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NICHOLAS CAROLAN

Oswald [Ochswald], **Henrique** (*b* Rio de Janeiro, 14 April 1852; *d* Rio de Janeiro, 9 June 1931). Brazilian composer of Swiss and Italian descent. He studied in São Paulo under Gabriel Giraudon, then in Florence, where he lived for some 30 years, under Buonamici for the piano and Grazzini and Maglioni for composition. For over 15 years the imperial government made him vice-consul first at Le Havre and then at Genoa. He returned to Brazil in 1902 and was appointed director at the Instituto Nacional de Música in July 1903, but resigned three years later and taught privately. After another period in Europe he finally settled in Rio de Janeiro in 1911 as a professor of the piano at the institute, and for the last 20 years of his life he played a prominent role in Rio's musical life. Oswald's extensive musical production shows a strong European influence, particularly of Fauré and Debussy, and to a

lesser degree, Saint-Saëns. At the same time, his works reveal his individuality, craftsmanship and refinement. These qualities are evident in such pieces as *Il neige*, for piano, which was awarded the first prize in an international contest run by the Paris *Figaro* (1902), the Piano Quintet (op.18) and the Piano Trio (op.45). Besides numerous piano and chamber music works, he also wrote for orchestra and the stage. In his later years Oswald composed mostly religious music and organ pieces.

WORKS
(*selective list*)

most unpublished

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Chbr and solo inst: Pf Qnt, C, op.18, *c*1885 (Rio de Janeiro, 1937); 4 str qts; 3 pf trios incl. op.9, op.45 (Rio de Janeiro, *c*1910), Serrana (Milan, 1927); Sonata, vn, pf; Canto elegíaco, vn, pf (Rio de Janeiro, 1904); Sonata-fantasia, vc, pf; Fughetta, Preludio e fuga, org (Rio de Janeiro, 1930)

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GERARD BÉHAGUE

Oswald, James (*b* Crail, bap. 21 March 1710; *d* Knebworth, Herts., 2 Jan 1769). Scottish composer, publisher, arranger and cellist. His father, John Oswald (*d* Berwick-upon-Tweed, bur. 2 Oct 1758), a skilled musician, was town drummer of Crail and later became leader of the town waits at Berwick-upon-Tweed; his brother Henry (*b* Crail, 1714) also became a professional musician. By 1734 Oswald was teaching dancing in Dunfermline. A sketchbook (Lord Balfour of Burleigh's private collection, microfilm in *GB-En*) shows many features of his compositional style already in place. A set of tunes for scordatura violin (in *The Caledonian Pocket Companion*, x, *c*1760), dedicated to patrons in the Fife and Tayside area, was probably written at this time, along with the airs for violin and continuo *The braes of Ballendine* and *Alloa House* (in *A Curious Collection of Scots Tunes*, 1740). In 1735 he moved to Edinburgh, where his *Collection of Minuets* (1736) launched him as a composer and publisher; he was also kept busy as a cellist and teacher. The summit of his Edinburgh period was his *Curious Collection of Scots Tunes* (1740), which had an immense subscription list and included the *Sonata of Scots Tunes*, the fine Masonic partsong *Grant me, kind Heaven* and some excellent fiddle variations. In an advertisement in the *Caledonian Mercury* (8 May 1740) he announced that, after this book, he would set out for Italy, but instead he went to London at the end of 1741.

Oswald's first years in London were ones of consolidation. Much of his Edinburgh work was reprinted, and he experimented with writing in the London taste (e.g. *Colin's Kisses*, 1742). In 1744 he married Marion Melvill; they had four daughters and adopted a niece. A lucrative teaching practice replaced the one he had left behind in Edinburgh. In about 1745 the first two volumes of *The Caledonian Pocket Companion*, a cheap collection of one-line tunes suitable for flute, violin or, indeed, any other instrument, were published. This work was to be the success of Oswald's life; it ran to 12 volumes and many reprints, and copies were still circulating long after his death. In 1747 he was granted a royal licence to print his own compositions, and set up his own publishing office and shop in St Martin's Lane. He also moved into theatre music and started the Society of the Temple of Apollo, which was to occupy him until about 1762. The activities of the society are shrouded in mystery. Burney believed it was simply a device to enable Oswald to write theatre music at cut rates, but this does not accord with other information: the society commissioned sonatas from Giuseppe Sammartini, Oswald published sonatas by one of its members, John Reid (1756, 1762), and meetings and concerts were held at a house in Queen Square (1755, 1761).

By 1750 Oswald's circle of patrons included the royal family. Kidson guessed that Oswald taught the royal children during the 1750s; certainly his appointment as Chamber Composer to George III on 31 January 1761, immediately on the 18-year-old's accession to the throne, would suggest such a service. During the 1750s Oswald composed chamber music, some of it on a comparatively large scale. He printed the larger pieces under the pseudonym 'Dottel Figlio' (i.e. Nicolas Dôthel), the actual name of a composer and flute virtuoso living in Florence at the time. By 1764 Oswald's wife had died, as had his patron and friend John Robinson-Lytton. He became close to Robinson-Lytton's widow, Leonora, and having what was in effect a royal pension, he decided to sell his shop and publishing business and retire to the Robinson-Lytton country house at Knebworth; he married Leonora.

Oswald was the most prolific and successful composer of 18th-century Scotland. His outstanding gift lay in his melodies, many of which are in Lowland Scots styles. Early on, he discovered two guiding principles: that there was no such thing as a completely new tune, only recycled old ones; and that presenting one's work as 'traditional' could often help its acceptability. Many of his contemporaries saw him as merely a popular entertainer, but he extended his native Lowland Scots style and became fluent in English (e.g. Handel), Italian (e.g. Corelli) and French idioms, as well as mastering the intricate constructions of Scottish Highland music. The result was neither a stylistic integration nor a random patchwork. Each of his *Airs for the Spring/Summer/Autumn/Winter* has a distinct style and the sequence of sonatas is carefully planned, giving an effect of calculated diversity. This is also noticeable in his italianate harmonizations of Scots tunes (e.g. in the *Sonata of Scots Tunes*, 1740). Oswald has been criticized for shortwinded invention: it is true that he always found it easier to write a new tune than to develop one he had already set down, but his large chamber works rise above this problem.

Oswald's influence on later generations has been immense. He probably composed *The East Neuk of Fife*

and *The flowers of Edinburgh*, two classic reel tunes of the Scots fiddle repertory, and his arranging and publishing made possible the careers of such later fiddlers as the Gows and William Marshall. Moreover, Robert Burns's song lyrics are hardly conceivable without the tunes provided for them by the *Caledonian Pocket Companion*. Oswald's song *The Maid of Selma*, which was rearranged as a glee for ATB by Joseph Corfe (1791), inspired a whole school of Ossian glees by Callcott, R.J.S. Stevens and others, Oswald's Highland style being the model for the later composers' visionary, non-modulating harmonic schemes.

WORKS

published in London unless otherwise stated

STAGE

Music in Macbeth (tragedy, W. Shakespeare), see The Caledonian Pocket Companion below
Song in The Double Disappointment (afterpiece, M. Mendez), 18 March 1746
Music in Queen Mab (pantomime), London, 1750, Comic Tunes (1751), ov. (*c*1770)
Music in Alfred (masque, D. Mallet), 23 Feb 1751
Music in Harlequin Ranger (pantomime), London, 1751 (1752), probably by Oswald
Music in The Genie (pantomime), London, 1752, Comic Tunes (1753), probably by Oswald
Cant. in The Old Woman's Oratory (*c*1753)
Music in Fortunatus (pantomime), London, 1753, Comic Tunes (1753), probably by Oswald
Song in The Gamester (play, E. Moore), 1753 (?1754)
Song in The Reprisal

OTHER

collections of Scots tunes include arrangements of traditional material

A Collection of Minuets (Edinburgh, 1736), lost, advertised in *Caledonian Mercury* (6 Jan 1736)
A Curious Collection of Scots Tunes (Edinburgh, 1740), incl. 2 Masons' songs, 3vv, org, and A Sonata of Scots Tunes, 2 vn, bc; A Sonata of Scots Tunes, ed. P. Holman, *Orpheus Caledonius*, iii (Edinburgh, 1993)
A Collection of Musick . . . Vocal and Instrumental . . . for the use of Orpheus's Club (Edinburgh, *c*1740)
Colin's Kisses (R. Dodsley), 12 songs, S, T, bc (1742)
A Collection of Curious Scots Tunes, 2 vols. (*c*1742–3)
12 Songs Compos'd in the Scotch Taste (1743)
The Caledonian Pocket Companion (*c*1745–*c*1765), incl. tunes in Macbeth, London, *c*1744; 3 pieces ed. D. Johnson (Edinburgh, 1984); 5 tunes for scordatura vn, ed. D. Johnson, *Scots on the Fiddle*, ii (Edinburgh, 1991)
6 Pastoral Solos, vn, bc (*c*1747)
2 duets, 2 vn/fl, Apollo's Collection, i (1750), ii (1752)
A Collection of Songs as they are Perform'd at the Publick Gardens (*c*1752)
6 Divertimenti's, fl/vn, bc, op.2 (1754), pubd under pseud. Dottel Figlio, repr. (*c*1770) with attrib. to Oswald
[48] Airs for the Spring/Summer/Autumn/Winter [1st set], vn/fl, bc (1755; 2/1756 as Airs for the 4 Seasons, with opt. 2nd vn/fl); 12 ed. J. Barlow, *Airs for the Four Seasons* (London, 1983–4)
6 Sonatas, 2 vn/fl, bc, op.3 (*c*1755), pubd under pseud. Dothel Figlio
The Wheel Barrow, cant. (*c*1755)
10 Favourite Songs Sung by Miss Formantel at Ranelagh (1758)
12 Divertimentis, gui (1758)
55 Marches for the Militia, 2 tr (1759)
A Choice Collection of Scotch Tunes with Variations (Dublin, *c*1760)
A Collection of the Best Old Scotch and English Songs (1761)
[48] Airs for the Spring/Summer/Autumn/Winter [2nd set], vn/fl, bc (1761), lost, repr. (*c*1765)
12 Serenatas, 2 vn, bc (1762)
A Collection of Scot's Tunes with Variations (*c*1765); 1 ed. D. Johnson (Edinburgh, 1984)
The Maid of Selma (J. Macpherson), song, S, bc, *c*1765, in D. Corri: A Select Collection of the Most Admired Songs (Edinburgh, *c*1780)
33 songs pubd singly, see *BUCEM* and RISM for details

Other works pubd under the names Nicholas Dothel and Dottel Figlio may be by Oswald: see *BUCEM*, RISM

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DAVID JOHNSON, HEATHER MELVILL

Oswald, John (*b* Kitchener-Waterloo, ON, 30 May 1953). Canadian composer and saxophonist. Largely self-taught, he attended classes given by R. Murray Schafer, Barry Truax and Casey Sokol. His best-known works manipulate existing material, drawing primarily on 20th-century popular and classical music sources. Oswald coined the term 'plunderphonics' to describe these compositions, which are very much *trompe-l'oreille* and not without considerable humour. His first recording (*Plunderphonics*, 1989) gained him notoriety when its legality was challenged by the singer Michael Jackson and major record labels. Such defiance of copyright law has been typical of Oswald's compositional approach. He has completed commissions for artists and ensembles including the Kronos Quartet (*Spectre*, 1990; *preLieu*, 1991; *Mach*, 1993), ARRAYMUSIC (*Slide Whistles*, 1979; *Acupuncture*, 1992), John Zorn (*Plexure*, 1993), The Grateful Dead (*Grayfolded*, 1994–5), the Modern Quartet (*Fore*, 1996), Deutsche Oper Ballet, Lyon Opera Ballet, Teatro Communale di Bologna and choreographers Bill T. Jones, Holly Small and Bill Coleman. He has performed as an improvising saxophonist with Henry Kaiser, CCMC and his own chamber sextet, the Double Wind Cello Trios.

MICHAEL J. BAKER

Oswald von Wolkenstein (*b* Burg Schöneck, Pustertal, *c*1376; *d* Merano, 2 Aug 1445). South Tyrolean poet. His life is unusually well documented in archival material and his own autobiographical songs, and several portraits of him survive. He came from the noble south Tyrolean family of Villanders and Wolkenstein, and was the second son of Friedrich von Wolkenstein and Katharina von Trostberg, who had seven children in all. Much of Oswald's life was spent travelling – he was already spending time away from home by the age of ten. He is known to have been in the Tyrol in 1400, when his father died, but he was soon on the road again. His second period of travel, during which he took part in King Ruprecht's Italian campaign, led to financial difficulties which in turn led to a dispute with his elder brother, not the last time that he was involved in family arguments. However, he also forged links with the church and with secular authorities – his political activities were linked to his membership of the 'Elephant League' (*Elefantenbund*), of which he was a founding member in 1406; from 1409 he was the Bishop of Brixen's secular representative (but by 1413 they were in dispute over his pay). Among other journeys and campaigns at this time, he visited Venice

with King Sigismund in 1412–13. The king took him fully into his service in 1415, possibly with a view to forging a link through Oswald with the league of Tyrolean nobles in his disputes with Duke Friedrich of Austria. On a later journey with the king he received distinctions from the dowager queen of Aragon and the wife of Charles VI of France. He was later involved in disputes between the league of nobles and Duke Friedrich.

In 1417 he married Margarete Schwangau; there were seven children from the marriage. In 1421 he became embroiled in another dispute at home in connection with his inheritance of one-third of the castle of Hauenstein, and was imprisoned by Martin Jäger, the husband of one of the co-inheritors of the castle. Duke Friedrich took over the prisoner and guaranteed payment of Jäger's claims. Oswald contrived to get the backing of King Sigismund, who tried to make use of these local quarrels in his conflict with Duke Friedrich. The king's efforts were ultimately unsuccessful, and Oswald lost most of his goods to bail payments. He was reimprisoned in 1427, and the dispute was settled only when friends intervened on his behalf, after which he acquired the remainder of the castle on payment of 500 ducats. The contractual agreements entailed his promising fealty to the duke, and in future he abstained from political actions on his own account. After this he made several more journeys, but after 1434 does not seem to have left the Tyrol. He remained active in local affairs, and died at Merano in 1445, in the midst of disputes about the Tyrolean succession. He was buried at the monastery church in Neustift (South Tyrol; now Novacella, Alto Adige).

During Oswald's lifetime (and probably for the most part under his supervision) two large-format collections of his songs with musical notation were made. According to its list of contents the main part of the older manuscript, *A-Wn* 2777 (manuscript *A*), dates from 1425, when it contained 43 lieder. 65 more poems were added in about 1436 and 1441. The later manuscript, *A-Iu* (no shelfmark; manuscript *B*), certainly contained 72 lieder and 58 melodies by 1432 (the date given in the heading of the list of contents); additions (comprising 43 further lieder) were then made up until 1438.

Both manuscripts (on parchment) include a portrait of the poet as a frontispiece to the collection of songs; that in manuscript *B* is attributed to Pisanello or to his studio (see illustration). A third collection of Oswald's songs, a paper manuscript held in Innsbruck (*A-Imf* F.B.1950), was the work of a single scribe in the years after Oswald's death (*c*1450–53), and contains only the texts and no melodies. Only 12 of the lieder preserved in the main manuscripts also occur elsewhere. They include Oswald's contrafactum text *Vier hundert jar auff erd* (Kl 88 in the numbering of Klein's edition; see work-list) to Pierre Fontaine's rondeau *A son plaisir*, which appears in Clara Hätzlerin's songbook *CZ-Pnm* X A 12, and in the so-called Ebenreutter manuscript *D-Bsp* Mgf 488. The incipit of this text is also found accompanying versions of Fontaine's rondeau in the fire-damaged manuscript *F-Sm* C.22 and the Buxheimer Orgelbuch (*D-Mbs* Mus.ms.3735). This generally narrow transmission suggests that Oswald's work, perhaps with the exception of Kl 88, was not widely distributed.

The authenticity of five further songs (Kl 128–31, 134), found under Oswald's name but not present in the main manuscripts, seems very probable. These songs are



Oswald von Wolkenstein: miniature attributed to Pisanello, from MS B, 1432 (A-Iu)

preserved without their melodies, but one (in the Lohengrin manuscript, *D-Mbs* Cgm 4871) is a contrafactum text, *Mir dringet zwinget fraw dein güt* (Kl 131) to be sung to the melody of Binchois's ballade *Je loe amours*. On the other hand, the attribution to Oswald of the anonymous *Medlin zartt stein* (Kl 132; Wolkenstein archive, *D-Ngm*) is doubtful. Strohm (1986–7) attributed to Oswald the monophonic song *Heya, nun wie sie grollen*, extant only in an anonymous four-part setting in *I-TRmp* 89.

The 131 lieder (including those of doubtful authenticity) and Oswald's two poems in rhyming couplets (the calendar poem *Genner beschnaid*, Kl 67, and the autobiographical *Mich fragt ein ritter*, Kl 112), which survive without their melodies, amount to a considerable body of poetry. 57 monophonic melodies and 37 polyphonic settings in two to four parts for the songs in the main manuscripts have been preserved, a matter of particular musicological interest. Eleven of the monophonic melodies are used several times, two of them for seven songs each. However, only two polyphonic settings were used more than once: an archaically simple setting for *Des himels trone* (Kl 37) and the two-part version of Francesco Landini's ballata *Questa fanciulla*, used by Oswald for his song *Mein herz, das ist versert* (Kl 65) and *Weiss, rot, mit brawn verleucht* (Kl 66). These two contrafacta are clearly different in strophic structure, which shows that Oswald could write new poems of very different kinds for the same melody and thus did not take the Italian text as a model.

Textual content was one of the factors determining whether a song had a monophonic or a polyphonic setting: autobiographical and sacred narratives, contemplative and instructional subjects are set monophonically, while polyphony predominates in the love songs and in the lieder on comic or light-hearted subjects. Particularly interesting in the polyphonic group are the six two-part songs that present dialogue of the Minnesang type both in their musical and textual structures (Kl 49, 52, 56, 62, 71 and 93), and the setting *Stand auff, Maredel/Frau ich enmag* (Kl 48), an aubade adapted as a comic dialogue between mistress and maid, to be sung to the melody of the widely distributed rondeau *Jour a jour la vie*.

Concordances for 16 of the 37 polyphonic settings of Oswald's works have been found in other manuscripts. He resorted principally to French chansons in his choice of contrafactum models; only Landini's *Questa fanciulla* is taken from an Italian source, and the sacred strophic song *Ave mater O Maria* (often called a lauda), for which Oswald wrote a German translation (*Ave mütter, küniginne*, Kl 109*b*), is found in both northern and southern sources and also appears in a setting by Johannes de Sarto. Finally, concordances are found in the German-speaking areas for only one song, *Wach auff, mein hort* (Kl 101).

The polyphonic settings can be divided into four groups on the grounds of structure and transmission patterns; this division also corresponds to the order and position of the songs in the main manuscripts. The first group, comprising songs Kl 46–56, refers back to an older layer of an international repertory and typically has a large number of concordances in the manuscripts *F-Pn* n.a.fr.6771 and *F-Sm* C.22. The second group consists of the canons Kl 70–2, one of which, *Die minne füget niemand* (Kl 72), is a contrafactum of the chace *Talent m'est pris*. The canon *Gar wunniklich* (Kl 64), found in both manuscripts outside the second group, may also be a contrafactum. Oswald annotated the canons as 'fuga'. A third group exhibits peculiarities of notation and composition that can be explained as features of local tradition. For instance, red and void notes are used to denote melismas, groups of notes, and note values smaller than semibreves. Contrary motion and parallel movement in perfect consonances are typical of these settings, and the phrasing in the upper voice-parts is strongly formulaic. The group includes the three songs *Wol auff, wol an*, *Ain graserin* and *Simm Gredlin, Gred* (Kl 75–7), which are notated consecutively in both manuscripts. It also includes songs from elsewhere in the manuscripts: *Des himels trone* (Kl 37), *Mein herz jüngt sich* (Kl 68) and *Frölich so wil ich aber singen* (Kl 79); however, Kl 37 and 68 appear only in monophonic settings in manuscript *B*. The settings of the third group have been described by Ivana Pelnar as 'indigenous Tenorlieder'. The unique notation of this group also appears in the songs *Ain rainklich weib* and *Sweig, güt gesell* (Kl 80–1), which are preserved only with monophonic settings and appear in immediate proximity to songs in the third group. The red and void notation in the monophonic songs Kl 26, 89, 100 and 116 is probably to be interpreted as coloration in line with mensural theory. A fourth group consists of the late entries in both manuscripts and the song settings found only in the Innsbruck manuscript (Kl 88, 91, 96 and 101 in MS *A* and Kl 103 and 107–9 in MS *B*). Of these lieder the settings *Vier hundert jar auff erd* (Kl 88), *Wer die ougen wil verschüren* (Kl 103) and *Kom, liebster man* (Kl 107) have been identified as contrafacta on models deriving from a repertory closer to Oswald's own time: three rondeaux, Pierre Fontaine's *A son plaisir*, Nicolas Grenon's *La plus jolie et la plus belle*, and the anonymous *Venés oir vrais amoureus*. *Ave mater O Maria* (the model for *Ave mütter, Küniginne*, Kl 109*b*) certainly belongs to this later layer, and so probably do the songs *Grasselick lif* (Kl 96) and *Ich klag* (Kl 108), although they have not yet been identified as contrafacta.

The double-texted song *Von rechter lieb krafft/Sag an, gesellschaft* (Kl 62) is difficult to assign to any of the four groups: it is a contrafactum of an anonymous rondeau, *Alé vous en de moy melancolie/Je pren congé*, and while it appears quite early in the Wolkenstein manuscripts, like the examples from the first group based on earlier models, a concordance is not found until later, in the chansonnier *F-Pn* n.a.fr.4917. The song *Mein herz, das ist versert* (Kl 65; based on Landini's ballata) is entered outside these groups in both manuscripts but has been transmitted in a similar way to the songs in the first group, with concordances in *D-Mbs* 14274 and *F-Sm* C.22. The setting, rhythm and formal structure of the song *Mich tröst ain adeliche mait* (Kl 78) suggest that it too is the (as yet unidentified) contrafactum of a ballade; but in both manuscripts the setting appears in connection with the third, local group. Finally it seems likely that there are also some contrafacta among the songs given only in monophonic settings: among these may be the lieder *Herz, müt* (Kl 89) and *Treib her, treib überher* (Kl 92).

The comparatively small number of polyphonic settings of Oswald's works shows remarkable variety. The large number of settings taken from earlier songs is the first significant feature. It may well be that Oswald learned such melodies from collections circulating in central Europe (the considerable number of chansons popular particularly in that area would support that theory). He could have become acquainted with the later repertory on his travels, particularly his visits to the Councils of Konstanz and Basle: interestingly, these settings occur in Oswald's works not much later than their main sources. It is difficult to decide how far the settings of the third group, with their evidence of local compositional traditions, are by Oswald himself, but it seems most likely that he was using melodies already composed by musicians in that area.

His monophonic songs are a different matter; few of them have directly identifiable models for their melodies, a fact that is particularly striking where the poet uses strophic forms widespread in Meistergesang, adopting only the textual structure and providing new tunes: here he employs Regenbogen's *Grauer Ton* and Frauenlob's *Vergessener Ton*. The *Grauer Ton* features prominently at the very beginning of the collections, with the first melody for seven songs (Kl 1–7), a second from three further songs (Kl 11, 12 and 95) and a third melody for the final setting of manuscript *A*, the passion song *In oberland* (Kl 111). In manuscript *B* two songs in Frauenlob's *Vergessener Ton* appear after the first seven in the *Grauer Ton*. The fact that Oswald or his scribe gave such prominence to the two *Töne* from the Meistergesang tradition would suggest that the poet was close to it himself; however, he refrained from adopting the melodies that go with the verse forms, which does not support that impression. His new melodies appear to be

made up of phrases and formulae, so that entire sections are used several times as set pieces (a good example occurs in the rhythmically identical closing sections of Kl 16 and Kl 20, where the opening sections are different). On the other hand, it is clear that textual content bears some relation to musical content (for instance in a high-pitched melisma on the word 'beseufite' ('lament') in the serenade *Ain tunckle farb*, Kl 33). This led Bruno Stäblein to describe Oswald as the 'creator of the individual lied'. However, in general, individual melodic elements such as high or low notes or specific intervals cannot be related to specific words or syllables. This is clear from differences between the manuscript versions: in 16 songs the variants are so considerable that Koller printed both versions in his edition. However, comparison shows that the underlying melodic line often remains the same despite obvious differences of detail. If we assume that the poet himself supervised the compilation of both manuscripts, it can be concluded that Oswald reinterpreted his poems at each performance, while retaining the same melodic model. Where the two manuscripts provide different versions we may suppose that they derive from different actual performances.

A similar aspect of variation is to be found in the rhythmic structure of the songs, where sometimes the content of the text denotes the presence or absence of rhythmic differentiation. The three songs *Erwach an schrick* (Kl 40), *Zergangen ist meins herzen we* (Kl 116) and *Frew dich, durchleuchtig junckfraw zart* (Kl 126) use the same melody (without its closing section in the case of Kl 126). The reading in manuscript *A*, however, provides for various levels of rhythmic differentiation: the dance song *Zergangen ist meins herzen we* has an unvarying rhythm of semibreves and minims throughout, the aubade *Erwach an schrick* is notated in a series of semibreves with only hints at rhythmic interpretation (for instance on the upbeats), and the incipit of the melody of the sacred song *Frew dich, durchleuchtig junckfraw zart* is notated in neumes instead of semibreves, without any rhythmic indication. These observations suggest that the melody could be given a different rhythmic interpretation depending on the nature of the text.

The two main manuscripts of Oswald's work document the work of 'perhaps the most important poet writing in the German language between Walther von der Vogelweide and Goethe' (Müller, 1980) and are also invaluable evidence of secular musical culture in German-speaking regions in the late Middle Ages. They record the core of an international repertory together with the large repertory manuscripts such as *F-Pn* 6771; they offer information on the state of local polyphonic composition against a background of old traditions and an increasing familiarity with western models; and in their divergent versions of monophonic songs they provide insight into the opportunities and liberties allowed in the performance of melodic models. Thus Oswald is less important as a composer – nothing is known about his qualifications in that field – than as a poet, singer and politician, a man who through the extant documentation becomes very accessible.

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Works numbered according to Klein's edition.

MONOPHONIC LIEDER

Kl 1	Ain anefangk, K 2 [melody used for Kl 2–7]
Kl 2	Wach, menschlich tier, K 71 [same melody as Kl 1]
Kl 3	Wenn ich betracht, K 72 [same melody as Kl 1]
Kl 4	Hör, kristenheit, K 32 [same melody as Kl 1]
Kl 5	Ich sich und hör, K 35 [same melody as Kl 1]
Kl 6	Ich spür an tier, K 37 [same melody as Kl 1]
Kl 7	Loblicher Got, K 44 [same melody as Kl 1]
Kl 8	Du armer mensch, lass dich dein sünd hie reuen ser, K 14
Kl 9	O welt, O welt, ain freund der franken mauer, K55 [melody used for Kl 10]
Kl 10	Wenn ich mein krank vernunft, K 73 [same melody as Kl 9]
Kl 11	O snöde werlt, K 54 [melody used for Kl 12 and Kl 95]
Kl 12	In Frankereich, K 38 [same melody as Kl 11]
Kl 13	Wer ist, die da durchleuchtet, K 75
Kl 14	Gesegnet sei die frucht Benedicite, K 29*a* [grace for before meals]
Kl 15	Wol auff, als das zu himel sei Gracias, K 29*b* [grace for after meals]
Kl 16	Ich spür ain lufft aus külem tufft, K 36
Kl 17	Var, heng und lass, halt in der mass, K67
Kl 18	Es fügt sich, do ich was von zehen jaren alt, K 19 [written 1416, autobiographical, see Röll, 1975]
Kl 19	Es ist ain altgesprochner rat, K20
Kl 20	Es seusst dort her von orient, K 24
Kl 21	Ir alten weib, nu freut eu[ch] mit den jungen, K 41
Kl 22	Des grossen herren wunder, K 12 [melody used for Kl 23–5]
Kl 23	Wie vil ich sing und tichte, K 78 [same melody as Kl 22]
Kl 24	Kain freund mit klarem herzen, K 58 [*c*1423; same melody as Kl 22]
Kl 25	Ain burger und ain hofman, K3 [same melody as Kl 22]
Kl 26	Durch aubenteuer tal und perg, K 16
Kl 27	Ich hab gehört durch mangen granns, K 34
Kl 28	Menschlichen got, beschnitten schon, K 47 [title 'Cisioianus id est Kalendergedicht' (cf Kl 67); melody used for Kl 29–32, 81, 117]
Kl 29	Der himel fürst heut bewar, K 9 [same melody as Kl 28]
Kl 30	Kain ellend tet mir nie so and, K 43 [same melody as Kl 28]
Kl 31	Der oben swebt, K 10 [same melody as Kl 28]
Kl 32	Durch toren weis, K 15 [same melody as Kl 28]
Kl 33	Ain tunckle farb von oocident, K7 [melody used for Kl 34–6]
Kl 34	Es leucht durch graw die vein lasur, K 22 [same melody as Kl 33]
Kl 35	In Suria ain braiten hal, K 40 [same melody as Kl 33]
Kl 36	Zwar alte sünd pringt neues laid, K 83 [same melody as Kl 33]
Kl 39	Mein sünd unch schuld eu[ch] priester klag, K 46
Kl 40	Erwach an schrick, vil schönes weib, K 18 [melody (without *repetitio*) used for Kl 126]
Kl 41	Von Wolkenstain wolt ich zu Cölen gütter lawn, K 70

Kl 42 Vil lieber grüsse süsse, K 68
Kl 44 Durch Barbarei, Arabia, K 17 [melody used for Kl 45]
Kl 45 Wer machen well sein peutel ring, K 76 [same melody as Kl 44]
Kl 55 Wes mich mein bül ie hat erfreut, K 77
Kl 57 Ain mensch von achzehen jaren klüg, K 5
Kl 58 Mein bül laisst mir gesellschaft zwar, K 45
Kl 59 Solt ich von sorgen werden greis, K 62
Kl 60 Es nahet gen der vasennacht, K 23
Kl 61 Gelück und hail ain michel schar, K 28
Kl 63 Wol mich an we der lieben stund, K 81
Kl 67 Genner beschnaid Crist wirdikleich [no melody, in rhythming couplets; title 'Cisioianus, id est Kalendergedicht' (cf Kl 28)]
Kl 69 Do fraig Amors, K 13 [in 7 languages with Ger. trans.]
Kl 73 O herzen lieber Nickel mein, K 51 [not in *A*; melody used for Kl 74]
Kl 74 Sweig still, gesell, dem ding ist recht, K 64 [same melody as Kl 73]
Kl 80 Ain rainklich weib, durch jugent schön, K 6
Kl 81 Sweig, güt gesell, schimpflichen lach, K 63 [same melody as Kl 28]
Kl 82 Got geb eu[ch] ainen güten morgen, K 30
Kl 83 Ain jetterin, junck, frisch, frei, früt, K 4 [melody used for Kl 87]
Kl 85 'Nu huss' sprach der Michel von Wolkenstain, K 46 [not in *A*]
Kl 86 O phalzgraf Ludewig, K 52
Kl 87 Rot, weiss, ain frölich angesicht, K 59 [same melody as Kl 83]
Kl 89 Herz, müt, leib, sel und was ich han, K 31
Kl 90 Ach got, wër ich ain bilgerin, K 1
Kl 92 Treib her, treib überher, K 65
Kl 95 O rainer got, K 53 [same melody as Kl 11]
Kl 97 Senlich mit langer zeit und weil vertreib, K 60
Kl 98 O wunnikliches paradis, K 57
Kl 99 Für allen schimpf, des ich vil sich, K 27
Kl 100 O wunniklicher, wolgezierter mai, K 56
Kl 102 Sich manger freut das lange jar, K 61 [not in *A*]
Kl 104 Von trauren möcht ich werden taub, K 69 [not in *A*; same melody as Kl 105]
Kl 105 Es komen neue mër gerant, K21 [not in *A*; melody used for Kl 104]
Kl 106 Nempt war der schönen plüde früde, K 48 [not in *A*]
Kl 110 Ich hör, sich manger freuen lat, K 119; [Stollen melody inc. in *B*]
Kl 111 In oberland, K 39 [title 'Passio domini nostri Jhesu Christi completa Anno 36']
Kl 112 Mich fragt ein ritter angevar [no music; not in *A*; 'anno 1438 hec fabula completa per me'; in 205 rhyming couplets]
Kl 113 Ir bäpst, ir kaiser, du pawman, K 42 [not in *A*]
Kl 114 Hört zü, was ellentleicher mër, K 33 [not in *A*; title 'Compassio beate virginis Marie']
Kl 115 Wer hie umb diser welde lust, K 74 [not in *A*; text cento on Freidank's *Erfahrungssprüche*]
Kl 116 Zergangen ist meins herzen we, K 82
Kl 117 Und swig ich nu die lenge zwar, K 66 [not in *A*; same melody as Kl 28]
Kl 118 Wol auf und wacht, K 80 [in *B* only, added in a different hand]
Kl 119 Bog dep' mi was dustu da, K 8 [not in *B*; 3 stanzas, each in two sections: (i) Rhaeto-Romanic, Lat., Ger.; (ii) Ger. trans. to same melody]
Kl 122 Wol auf, gesellen, an die vart, K 79 [not in *B*]
Kl 123 Der seines laids ergeczt well sein, K 11 [not in *B*]
Kl 124 Ain ellend schid durch zahers flins, K 117 [not in *B*; complete in *A* (contrary to Koller)]
Kl 125 Ain eren schacz, K 118 [not in *B*; complete in *A* (contrary to Koller)]
Kl 126 Frew dich, durchleuchtig junckfrau zart, K 25 [not in *B*; same melody as Kl 40]
Kl 128 Sy hat mein hertz getroffen [no music; not in *A* or *B*; doubtful; 4 sources]
Kl 129 Der werlde vernewung lawter klar [no music; adaptation of the hymn Mundi renovacio, *A-Wn* 2975, 4696, *D-Mbs* Cgm 715, Cgm 1115]
Kl 130 Von Got so wart gesant [no music; adaptation of sequence Mittit ad virginem, *A-Wn* 2975, 4696, *D-Mbs* Cgm 715, Cgm 1115]
Kl 132 Medlin zartt stein [no music, 3 stanzas in *D-Ngm* Wolkenstein-Archiv, leaf of fasc. 12*a*]
Kl 133 Wilt du haben zü sorgen [no music; 2 rhyming couplets attrib. Wolkenstein in *GB-Lbl* Add.16581]
Kl 134 Got müs fur uns vechten [no music; 4 couplets with cross-rhymes, only in Stadtmuseum, Regensburg, R 58 (shortly after 1431)]

POLYPHONIC LIEDER

Kl 37 Des himels trone entpfärbet sich, 2vv, K 88 [*B* has tenor only; melody used for Kl 38]
Kl 38 Keuschlich geboren, 2vv, K 99 [same melody as Kl 37]
Kl 43 Ain güt geboren edel man, 3vv, K 86 [*A* has tenor only]
Kl 46 Du ausserweltes schöns mein herz, 4vv, K 90 [contrafactum of ballade Je voy mon cuer (anon.), *F-Pn* n.a.fr.6771 (3vv), *F-Sm* C.22 (3vv), *CZ-Pu* XI E 9 (2vv)]
Kl 47 Fröleichen so well wir schir singen, 2vv, K 26, 124 *b* [*B* has tenor only, contrafactum of M. Fabri: Bien ay je cause]
Kl 48 Stand auff, Maredel, liebes Gredel, 4vv, K 106 [*B* has 2vv only; contrafactum of rondeau Jour a jour la vie (anon.), *F-Pn* it.568 (2vv), *F-Pn* n.a.fr.6771 (4vv), *GB-Lbl* Cotton Tit.A.xxvi (3vv), *I-Fn* Panciatichiano 26 (3vv); also in *F-Sm* C.22 as Ave virgo mater pia, *D-Mbs* Clm 14274 with text 'Cristus rex pacificus' (4vv); 2 intabulations in *I-FZc* 117]
Kl 49 Sag an, herzlieb, 3vv, K 105, K 124*a* [*B* has 2vv only]
Kl 50 Der mai mit lieber zal, 2vv, K 87 [contrafactum of J. Vaillant: Par maintes foys]
Kl 51 Ach, senliches leiden, 2vv, K 84
Kl 52 Wolauff, gesell! wer jagen well, 3vv, K 113 [contrafactum of ballade Fuyés de moy (anon.), *F-Pn* n.a.fr.6771 (3vv), *CZ-Pu* XI E 9 (2vv), *A-M* 391 (2vv), *F-Pn* n.a.fr.23190; also in *F-Sm* C.22 as Quam pulchra es]
Kl 53 Frölich, zärtlich, lieplich, 2vv, K 94 [contrafactum of rondeau En tes doulz flans (anon.), *F-Pn* n.a.fr.6771 (3vv), *F-Sm* C.22 as Felix Dei genitrix]
Kl 54 Frölich geschrai so well wir machen, 3vv, K 93 [contrafactum of rondeau Qui contre fortune (anon.), *I-Fn* Panciatichiano 26 (2vv), also in *A-Wn* 5094 and *F-Sm* C.22 as Schack melodye]
Kl 56 Tröstlicher hort, wer tröstet mich, 2vv, K 107 [also in *D-Gs* Lüneb.78, in *D-TRs* 322/1994 and in *D-WH* 118 (89) as Tonat agmen]
Kl 62 Von rechter lieb krafft, 2vv, K 109 [contrafactum of rondeau Alé vous/Je pren congé (anon.), *F-Pn* n.a.fr.4917]
Kl 64 Gar wunniklich hat si mein herz besessen, 2vv, 'fuga', K 95
Kl 65 Mein herz, das ist versert, 2vv, K 101 [contrafactum of F. Landini: Questa fanciulla (3vv); music also used for Kl 66]
Kl 66 Weiss, rot, mit brawn verleucht, 2vv, K 111 [not in *A*; same music as Kl 65]
Kl 68 Mein herz jüngt sich in hoher gail, 2vv, K102 [*B* has tenor only]
Kl 70 Her wiert uns dürstet also sere, 'fuga', 3 vv, K 97 [frags in *D-Mbs* Cgm 715]
Kl 71 Mit günstlichem herzen, 'fuga', 2vv, K 104
Kl 72 Die minne füget niemand, 'fuga', 2vv, K 89 [contrafactum of chace Talent m'est pris (anon.), *I-IV*, *CZ-Pu* XI E 9; also in *F-Sm* C.22 as Der summer kumt]
Kl 75 Wol auff, wol an, 2vv, K 115
Kl 76 Ain graserin durch külen tau, 2vv, K 85
Kl 77 Simm Gredlin, Gred, mein Gredelein, 2vv, K 123 [*B* has tenor only (discant staff empty)]
Kl 78 Mich tröst ain adeliche mait, 2vv, K 103
Kl 79 Frölich so wil ich aber singen, 2vv, K 120
Kl 84 Wol auff, wir wellen slauffen, 2 vv, K 114
Kl 88 Vier hundert jar auff erd, 2vv, K 108 [contrafactum of P. Fontaine: A son plaisir]
Kl 91 Freuntlicher blick, 2 vv, K 92
Kl 93 Herz, prich, 2vv, K 121
Kl 94 Lieb, dein verlangen, 2vv, K 122 [*B* has tenor only (discant staff empty)]
Kl 96 Grasselick lif, 3vv, K 96

Kl 101	Wach auff, mein hort, es leucht dort her, 2vv, K 110 [tenor also in *D-Bsb* 40613 (Lochamer Liederbuch, 1452-60) and *D-ROu* 100 (Rostocker Liederbuch, *c*1465 with later additions); intabulation in *D-Bsb* 40613, 2 in *D-Mbs* Mus.ms.3625]
Kl 103	Wer die ougen wil verschüren mit den brenden, 2vv, K 111 [not in *A*; contrafactum of N. Grenon: La plus jolie]
Kl 107	Kom, liebster man, K 100 [not in *A*; contrafactum of rondeau Venés oir (anon.), *F-Pn* n.a.fr.10660]
Kl 108	Ich klag, 3vv, K 98 [not in *A*]
Kl 109*a*	Ave mater, O Maria [see Kl 109*b*]
Kl 109*b*	Ave müter küniginne, 3 vv [not in *A*, preceded in *B* by Lat. version (Kl 109*a*); also in *I-Bu* 2216 (4vv), *I-Vnm* 7554 (olim IX 145) (3vv), *PL-Wn* III 8054 (Krasinski 52) and *D-Mbs* Mus.ms.3725 (intabulation)]
Kl 120	Freu dich, du weltlich creatur, 3vv, K 91 [not in *B*]
Kl 121	Nu rue mit sorgen, canon, 2vv, K 50 [not in *B*]
Kl 131	Mir dringet zwinget fraw dein güt [no music; text in *D-Mbs* Clm 4871 (dated 1461), with heading 'Techst vber das geleyemors Wolkenstainer'; probably contrafactum of Binchois: Je loe amours]

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C. Petzsch: ' Zum Freidank-Cento Oswalds von Wolkenstein', *AMw*, xxvi (1969), 125–39

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R. Strohm: ' Song Composition in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries: Old and New Questions', *Jb der Oswald von Wolkenstein-Gesellschaft*, ix (1996–7), 523–50

LORENZ WELKER

Otaka, Hisatada (*b* Tokyo, 26 Sept 1911; *d* Tokyo, 16 Feb 1951). Japanese composer and conductor, father of Otaka Tadaaki. He went to Vienna before graduating from high school and received his earliest music education there. In 1932 he returned to Tokyo, where he studied composition with Klaus Pringheim. He was back in Vienna in 1934, and there he studied composition with Marx and conducting with Weingartner at the Music Academy, while taking private lessons with Franz Moser. In 1936 he won a Weingartner Prize for the orchestral *Nihon kumikyoku*, and after his graduation in 1938 he was active as a conductor until he returned to Japan in 1940 and became the regular conductor of the Japan SO. As a composer he was an advocate of German Romanticism, combined with certain characteristics of Japanese nationalism; he wrote exclusively for instruments. After his early death the orchestra he had served as conductor instituted an Otaka Prize for composition in his memory.

WORKS
(selective list)

Orch: Nihon kumikyoku [Japanese Suite], 1936; Ashiya otome [Ashiya Maiden], sym. poem, 1937; Rhapsody, pf, orch, 1943; Fl Conc., 1948; Sym., 1948

Chbr and solo inst: Sonata, vn, pf, 1932; Str Qt no.1, 1938; Pf Trio, 1941; Str Qt no.2, 1943; Nocturne, vc, pf, 1944; 3 Portraits, pf, 1949

Vocal: 6 Songs from the Man'yō-shū, T, pf, 1934; Karamatsu [The Larch], A, pf, 1950

Principal publisher: Ongaku-no-Tomo Sha

MASAKATA KANAZAWA

Otaka, Tadaaki (*b* Kamakura, 8 Nov 1947). Japanese conductor, son of HISATADA OTAKA. He attended the celebrated Toho Gakuen College of Music in Tokyo and came to Europe to further his studies at the Vienna Hochschule für Musik. He rejoined the Toho Gakuen College as a faculty member in 1970. That appointment was followed by prestigious conducting appointments within Japan: from 1974 to 1992 he was principal conductor of the Tokyo PO and from 1981 principal conductor of the Sapporo SO. Otaka's career was established in the West when in 1987 he became principal conductor of the BBC National Orchestra of Wales in Cardiff, an appointment which took him to the Proms in 1991. In 1991 he also made his début with the WNO,

conducting *Salome*. The following year he was appointed principal conductor of the Yomiuri Nippon SO in Tokyo, and in 1995 he became principal conductor of the newly formed Kioi Sinfonietta. He has also appeared as a guest conductor with the LSO, BBC SO, Oslo PO, Royal Liverpool PO and other orchestras. Admired both for his spacious, expressive readings of the central symphonic repertory and as an exponent of 20th-century music, Otaka has given a number of world premières, including Elena Firsova's *Cassandra* (1993) and several works by Toru Takemitsu: *For Calls, Coming, far!* (1980), *Orion and Pleiades* (1984) and *Gemini* (1986). Among his recordings are orchestral works by Franck, Elgar, Rachmaninoff and Lutosławski.

JESSICA DUCHEN

Otaño (y Eguino), Nemesio (*b* Azcoitia, Guipúzcoa, 19 Dec 1880; *d* S Sebastián, 29 April 1956). Spanish composer and writer on music. He studied with the organists in various villages of Guipúzcoa. In 1896 he joined the Society of Jesus and was appointed organist of the Basilica of Loyola. He went to Valladolid in 1903 and there studied counterpoint and composition with Vicente Goicoechea, who encouraged him in his ideas for the reform of sacred music; together they organized the first National Sacred Music Congress in Valladolid in 1907. The same year Otaño founded the journal *Música sacro hispana*, which he ran for 15 years, achieving through it a radical reform and restoration of church music in Spain along the lines of Pius X's *Motu proprio*. In 1911 he founded the Schola Cantorum at the seminary of Comillas, which became the model for countless other choirs at seminaries and in parishes throughout Spain. Otaño and his choir also set high standards for the performance of Gregorian chant and polyphony, for he had gained knowledge and experience by travelling all over Europe to hear the best choirs and study at monasteries. At the same time he worked incessantly as a lecturer, organizer and composer, all in the interests of sacred music.

Otaño's compositions range from simple settings of popular songs to large-scale vocal-orchestral works. Of the former type, the sacred songs in popular style are particularly important; scored for voice and harmonium, they include such miniature jewels as *Estrella hermosa*, and have achieved great popularity in Spain. The larger compositions include the *Suite vasca* for six voices, the great *Miserere* for five voices and organ, the *Gran himno a S Ignacio de Loyola* for eight voices and orchestra, and the Holy Week responsories. All Otaño's music is distinguished by accomplishment and propriety; his melody, even in simple pieces, avoids vulgarity and is perfectly constructed, while his harmony extends from the straightforward (intended for parish organists) to the Wagnerism of the *Suite vasca*.

In 1937 Otaño was appointed musical director of the national radio, and in 1939 he became director of the Madrid Conservatory. During these later years his concerns turned from sacred music and composition to administration and teaching, and the period of his directorship at the conservatory was decisive in renewing ideas about music teaching in the Spanish conservatories.

WORKS
(*selective list*)

Edition: *Nemesio Otaño: Obras completas* (San Sebastián, 1956–71)

Choral: 12 cánticos al Sagrado Corazón, 1909; 8 cánticos a la Santísima Virgen, 1910; 8 letanías, 3/4vv, org, 1911; 12 canciones para la Sagrada Comunión, 1912; Suite vasca, 6vv, 1912; 21 canciones a María Santísima, 1917; Gran himno a S Ignacio de Loyola, 8vv, orch, 1917; Marcha real española, 6vv, orch; Miserere, 5vv, org; Responsorios del oficio de Semana Santa; folksong arrs.

Other works: songs, org pieces, some inst works

WRITINGS

La música religiosa y la legislación eclesiástica (Barcelona, 1912)
El canto popular montañés (Santander, 1915)
Antonio Eximeno (Madrid, 1943)

JOSÉ LÓPEZ-CALO

Otava, Zdeněk (*b* Vítějeves, nr Polička, Bohemia, 11 March 1902; *d* Prague, 4 Dec 1980). Czech baritone. As a choirboy he impressed Janáček; subsequently he studied the piano and violin with Martinů. After singing lessons in Prague, he studied in Rome (with Riccardo Stracciari), Milan and Vienna. He made his début in Bratislava as Iago (1925), and a year later was engaged by the Brno Opera with which he sang Baron Prus in the première of Janáček's *The Makropulos Affair* and the title role in Krenek's *Jonny spielt auf*. From 1929 to 1972 he worked at the National Theatre in Prague, singing more than 160 roles; he also toured widely abroad. Otava's voice had a very wide range and a marked intensity, and while light, was extremely varied in colour, with an even tone, free of vibrato; his diction was absolutely clear. With his striking stage presence, he gave characteristic portrayals of Figaro, Germont, Yevgeny Onegin and Telramund, and masterly projections of such villains and conspirators as Pizarro, Scarpia and Iago. He was no less versatile and successful in the Czech repertory, and learnt a large number of contemporary roles. He was also a successful recitalist, favouring the contemporary Czech repertory. He taught at the Prague Conservatory (1941–2, 1953) and at the Academy of Musical Arts (1952–73), and published an autobiography, *Jen ve zpěvu* [Only in song] (Prague, 1947).

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ALENA NĚMCOVÁ

Otescu, Ion Nonna (*b* Bucharest, 3/15 Dec 1888; *d* Bucharest, 25 March 1940). Romanian composer and conductor. He studied at the Bucharest Conservatory (1903–7) with Kiriac-Georgescu (theory) and Alfonso Castaldi (composition), then in Paris at the Schola Cantorum (1908–11) with d'Indy and at the Conservatoire with Widor. Returning to Romania, he taught harmony and composition at the Bucharest Conservatory from 1913 until 1940, and was director of the conservatory from 1918. He modernized the curriculum there, introducing new courses and assembling an outstanding staff. Otescu was also among the founders of the *Muzica* review (1916), the Romanian Opera and the Society of Romanian Composers, of which he was vice-chairman from 1920 to 1940; in addition to these activities, he was permanent conductor of the Bucharest PO. His work in these various fields left him little time for composition, but his small oeuvre is of high quality. He adapted the harmony and orchestration of French Impressionism in picturesque and programmatic pieces on Romanian subjects, using indigenous folk elements, at first decoratively; in later works, such as the opera *De la Matei citire* ('From the Writings of St Matthew'), folk music is bound into the structure and the style is more individual. Otescu's mature style is

distinguished by broad melody, subtlety of form and a virtuoso, diaphanous orchestration.

WORKS
(*selective list*)

Stage: Ileana Cosînzeana (ballet), 1918; Rubinul miraculos [The Miraculous Ruby] (ballet), 1919; De la Matei citire [From the Writings of St Matthew], (ob, 3, Otescu), 1938, rev. and completed A. Stroe, perf. 1966

Orch: Le temple du gnide, 1908; La légende de la rose rouge, 1910; Narcis, 1911; Din bătrîni [Since Times of Old], 1912; Peisaj de iarnă [Winter Landscape], 1913; Les enchantements d'Armide, vn, orch, 1915

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VIOREL COSMA

Otger. *See* HOGER DE LAON.

Othmayr, Caspar [Othmarus, Gasparus] (*b* Amberg, 12 March 1515; *d* Nuremberg, 4 Feb 1553). German composer. His parents, Niclas and Margarethe Othmayr, were both from Amberg. Since the church registers concerned have been lost, we have no further information about his father's profession or social status, and can only assume that Caspar attended the Amberg Lateinschule. He then sang as a choirboy in the Kapelle of the later Elector Friedrich II. Amberg was the second princely seat in the Palatinate, along with Heidelberg, so it was natural for Othmayr to study at Heidelberg University. He matriculated there on 19 May 1533 and took the degree of Bachelor of Arts on 9 June 1534. In 1536 he gained his Licentiate, and he became Master of Arts on 16 August of that year. While he was studying he continued to serve in the electoral Kapelle, directed at the time by Lorenz Lemlin. We have no information about the next ten years of the composer's life; the presumption that he was living in Regensburg cannot be verified. In 1543 he became headmaster of the Lateinschule of Heilsbronn monastery, and there, in 1547, married Anna, daughter of the monastery administrator Johannes [Hans] Hartung, who during the years 1538–48 copied the so-called *Heilsbronner Chorbücher* (*D-ERu* 473, 1–4). Hoping to improve his financial situation, Othmayr applied for a canonry at St Gumbertus in Ansbach in the summer of 1545, and for that reason Amberg city council issued him a birth certificate on 7 July. The dean and chapter of St Gumbertus appointed him to the canonry, but he did not come into the living immediately. Margrave Georg Friedrich of Branderburg-Ansbach was still under-age at this time, and Othmayr's rivals made use of this fact to place obstacles in the way of the princely dispensation. Othmayr did not receive this, and with it the living, until 15 July 1547. The provost of St Gumbertus, Leonhard Keller, died in 1548, and Othmayr applied to succeed him in the post. Following his friends' advice, he travelled to a princely wedding in Torgau on 8 October 1548, in the retinue of Margrave Albrecht Alcibiades of Brandenburg-Kulmbach. Here Othmayr petitioned the Electors Joachim II Hector of Brandenburg and Moritz of Saxony, the guardians of Georg Friedrich of Ansbach. He also met Johann Walter (i) in Torgau. His nomination to the post was made out on 26 October, but meanwhile on 19 October a rival applicant had appeared in the shape of the student Wilhelm Bürkle, who had the support of Ansbach city council and Governor Friedrich van Knoblochsdorf. A long legal dispute ensued, and went before the imperial Supreme Court. However, Othmayr fell ill, and when his condition did not improve he was taken to the Heilsbronn hospital in Nuremberg, where he died. Othmayr was buried on 6 February 1553 in the Church of the Holy Cross in Ansbach.

Othmayr has been seen as the most important and versatile German composer of the generation between Senfl, Stoltzer and Johann Walter (i) on the one hand, and Leonhard Schroeter, Gallus Dressler and Joachim a Burck on the other. His output covers the most important contemporary genres of ecclesiastical and secular vocal music with the exception of the mass, and amounts to about 230 compositions. Instrumental music is represented only by two four-part dances.

Othmayr published most of his works in his own collections. However, there are also numerous manuscript concordances to the printed works, especially the German songs. These are found in all parts of the German-speaking area, and as far afield as Copenhagen and Lille. The Heidelberg chapel register of 1544 (*D-HEu* Pal.Ger.318) mentions 14 compositions, 13 of which seem to be lost.

The earliest of Othmayr's works to have been preserved, the five-part *Symbolum* of Duke Heinrich of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, dates from 1542 (*Dk-Kk* Gl. K. 1872). The *Te Deum* mentioned in the catalogue of the Heidelberg Kapelle, which may have been composed for the wedding of Elector Friedrich II in 1535, has been lost. The Erlangen University library contains an autograph fragment of a setting of Luther's hymn *Der Tag, der ist so freudenreich*, dated 1545. Othmayr's first printed works, the *Epitaphium D. Martini Lutheri* and the *Cantilenae aliquot elegantes ac piae*, appeared in 1546. In these works there is a clear distinction between the musical settings of German and Latin texts. While the German settings are for four parts and follow the Protestant Tenorlied model, in the Latin motets Othmayr adopted the post-Josquin style, with contrapuntal compression of small motifs and a clear balance between melismatic and syllabic text-setting. The *Bicinia sacra* undoubtedly derive from his work as a teacher; the educational aspect even appears in the title of the *Tricinia* of 1549: 'composed for the utility of Christian youth'. Othmayr's most distinctive publication is the *Symbola illustrissimorum … virorum*, musical settings of the emblems or mottos of important and influential men. They combine various different features: on the one hand, a tendency towards subjectivity and its expression typical of the Renaissance; on the other, the political purpose of aesthetically confirming the self-esteem of the characters concerned and the commercial intention of earning money from one or other of the compositions. Nor should we forget the religious aspect – in Othmayr's words, 'the true religion and honesty are spread by divine influence among men' – which validates all the others. A private counterpart to the *Symbols* is provided by the motets *In epitaphiis Gasparis Othmari* (1554[30]), in which Johannes Bucher, Georg Forster, Conrad Praetorius, Nicolaus Piltz and Othmayr himself feature as the authors. The songs of the 1549 collection *Reutterische und jegerische Liedlein*, and Othmayr's songs

in Forster's *Frische teutsche Liedlein* (1549[36-7]), met with some success. In these songs the villanelle and chanson styles make as important a contribution as the last vestiges of the Netherlandish cantus firmus technique.

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[10] Cantilenae aliquot elegantes ac piae, 4, 5vv (Nuremberg, 1546[10]), A ii
[2] Epitaphium D. Martini Lutheri, 5vv (Nuremberg, 1546), A ii
[34] Symbola illustrissimorum principum, nobilium, aliorumque ... virorum, 5vv (Nuremberg, 1547), A i
[41] Bicinia sacra (Nuremberg, 1547[18]), A ii (see Krautwurst)
[30] Tricinia (Nuremberg, 1549), A ii
[50] Reutterische und jegerische Liedlein, 4, 5vv (Nuremberg, 1549); ed. F. Piersig (Wolfenbüttel, 1928–33)
30 other songs and motets in 1546[8], 1549[36], 1549[37], 1556[28], 1556[29], 1558[20], 1568[11]; *D-LEu,Mbs, Rp, Z; DK-Kk*; 11 ed. in A ii, 22 ed. in EDM, 1st ser., lx–lxii (1969–87); 2 ed. in Cw, lxiii (1957)
Symbolum of Duke Heinrich of Brunswick, 5vv, *DK-Kk*, A i, 1542
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2 instrumental dances, *Rp*, 1 ed. in A ii
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CLYTUS GOTTWALD

Otis, Johnny [John Veliotes] (*b* Vallejo, CA, 8 Dec 1921). American songwriter, drummer and bandleader. He immersed himself in black American musical styles although he himself came from a Greek immigrant background. He formed his first orchestra in the mid-1940s and from 1949 he toured the United States with his R&B Caravan whose corps of singers included Jackie Wilson, Little Willie John, Hank Ballard, Big Mama Thornton and Johnny Ace. Otis also provided the house band, and produced recordings, for the Duke record label. He composed a number of hit songs including *Double Crossing Blues*, *Roll with Me Henry*, *Every Beat of my Heart*, *Willie and the Hand Jive* and *Ma He's Making Eyes at Me*, while his recordings for Capitol included *Willie and the Hand Jive*, *Casting my Spell* and *Crazy Country Hop*. He was one of the great animateurs of black American music in the 1950s, discovering and promoting such singers as Esther Phillips and Etta James, and later formed his own Blues Spectrum label to record veteran rhythm and blues singers such as Charles Brown and Louis Jordan. His own 1969 album *Cold Shot* featured his son Shuggie on electric guitar. Otis subsequently trained for the ministry and became pastor of a church in Los Angeles.

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DAVE LAING

Otker of Regensburg [Ratisbon] (*fl* Regensburg, 11th or 12th century). Cleric and theorist. He was a monk at St Emmeram, and wrote two short treatises dealing with the monochord and its graphic representation, *Mensura quadripartite figure* (*GerbertS*, i, 348 and *PL*, cli, 691–2) and *Encheriadis monochordum* (*PL*, cli, 693–4). The former is one of a series of explanations of the modes which use diagrams of the monochord for their exposition. Often called *cribrum monochordi*, they approach with remarkable clarity the modern system of solfège based on the movable *doh*. Here the eight modes are discussed in terms of the *maneriae*, and the drawings of the monochord are adjusted to show the finals of the modes in a straight line and to allow vertical identification of the initial and final notes of each tetrachord (see Table 1). This and similar diagrams, such as those offered by Wilhelm of Hirsau and Theogerus of Metz, represent a high point in medieval pedagogy. This technique of using the monochord may be likened to the modern practice of explaining scale patterns and intervals in relation to keyboard instruments.

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CECIL ADKINS

Otloh of St Emmeram (*b c*1010; *d c*1070). Benedictine writer, composer and music theorist. A monk at St Emmeram in Regensburg, he was one of the most productive authors of his time, writing on a wide variety of subjects. He was heavily involved in the fabricated 'discovery' of the relics of St Dionysius (Denis of Paris) at St Emmeram in 1049. Although he is addressed as a partner in the music theory treatise of WILHELM OF HIRSAU, whose teacher he appears to have been, no treatise by Otloh has survived. On the other hand, liturgical chants copied by him are to be found in a number of manuscripts that originated in St Emmeram, and it is likely that he composed many of them. Among his works are a sequence for St Dionysius *Exultemus in ista fratres*, a troped Kyrie *O pater immense* and chants for the proper Office of St Dionysius (*D-Mbs* Clm 14083, 14871).

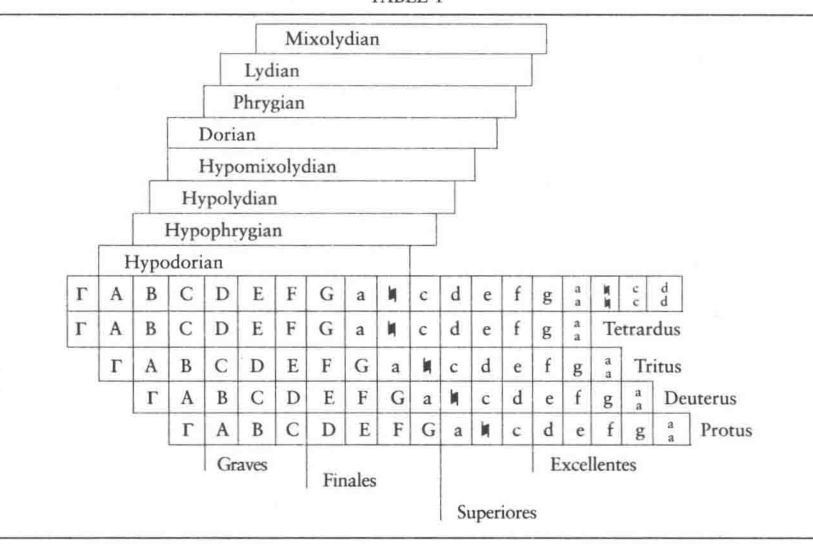
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DAVID HILEY

Ots, Charles (*b* Brussels, 13 May 1776; *d* Brussels, 1845). Flemish composer. He probably received his musical education in Brussels, and settled in Ghent at the end of the 18th century. His *opéra comique La ruse villageoise* was performed in the municipal theatre there in 1796.

TABLE 1



Later he was active as a music teacher and was a member of the Société des Beaux-Arts et de la Littérature. His second opera, *Le nouveau marié, ou Les imposteurs*, was performed in Brussels in 1808. Between 1816 and 1818 he devoted himself chiefly to opera, writing two more works for Ghent. Of these, *David Teniers* was particularly successful, and he became conductor at the Ghent theatre for the 1819–20 season. He was extremely active in this post, but intrigues and rivalries caused him to resign. Disappointed, he abandoned opera and turned to composing sacred music. In form his operas were similar to Dalayrac's, in one act and with arias of the *romance* type. Ots chose subjects popular at the time of the French Revolution and under the Empire – historical portraits, battle scenes and the glorification of the nation – contributing to the importation of French operatic trends into the Low Countries.

His daughter Emilie (*b* 24 April 1808) studied singing with him and embarked on a career during which she sang at the Opéra-Comique in Paris in 1827 (*BNB*, E. Beeckman).

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STAGE

opéras comiques in one act

La ruse villageoise, Ghent, 2 Jan 1796
Le nouveau marié, ou Les imposteurs (J.F. Cailhava), Brussels, Monnaie, June 1808
Jean Second, ou Charles V dans les murs de Gand, Ghent, 18 Dec 1816
David Teniers, Ghent, 28 Oct 1818

OTHER WORKS

La rose enlevée (cant.)
6 canzonette, hpd acc., op.5 (Mainz, n.d.)
Romances: Henri Quatre, Je l'aimerai, Les beaux arts, 6 romances, v, pf/hp
Sacred: Dixit Dominus, Laudate pueri, Tantum ergo, O salutaris, others, cited in *FétisB*

PHILIPPE VENDRIX

Ott [Ottler, Ottel, Otto], **Hans** [Johannes] (*d* Nuremberg, 1546). German publisher. A bookseller in Regensburg until his expulsion in 1524, Ott continued his business in Nuremberg from 1525 until his death. In 1533, he received an Imperial privilege to publish music, and from 1534 to 1544 issued six anthologies. He commissioned the printing of the first five from Hieronymus Formschneider; the connection with Formschneider was severed sometime between 1539 and the early 1540s, and his next anthology was printed in 1544 by the recently-founded firm, Berg & Neuber. In 1545, he received an imperial privilege for Isaac's *Choralis Constantinus*, a book of masses, and a pharmacological work; however he died the following year, without having published any of these volumes. His widow, Elsbet, returning to Formschneider as printer, published the first volume of the *Choralis Constantinus* in 1550; she continued the bookselling business until 1554.

Most of the 291 works in Ott's series of secular anthologies are by composers from the imperial or Bavarian courts or in the employ of the Nuremberg Council; just over half are by Senfl. The series of sacred anthologies contains 100 motets and 13 mass ordinaries, with other volumes of mass ordinaries and propers planned at the time of his death; he intended the series to be dominated by the works of the three composers whom he singled out for special praise – Josquin, Senfl and Isaac. Ott's political and business acumen caused him to take particular care when editing the motet texts; by careful choice or revision, he ensured that the secular motets were all in praise of members of the family of the dedicatee, Ferdinand, King of the Romans, and furthermore that the sacred motets would cause no offence in Lutheran Nuremberg. His success as an editor is clear, for his anthologies are among the most important and influential German musical sources from the first half of the 16th century.

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ROYSTON GUSTAVSON

Ott, Lorenz Justinian [Joseph Marzellin] (*b* Dietfurt an der Altmühl, bap. 28 April 1748; *d* Weyarn, Upper Bavaria, 6 April 1805). German composer. He attended the Jesuit seminary in Neuburg an der Donau (1759–64) and then studied logic at the Jesuit high school in Munich. In 1767 he joined the Augustinian prebendary institute in Weyarn as a novice, took his vows on 11 September 1768, was ordained on 6 October 1771, and became sub-dean at the monastery in about 1777. Having taught music at the monastery school, he was appointed music director in 1780 as successor to Bernhard Haltenberger (also known as Montenelli). Under Ott's direction the Weyarn monastery became one of the most important centres of musical practice in Bavaria. His manuscript diary in the Munich Ordinariatsarchiv, covering the years 1776 to 1805, is an important source for the history of music in the institute.

Ott composed exclusively for his own monastery. Five symphonies, seven masses, a requiem, three *Salve regina* settings and ten Latin and German sacred works on a smaller scale survive (in *D-FS*), as do some sacred works of doubtful authenticity and several arrangements. His arrangements of operatic excerpts by Bernasconi and Sacchini as sacred works are examples of the musical parody frequently practised in the Bavarian monasteries of this period.

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ROBERT MÜNSTER

Ottani, Bernardo (*b* Bologna, 8 Sept 1736; *d* Turin, 26 April 1827). Italian composer, brother of GAETANO OTTANI. In the early literature he is often confused with his older brother. He studied with Padre Martini, who remained a lifelong friend; the letters to his master, described by Tagliavini, survive in the Bologna Conservatory. His earliest composition to be performed was reportedly a cantata *Il trionfo della gloria* in 1760 in Bologna; this was followed in 1765 by an oratorio *Le gare della potenza*, and in the same year he was elected to Bologna's Accademia Filarmonica. He was in Genoa by February 1766 to write an opera (of which the only known record is a letter from him to Martini); there he also gave lessons to the brother of the king of Sweden. In the autumn of that year he went to Venice to provide new music and revisions for a popular Piccinni opera. This work earned him a commission from the Teatro S Moisè to set a new comic opera, *L'amore senza malizia*, for 1768 the carnival season, and early that year he wrote to his teacher of its clamorous success. It was immediately taken on tour throughout northern Italy and central Germany. Ottani may have gone with the company to Germany, for the comedy was performed in Dresden that same year, and he wrote two further comic operas for the court there.

By late 1769 Ottani must have returned to Bologna, for then he was appointed *maestro di cappella* of the basilica of S Giovanni in Monte, an office he also held in the church of S Lucia, and three years later in the Collegio degli Ungheri. Church compositions apparently occupied him for the next few years. For Good Friday of 1770 he wrote another oratorio, and later that year he was one of ten musicians chosen by the Accademia to compose and conduct works for its annual day-long concert, which took place on 30 August with Burney and the Mozarts in attendance. Burney thought him 'young and promising', and described the *Laudate pueri* as containing 'many ingenious, pretty things'. Shortly after this, on 9 October, Ottani was one of Wolfgang's examiners for his election to the academy. In 1774 Ottani served as the academy's president.

In the meantime, his reputation had been growing and he started to travel again on opera commissions: in 1776 to Turin, where he became a friend of Quirino Gasparini; in autumn and winter 1777–8 to Naples and Rome; and for those seasons the following year to Venice, Florence and again Turin. In spring 1778 he was *primo cembalo* at the Teatro Pubblico, Bologna, in the production of Gluck's *Alceste*. Then in 1779 his serious opera *Fatima*, written for Turin, resulted in an appointment as *maestro di cappella* of the cathedral there, and he resigned his positions in Bologna. His new duties included teaching young members of the church music school; among his more distinguished graduates were the singer Felice Pellegrini (1774–1832) and the singer and theorist Federico Massimino (1775–1858). In 1780–81 he also taught the Princess Caroline, until her marriage to Anton of Saxony. He composed at least three *opera serie* after moving to Turin. They reflect the court's interest in innovatory *opera seria*, notably *Calipso*; a French-inspired piece with choruses, dance and stage spectacle. The orchestration is especially rich in wind solos and obbligatos including clarinet and bassoon. He devoted most of his attention to church music. According to early sources he composed 46 masses, and many motets, litanies, psalms

and other sacred works. During the French occupation Ottani was involved in the dissolution of the Royal Chapel in 1798, the closing of the Teatro Regio and the shutting down of musical activity. Continuing his duties at the cathedral he wrote several religious compositions for the coronation of Napoleon and was nominated *maestro di musica* to the Prince and Princess Borghese. As the only survivor of the old order at the time of the Restoration, he was entrusted with the task of reorganizing a new Royal Chapel in 1814.

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Le virtuose ridicole (dg, C. Goldoni), Dresden, Piccolo, carn. 1769, *D-Dl*
L'amore industrioso (dg, G. Casori), Dresden, Piccolo, 21 Nov 1769, *Dl*, *I-Tf*
La semplicità in amore (dg), Udine, carn. 1771
Calipso (L'isola di Calipso) (os, Donzel), Turin, Regio, 26 Dec 1776, *D-Bsb*, *P-La*
Catone in Utica (os, P. Metastasio), Naples, Reale, Nov 1777, *I-Nc*, *P-La*
La sprezzante abbandonata, ovvero La finta sprezzante (dg), Rome, Dame, carn. 1778
Le industrie amorose (dg, G. Bertati), Venice, S Moisè, aut. 1778
Le nozze della Bita (dg, N. Tassi), Florence, Cocomero, aut. 1778, *B-Bc*
Fatima (os), Turin, Regio, carn. 1779, *I-Mc*, *P-La*
La Didone (os, Metastasio), Forlì, Pubblico, spr. 1779, *I-Tf*
Arminio (os, Coluzzi), Turin, Regio, carn. 1781, *D-Dl*, *P-La*
Amaionne (os, F.S. Gambino), Turin, Regio, carn. 1784, *La*
Le clemenza di Tito (os, Metastasio), Turin, Regio, carn. 1798, duet *I-Mc*
Several arias and a duet for Piccinni's Il fumo villana (orig. title Il cavaliere per amore), Venice, S Moisè, aut. 1766; new pieces for Traetta's opera (?Le serve rivali), Venice, aut. 1767
Doubtful: Adriano, Mantua, 1765; arias *I-MAav*, duet *Vc*; Il maestro (ob), Munich, Hof., carn. 1770; Le Amazzoni (Bertati), Turin, Carignano, carn. 1784
Individual arias and ensembles in *A-Wgm*, *CH-Zz*, *D-Bsb*, *Dl*, *DS*, *SWl*, *W*, *F-Lm*, *Pc*, *I-Fc*, *Gl*, *Mc*, *MAav* (Ciro aria), *Pca*, *Vmc* and in contemporary anthologies

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Sacred vocal: Antifona, 4vv, *I-Baf*; Kyrie, 4vv, strs, hn, *Bc*; Kyrie, 4vv, strs, ob, hn, org, *MOe*, Gloria in excelsis, 4vv, strs, hn, *Bc*; Ave Regina coelorum, S, T, strs, hn, 1763, *Bc**; Cum invocarem, 4vv, insts, *Bc*; Dixit, 4vv, ob, hn, *Bc*; Nisi Dominus, SAB, insts, *Bc*; Libera me Domine, 4vv, strs, bc, *MOe*; Mottetto, Vaga hyrundo viduata, B♭, B, orch, Genoa, 1785, *VId*
Instr: Fughe a tre e quattro voce, *I-Bc*; 6 sonates faciles, *F-Pn*; Sinfonien zu Opern, *A-Wgm*, *I-Mc*

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JAMES L. JACKMAN/MARITA P. McCLYMONDS

Ottani, Gaetano [Bernardino] (*b* ?Bologna, before 1736; *d* Turin,1808). Italian tenor, brother of BERNARDO OTTANI. His first known performance was in Bologna in 1747; he then sang in Lucca (1748) and Turin (1750), and from 1754 until 1768 was attached to the Turin court opera as *primo uomo*. He also sang in Milan in 1752, and again in 1770 when the Mozarts heard him in the convent of S Marco. Burney, who met him in July 1770 in Turin, thought him 'a master in his profession', possessing an 'excellent voice' and performing 'with taste and in a pleasing manner'. Gaetano was also a landscape painter of some repute (to Burney's eye, in the style of Claude Lorrain) and occasionally received royal commissions. He is sometimes confused with his more famous brother.

For bibliography *see* OTTANI, BERNARDO.

JAMES L. JACKMAN

Ottava (It.). *See* OCTAVE (i).

Ottava alta, bassa, sopra, sotta. *See under* ALL'OTTAVA.

Ottava battuta (It.: 'beaten octave'). In two-part counterpoint, the accented approach of the octave from a larger interval and by contrary motion, considered by some theorists to be characteristic of bad PART-WRITING.

Ottava rima (It.). A stanzaic form of Italian poetry set by composers of the frottola and 16th-century madrigal, also known as STRAMBOTTO and elsewhere *rispetto*, although the *strambotto* usually consists of a single stanza and the *rispetto* refers not to structure, but to intent or function (poetry, with or without music, reverently offered to the female beloved). While the multistrophic *ottava rima* is known from literature (Boccaccio, *Filostrato*, 1339; Ariosto, *Orlando furioso*, 1516; and so forth, down to the English poets Wyatt and Spenser and, in the 19th century, Byron, in *Don Juan*, 1819–24), it is rare in the musical sources: composers usually set a single stanza, as in the *strambotto* or equivalent examples in the madrigal. In prosody the *ottava rima*, in each of its stanzas, consists of eight lines of 11 syllables, or the iambic *endecasillabo*, with the eight lines arranged as four couplets according to the rhyme scheme *abababcc*. Usually the first couplet of the four is the only one to be notated, with the three remaining ones accommodated to its music. The melodic writing tends to be melismatic, thus endowing the single, short couplet with greater length and expressivity. Often a sacred text is indicated as a contrafactum, as in the *strambotto Rezina del cor mio* (*F-Pn* Rés.Vm[7] 676, ff.16 *v*–17 *v*), with the alternative text *Rezina del paradiso*, headed 'Hoc carmine ad laudem Virginis Mariae'. *See* FROTTOLA.

DON HARRÁN

Ottavino (i) (It.). The piccolo or octave flute (*see* FLUTE, §II, 3(i)).

Ottavino (ii) (It.). The octave SPINET, a plucked string keyboard instrument that plays at 4′ pitch, also called *spinettino* or *spinetta ottavina*.

Ottavino (iii) (It.). *See under* ORGAN STOP (*Octavin*).

Ottavio, Frate. *See* ARIOSTI, ATTILIO.

Ottawa. City in Ontario, capital of Canada since 1858; it was called Bytown from 1826 to 1855. Among a population of 2000 in the 1830s, there were six music teachers, including the German-born J.F. Lehmann

(1790–1850) who composed *The Merry Bells of England* (Lovell, 1840), the first known typeset piece of sheet music in Canada. Beginning in the 1840s schools for young ladies and singing schools provided musical instruction, while military and civilian bands gave concerts of popular ballads and operatic selections, especially for the saints' days celebrated by the Irish, English, French and Scottish inhabitants. A performance of an *Ave Maria* ascribed to Pergolesi and Mozart's Requiem celebrated the installation of the 1063 Casavant pipe organ with 18 stops at Notre Dame Basilica in 1850. That year the first of many minstrel troupes performed, and other touring artists began to visit; a railway line, opened in 1854, facilitated travel; and Her Majesty's Theatre (1856) provided a venue.

By 1860 larger musical organizations began to be formed including the Quintette Club (1860s), the Ottawa Choral Society (1860–61, 1865–9), which became the Ottawa Philharmonic Society (1870–73), the Governor-General's Foot Guards Band (from 1872; still active), the Ottawa Musical Union (1879) and the Ottawa Choral Union (1874–6). An 1863 concert included glees, selections from Verdi's operas and a Haydn symphony arrangement. In 1870 the first part of Haydn's *The Creation* was performed with the band of the 60th Regiment. Quadrille dance bands, large bands and church choirs provided most formal musical events, but solo recitals were occurring by the 1870s. A Grand Opera House was built in 1874, opening as Gowan's Opera House; it burnt down in 1913. A touring group performed some Wagner excerpts in 1875 and opera companies with full chorus and orchestra presented opera and operetta. By 1880 local musicians had given the first Canadian performance of a Bach Concerto for three harpsichords (performed on three pianos), and in 1883 they organized the Ottawa String Quartette Club. *Messiah* was performed in full in 1884.

Meanwhile, local composers produced dance music, piano solos, songs and five operettas which were actually staged in the 1870s. A masque, *Canada's Welcome*, with a score of 200 pages by Arthur Clappé, was presented in honour of the new governor-general, the Marquis of Lorne, and his wife the Princess Louise in 1879. In 1880 a parody, *HMS Parliament* by W.H. Fuller, sung to the music of *HMS Pinafore*, became very popular. These local productions led to the formation in 1893 of the Ottawa Amateur Operatic Society. After hearing Damrosch's New York SO, Frank Jenkins formed the Ottawa Amateur Orchestral Society (1894–1902) of some 60 players. It performed choral works with the Schubert Club, later the Ottawa Choral Society (1896–1914), and programmes of operatic overtures, marches, dances and the occasional movement of a symphony or concerto. The Morning Music Club, founded in 1892, became the Pro Musica Society of Ottawa in 1962 and from 1969 to 1974 continued as the Concert Society of Ottawa.

In the early 20th century the rise and fall of various large organizations continued. The opening of the Russell Theatre in 1897 provided a better venue for both local productions and touring artists, until it was taken over by the city authorities in 1928. The oldest continuously operating musical theatre society in North America began in Ottawa as the Orpheus Glee Club in 1906. As the Orpheus Glee and Operatic Society of Ottawa (or the Orpheus Operatic Society), it gave *Iolanthe* in 1917 and by 1949 was presenting Broadway musicals and operettas. From 1949 to 1963 the Ottawa Grand Opera Company produced fully staged productions of *The Bartered Bride*, *La bohème*, *Carmen*, *Faust*, *La Gioconda*, *Samson et Dalila*, *La traviata* and *Il trovatore*. The Leipzig-trained musician Harry Puddicombe established the Canadian Conservatory of Music (1902–37). Its Canadian Conservatory Orchestra (1903–27), conducted by Donald Heins, was said by visitors from New York to be the finest community orchestra in North America. Subsequent orchestral organizations included the Ottawa Little Symphony (later the Ottawa SO; 1928–35), the LaSalle SO (1934–41), the Ottawa PO (1944–60) and the Ottawa Youth Orchestra (from 1960; still active). Choral ensembles included the Ottawa Women's Choir (1930s), the Ottawa Choral Union (from 1939; later the Ottawa Choral Society, still active), the Palestrina Choir (1946–58), and the Cantata Singers (from 1964; still active). The Tremblay concerts presented touring artists from 1929 to 1971, while the Twilight Music Club (later the Ottawa Music Club) began in 1930.

Musical activities expanded with the founding of the Canadian Centennial Choir (1967), the opening of music departments at Carleton University (1967) and the University of Ottawa (1970), and the formation of the Ottawa (Civic) SO (1965). In 1969 the National Arts Centre, with its 2236-seat opera house, a 969-seat theatre, a 350-seat studio and a 150-seat salon, opened as a national showcase for Canadian performers. Its musical centrepiece, the National Arts Centre Orchestra, achieved wide recognition under Mario Bernardi (1969–81), Franco Mannino (1982–6), Gabriel Chmura (1986–90), Trevor Pinnock (1991–6) and Pinchas Zukerman (1999–). Festival Ottawa (previously Festival Canada), founded in 1971, presented summer opera productions to 1983 and again from 1988 to 1991. Since 1984 Opera Lyra has produced operas in staged and concert formats. The Espace Musique Concert Society, founded in 1979, performs and commissions contemporary works. Other ensembles laid the foundation for the Ottawa Chamber Music Festival, which in 1995 had 46 sold-out concerts within 12 days. By the end of the 20th century it had become the largest festival of its kind in the world.

Ottawa has had rich traditional music activities throughout its history. This musical heritage, encompassing some 60 ethnic groups now resident in the city, is celebrated in various clubs. Occasional or annual summer festivals such as the Homelands and Franco-Ontarien provide further venues for traditional music, country music and pop artists. The Ottawa Jazz (International) Festival was established in 1981, and in 1994 Bluesfest began.

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ELAINE KEILLOR

Ottaway, Hugh (*b* London, 27 July 1925; *d* Malvern, 6 Nov 1979). English writer and lecturer. In 1944 he won an open scholarship to the University of the South-West (now the University of Exeter), where he read history (London BA, 1968). He worked chiefly as a teacher, as a freelance writer and for the BBC, for which he prepared programmes on Walton, Rubbra and Shostakovich. His studies in 20th-century music are mainly concerned with the nature of symphonic thought after Mahler, and his published work, though predominantly on English composers, was not limited by a nationalist outlook; his ability to view English composition in its broader context also made his reviews valuable.

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DAVID SCOTT/R

Otte, Hans (Günther Franz) (*b* Plauen, 3 Dec 1926). German composer, pianist and radio producer. He attended the Weimar Hochschule für Musik (1946–7), the Stuttgart Musikhochschule (1948–50) and Yale University (1950–51), studying composition with Johann Nepomuk David and Paul Hindemith, the piano with Walter Gieseking and Bronislaw von Pozniak, and the organ with Fernando Germani. During the 1950s, Otte appeared as a soloist with well-known orchestras, including the Berlin PO, and made several recordings. From 1959 to 1984 he was head of the music section of Radio Bremen where his unorthodox programming brought him international recognition as a radio producer. He founded the alternating festivals Pro Musica Nova and Pro Musica Antiqua in 1961.

As a composer, Otte developed a free and open harmonic and rhythmic style, that also incorporates traditional sonorities. His output includes pieces for the theatre, works employing experimental texts, and sound and light installations. His honours include a fellowship from the Villa Massimo, Rome (1959), an honorary professorship from the Bremen Hochschule für Künste and membership in the presidium of the Deutscher Musikrat (1969–72). He was admitted to the Hamburg Freie Akademie der Künste in 1986.

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(*selective list*)

Dramatic: modell – eine Probe aufs Exempel (Lehrstück), actor, 1963–5; nolimetangere, actor, pf, tape, film, 1966–7; drama (Schau- und Hörspiel), str qt, 1970; refrain (Körpertheater), 2 actors, 1971; Die Reise von 1000 Meilen beginnt mit einem Schritt (7 scenes), 1978–9; Im Garten der Klänge, 1992
Orch: realisationen, pf, orch, 1956; momente, 1958; ensemble, str, 1961; passages, pf, orch, 1965–6; Orch Buch, 1968
Vocal: schrift, 4 choruses, org, slide projections, loudspkr, 1975; philharmonie, chorus, orch, 1985–6; Das Lied der Welt, 10 choruses, radio link, 1986
Chbr and solo inst: montaur, brass, perc, 2 pf, 1955; tropismen I, pf, 1959; tropismen II, brass, perc, pf, str, 1959; interplay, 2 pf, 1962; face à face, pf, tape, 1965; Pf Buch, 1968; minimum: maximum, 2 org, 1973; biographie, pf, tape, 1975; das buch der klänge, pf, 1979–82; septuor, ens, 1988; Stundenbuch, pf, 1991–6; sounds, org, 1992

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STEFAN FRICKE

Otteby, John. *See* HOTHBY, JOHN.

Ottel, Hans. *See* OTT, HANS.

Otteman, Nicolas. *See* HOTMAN, NICOLAS.

Otten, Kees (Gerrit Cornelis) (*b* Amsterdam, 28 Nov 1924). Dutch recorder player and teacher. His musical studies at the Amsterdam Muzieklyceum and Conservatory included the clarinet and recorder. He played the clarinet and alto saxophone in a dance band and the recorder in a cabaret act. His début on the recorder was in 1946 and he won recognition as the first Dutch recorder soloist. He initiated recorder classes at the Muzieklyceum, where his pupils included Frans Brüggen, and he also taught at the Royal Conservatory in The Hague. He commissioned works from such composers as Henk Badings. In 1963 he founded the ensemble Syntagma Musicum; the group, of around six performers, received international acclaim in tours of the USA, Australia, New Zealand and Japan and for several recordings of works by little-known Renaissance composers. Otten has made many editions and written extensively on the recorder and early music. In 1998 he formed an ensemble to perform and record 20th-century recorder music by Hindemith, Poulenc, Auric, Walter Leigh and others.

J.M. THOMSON

Ottensteiner, (Johann) Georg (*b* Füssen, 9 Feb 1815; *d* Munich, 6 Aug 1879). German wind instrument maker. He was trained as a turner and wind instrument maker in Karl Friedrich Adler's workshop in Bamberg (1837–8). He then moved to Paris where he worked for ten years, during which he came into contact with leading makers such as Sax and Triébert; whether he worked in one of their workshops or independently is unknown. After the Revolution of 1848 he returned briefly to Füssen, moving in 1851 to Munich where he produced both woodwind (licence 1851) and brass instruments (licence 1852). In 1860 he was appointed an official supplier to the Bavarian court. When the Munich court orchestra changed in 1867 to the Parisian *diapason normal* of *a*′ = 435, he supplied most of the new instruments; his instruments were thus used for many of the Wagner productions of the Hofoper.

Ottensteiner developed numerous wind instrument models including the 'Baermann-Ottensteiner' clarinet (an amalgamation of experiments by the clarinettist Carl Baermann and Benedikt Pentenrieder of Munich with the Parisian models of Sax and others), the 'Munich' oboe (based on Triébert's *Système 4/4A*), a new horn (probably based on a model by Sax) and a bass clarinet (privilege 1869). His instruments were played by virtuosos such as Baermann, Richard Mühlfeld and Franz Strauss. He was the first German wind instrument maker to build Boehm-system clarinets, saxhorns and other French types alongside German models and to attempt to amalgamate the divergent developments in wind instrument making of the two countries; he was also a pioneer of industrial wind instrument making in Germany.

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ERICH TREMMEL

Otter, Anne Sofie von (*b* Stockholm, 9 May 1955). Swedish mezzo-soprano. She studied in Stockholm and at the GSM in London before being engaged by the Basle Opera (1983–5), where she first appeared as Alcina in Haydn's *Orlando paladino*. She made admired débuts at Covent Garden (1985) and the Metropolitan (1988) as Cherubino, and has since delighted European and American audiences in such roles as Purcell's Dido, Gluck's Orpheus, Idamantes, Dorabella, Sextus (*La clemenza di Tito*), Tancredi, Bellini's Romeo, Octavian, Hänsel and Charlotte (*Werther*). Her recorded repertory of operas extends even further, encompassing Monteverdi's Octavia, several Handel roles (notably Ariodante), Clytemnestra (*Iphigénie en Aulide*), Olga, Judith (*Bluebeard's Castle*) and Jocasta. Von Otter is also an eloquent oratorio soloist and has made a deserved reputation as an interpreter of lieder, Scandinavian songs and, most recently, *mélodies*. Her voice, basically firm and flexible, has an individual tang to it; she employs it intelligently to project the meaning of all she sings, and on stage she commands the personality to perform comedy and tragedy with equal aplomb. Among her many discs those of Octavia, Ariodante, Sextus, Hänsel and Octavian, and of songs by Schubert, Schumann and Grieg (all with her imaginative accompanist Bengt Forsberg), disclose her art at its considerable best.

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ALAN BLYTH

Otter, (Franz) Joseph (*b* Nandlstadt, Bavaria, *c*1760; *d* Vienna, 1 Sept 1836). German violinist and composer. The Bishop of Freising enabled him to go to Florence to study the violin with Pietro Nardini, but on the death of the bishop he was obliged to return. He became a member of the Freising Hofkapelle in 1781. In 1790 he was named Konzertmeister at the Salzburg court, becoming director and first violinist in 1803. He taught the violin at the Kapellhaus and was a pupil and friend of Michael Haydn, on whom he wrote *Biographische Skizze von J.M. Haydn* (Salzburg, 1808) in collaboration with F.J. Schinn. In 1809 he became a violinist in the royal chapel at Vienna, a position he held until his death. His son, Ludwig Joseph (*b* Freising, *c*1786; *d* Vienna, 17 Feb 1877), studied the violin with his father and from 1804 to 1809 was violinist at the Salzburg court. He moved to Vienna with his father, but was not listed as a member of the Hofkapelle until 1822; he retained this position until 1867, when he retired.

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Vocal: Nun habe Dank, o Vater Haydn, canon, 9vv, in M. Haydn: *Der Mond ist aufgegangen: ein Abendlied* (Salzburg, *c*1802); Wolthun edler Freund, erwirkt dir Segen, canon, 7vv, for J. Haydn's birthday, *A-Ee**; pieces, 4 male vv, *Ssp*, *MB*
Inst: Ich bin liederlich, variations, va, 2 vn ad lib (Vienna, 1810); vn concs.; str qts; sonatas, vn, pf

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SERGIO MARTINOTTI

Otterloo, (Jan) Willem van (*b* Winterswijk, 27 Dec 1907; *d* Melbourne, 27 July 1978). Dutch conductor and composer. He first studied medicine in Utrecht, then the cello under Orobio de Castro and composition under Sem Dresden at the Amsterdam Conservatory. While engaged as a cellist with the Utrecht City Orchestra his Suite no.3 won a prize offered by the Concertgebouw Orchestra, and its first performance brought about his conducting début with that orchestra in 1932. The next year he was appointed assistant conductor at Utrecht, and joint chief conductor with Carl Schuricht in 1937. In 1949 he became conductor of the Residentie-Orkest, The Hague, a post he held until 1973; his technique and keen feeling for orchestral capacity brought the orchestra to an international standard and he conducted it on numerous recordings (mostly in the 1950s), some of which received international awards. Admired for his reliable and sensitive performances in works by contemporary composers as well as the standard repertory, he also conducted leading orchestras in other countries and in 1971 was appointed conductor of the Sydney PO, returning to Europe in 1974 to become general music director at Düsseldorf. He was an accomplished composer; his works include a symphony, three suites for orchestra, *Symphonietta* for 16 wind instruments, Seranade (Divertimento) for brass orchestra, harp, celesta and percussion, *Five Sketches* for string orchestra, Intrada for brass instruments, double bassoon and percussion, and *Introduction and Allegro* for orchestra (which won high praise for its originality and beauty), as well as a string trio and an (unpublished) string quartet. He was a Knight of the Order of the Nederlandse Leeuw.

HERBERT ANTCLIFFE/TRUUS DE LEUR

Ottetto (It.). *See* OCTET.

Ottler, Hans. *See* OTT, HANS.

Otto, Georg [Georgius] (*b* Torgau, 1550; *d* Kassel, bur. 30 Nov 1618). German composer. It is not known to what extent he was influenced by Johann Walter (i), who lived at Torgau while he was growing up there. He attended the local choir school, which supplied boys to the Kapelle of the Elector of Saxony at Dresden, and this no doubt accounts for his being engaged as a choirboy there in 1561. When his voice broke in 1564 he moved to the monastery school at Schulpforta, near Naumburg, and in 1568 he entered Leipzig University, where he came to

know Nicolaus Selnecker. In the following year, however, he accepted the post of civic Kantor at Langensalza. In 1586 – after two unsuccessful applications for posts at Dresden, the second of which was for the vacancy caused by the death of the Hofkapellmeister, Scandello, in 1580 – he succeeded Johannes Heugel as Hofkapellmeister at the court of the Landgrave of Hessen-Kassel. There he taught the young heir Moritz, who as landgrave from 1592 was an outstanding patron of the arts and learning and also a composer (*see* MORITZ, Landgrave of Hessen-Kassel). Moritz's enthusiasm together with Otto's strong direction led to a notable flourishing of music at the court. The young Schütz became one of his pupils in 1599. Up to about 1610 Otto was increasingly active and productive, but thereafter his creative strength ebbed somewhat: he was then over 60, and he may, moreover, have been rather unsympathetic to the Venetian style, which was becoming increasingly popular.

Otto's reputation rested as much on his compositions as on his services to the musical establishment at Kassel. He cultivated a conservative, harmonically orientated polyphonic style heavily dependent in both form and expressive content on his chosen texts. Much of his output consists of introits and motets that relate to the sequence of Gospel readings for the church year and offer a valuable contribution to the Proper of the Mass. Among these the 65 bicinia forming his manuscript *Opusculum* (1601, *D-Kl*) are particularly noteworthy. He also made an edition (dated 1591) of Lobwasser's German psalter (1573), which likewise remains in manuscript.

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Geistliche und deutsche Gesenge D. Martini Lutheri ... zu singen, auch allerley instrumenten zu gebrauchen, 5, 6vv (Erfurt, 1588)
Opus musicum novum continens textus evangelicos dierum festorum, Dominicarum et Feriarum, per totum annum, 5, 6, 8vv (Kassel, 1604); some ed. F. Blume, *Geistliche Musik am Hofe des Landgrafen Moritz von Hessen* (Kassel, 1931)

Canticum beatae Mariae Virginis 8 tonorum, 4vv, 1599, *D-Kl*
Opusculum, 2vv, 1601, 8 ed. G. Heinrichs, 25 *geistliche Tonsätze aus dem 16.–18. Jahrhundert* (Homberg, 1929–33): some ed. F. Blume, *Geistliche Musik am Hofe des Landgrafen Moritz von Hessen* (Kassel, 1931)
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Magnificat (Ger. text), 12vv, 1607, *Kl*
3 German motets, 4-5vv, *Kl*
ed.: Deutsch Psalter D. Ambrosij Lobwassers, 1591, *Kl* (copied into large cantional)

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WALTER BLANKENBURG

Otto, Hans. *See* OTT, HANS.

Otto [née Alvsleben], **Melitta** (*b* Dresden, 16 Dec 1842; *d* Dresden, 13 Jan 1893). German soprano. She studied with Thiele at the Dresden Conservatory from 1856 to 1859 and was engaged at the Dresden Hofoper from 1860 to 1873, at first for light, coloratura parts, later for more dramatic roles. She sang in the Beethoven centenary celebrations at Bonn and made her London début in 1873 at a Clara Schumann concert at St James's Hall. She remained in England for two years and sang at the Albert Hall, the Crystal Palace, and in many provincial towns. In 1874 she took part in the Leeds Festival, and the following year was engaged at the Hamburg Stadttheater. In 1877 she returned to the Dresden Opera and sang there until her retirement in 1883. She visited the USA in 1879 for the Cincinnati Music Festival. Her operatic roles included Anna in Marschner's *Hans Heiling*, Rowena in the same composer's *Der Templer und die Jüdin*, the Queen of Night, Alice in *Robert le diable* and Eva in *Die Meistersinger*, which she sang at the first Dresden performance (21 January 1869).

ELIZABETH FORBES

Otto, Stephan (*b* Freiberg, Saxony, bap. 28 March 1603; *d* Schandau, Saxony, bur. 2 Oct 1656). German composer and teacher. He studied at the Gymnasium at Freiberg under Christoph Demantius, his 'truly diligent mentor', as he later called him. He matriculated at the University of Leipzig in the summer term of 1614, but since there is no record of his taking an oath it seems that he did not study there after all. Probably between 1621 and 1623 he went to Augsburg, where he is said to have studied and taken up employment. In 1625 he became a teacher at the Protestant Gymnasium of St Anna. On 7 September 1629, as a consequence of the Edict of Restitution of 6 March 1629, he was dismissed, together with all the other teachers, for embracing the Protestant faith. By 1631 he was back in Freiberg, where, when the post became vacant on 11 November 1632, he was appointed succentor at the Gymnasium. In the following year he was appointed cantor to Count Rudolf von Bünau at the castle at Weesenstein, Saxony. The organist there in 1633–4 was Andreas Hammerschmidt (who also worked for a time in Freiberg), with whom he enjoyed a long-standing friendship; Hammerschmidt's commendatory poem in Otto's *Kronen-Krönlein* (1648) bears witness to this. In 1639 Otto became cantor at Schandau and remained there until his death. In 1643 he applied unsuccessfully to follow Demantius as cantor at Freiberg.

Like that of Demantius, Otto's music is firmly rooted in the expressive style characteristic of madrigalian and monodic music. *Kronen-Krönlein* is his most important publication. He attached designations to each of the 15 pieces, whether 'motet', 'madrigal', 'symphony', 'concerto', 'dialogue' or 'melody', and this recognition of distinct categories is reflected in the individual works. In the motet (for double choir) and the sacred madrigal striking individual details stand out from the homogeneous textures; in a three-part parody mass (an early example of the concert mass) and in the gospel settings (concertos and dialogues) solo passages alternate with tutti sections. The concertos point the way to subsequent formal developments, such as the insertion of non-gospel texts, realistic dramatic dialogue passages and the use of a closing chorale. The terms that Otto used to denote the various groups of performers are those of Demantius: 'favorito', 'capella' (vocal or instrumental) and 'tutti'

(vocal and instrumental). His theoretical work of 1632, now lost, was known as late as 1740 to Mattheson who thought very highly of it.

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JOHANNES GÜNTHER KRANER

Otto, Valerius (*b* Leipzig, 25 July 1579; *d* after 1612). German composer, organist and instrumentalist. The son of Valentin Otto, Kantor at the Thomaskirche, Leipzig, he enrolled, according to Wustmann, at Leipzig University in summer 1592 and received a scholarship in 1593 which enabled him to study at Schulpforta. By 1609, according to Wustmann, he was organist of the Týn Church (the main church of the Old Town, Prague), and musician to the Prince of Leuchtenberg; Pertuchius stated that he still held these posts in 1612. Only one volume of music by Otto survives, and that incomplete: *Newe Paduanen, Galliarden, Intraden und Currenten nach englischer und frantzösischer Art* (Leipzig, 1611), containing 62 pieces in five parts. Ten instrumental dances were included in David Oberndörffer's *Allegrezza musicale* (Frankfurt, 1620); Otto's *Musa Jessaea gloriosa virgine Maria* for five and eight voices (Leipzig, 1609) is lost, as is a *Magnificat* that he is said to have had printed.

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A. LINDSEY KIRWAN

Ottobeuren. Benedictine monastery in Bavaria, Germany, founded in 764. There is evidence of music making in the monastery from the 12th century. In the first half of the 16th century Ottobeuren was receptive to humanist ideas; it had its own printing press and in 1543 founded its own Benedictine university, although this lasted only a few years. Abbot Caspar Kindelmann (1547–86) encouraged polyphony and instigated the construction of a large organ by Georg Ebert von Ravensburg in the new abbey chapel; he also appears to have been a composer. Kindelmann employed the organist Vitalis Brelle and the choirmaster Christian Frantz, whose manuscript of mainly four-part sacred music (1577) survives. In the 17th century the Catholic revival aroused new interest in choral music, and in the following century the monastery's music reached a peak of splendour, primarily in the field of sacred music, although musical dramas were presented in the abbey school. In 1725 a theatre was inaugurated under Abbot Rupert Ness. Many capable musicians and instrumentalists worked at Ottobeuren during this period, including Raphael Weiss, Franz Schnitzer and Konrad Back. The organ-building tradition established by Christoph Vogt was continued by his colleague J.G. Hofer and his son-in-law Joseph Zettler. The famous K.J. Riepp built the two choir organs in the 18th-century abbey church, and his pupil J.N. Holzay also worked there. This rich period in the abbey's history came to an end with the secularization of 1802. After the abbey's dissolution, however, some of the monks remained and in 1834 Ottobeuren was made a priory of the Benedictine monastery of St Stephan zu Augsburg; in 1918 it became an abbey. Unlike other Bavarian monasteries, Ottobeuren's substantial library remained intact and retains a large collection of manuscripts and printed music. About 1200 music manuscripts are preserved in the monastery, mostly dating from the 18th century, together with some 200 items of printed music, mainly sacred vocal works of the 16th and 17th centuries. Ottobeuren evidently had close links with Prague, as numerous works by composers who were active there (Brixi, Habermann, Laube) are preserved in the monastery. Some of Ottobeuren's medieval manuscripts are in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich. A series of concerts is held each summer between June and September at the monastery, with the participation of both local and international musicians.

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ADOLF LAYER/JOHANNES HOYER

Ottoboni, Pietro (*b* Venice, 2 July 1667; *d* Rome, 28 Feb 1740). Italian patron and librettist. In November 1689, a month after his grand-uncle was elected Pope Alexander VIII, he was made a cardinal and given a lifetime appointment as vice-chancellor of the Church. During the brief papacy of Alexander VIII (*d* 1 Feb 1691), Ottoboni had no rival as a musical patron; Queen Christina of Sweden had died at Rome in April 1689, and Cardinal Pamphili was at Bologna as papal legate in 1690–93. Even though his annual income from numerous benefices exceeded the staggering sum of 50,000 scudi, Ottoboni was perpetually in debt, partly as a consequence of the

extraordinary amount he spent on music. At his residence, the Palazzo della Cancelleria, he housed some of the finest singers and instrumentalists in Italy, such as the castrato Andrea Adami and the violinist Arcangelo Corelli. Once a week he sponsored an 'academy of music', during which cantatas and instrumental pieces were performed. Within his palace was the church of S Lorenzo in Damaso, where on feast days his musicians were joined by many others to perform splendid masses, motets, sinfonias and concerti grossi. Many works were dedicated to him, for example the trio sonatas op.4 by Corelli and op.1 by Albinoni, and 13 Roman dramatic works of 1690–1700 (listed in Franchi, 1988). He presumably paid creators handsomely for their dedications. He served as cardinal protector of the Congregazione di S Cecilia in Rome (1691–1740), of the Oratorio della Chiesa Nuova (1703–40) and of the Accademia Filarmonica in Bologna (1713–40). His many other posts included archpriest of S Maria Maggiore (1702–40), protector of the affairs of France at the papal throne (1709–40), and ultimately deacon of the sacred college of cardinals.

Charles de Brosses called Ottoboni a 'fanatical music lover', and the cardinal's principal passion was certainly music drama. His musicians even performed a serenata outside his cell during the conclave following the death of his great-uncle. Documents show that he frequently employed up to 20 singers and 50 instrumentalists for a religious or theatrical event. Presumably because he was a Venetian noble who held extraordinarily high-ranking ecclesiastical posts, librettos written by him do not bear his name. (The three exceptions are works of 1690, which include dedications signed 'Crateo Pradelini', an anagram of 'Cardinale Pietro'.) Thus we are mainly dependent on contemporary newsletters (reproduced, e.g., in Scano and Graglia, 1977–9; Griffin, 1983 and 1993; Staffieri, 1990; and Morelli, 1991) for statements confirming his authorship of the many dramatic works sponsored by him. We know but few of the 'infinity of operas, oratorios, cantatas and other works' that one writer attributed to him in 1705 (see Griffin, 1983, pp.832–8, and Morelli, 1984, pp.142–4). We know many more works by his father Antonio (who was among the 14 founders of the Arcadian Academy); Antonio's extant texts comprise two operas, four oratorios, four serenatas, 17 duet cantatas and 235 solo cantatas.

The Teatro Tordinona, which had been closed for 15 years, was reopened for the 1690 production of *Statira*, with text by the cardinal and music by Alessandro Scarlatti, who may well have been his favourite musical collaborator. Within a year he had produced three more three-act dramas; then the pope's death halted this proliferation of rather mediocre texts. His ensuing works were influenced by the ideals of the Arcadian Academy, which he (as 'Crateo Ericinio') served as protector. In G.M. Crescimbeni's *La bellezza della volgar poesia* (Rome, 1700) *L'amore eroico fra pastori* (1696) is called 'the first work that restored the antique rules, by introducing choruses and various other appurtenances of good comedy'. A papal ban on operas should have prevented Ottoboni from producing stage works between 1698 and 1710, but we know that he did so, for example, by presenting *Il regno di Maria Vergine* (1705) on a sumptuously decorated outdoor stage with 50 singers and 100 instrumentalists, by performing two acts of *Statira* (1690) without costumes in 1706, and by recasting the oratorio *Il martirio di S Cecilia* (1708) as a staged, three-act work in 1709. Filippo Juvarra, Ottoboni's architect and scene designer from 1708 to 1712, replaced his makeshift theatre in the Cancelleria with a splendid one, capable of many scenic effects that could not be seen elsewhere in Rome. They were fully exploited in *Costantino pio*, set by C.F. Pollarolo in 1710, and in two further heroic texts of 1711–12. Although these works were regarded as scenic marvels, Ottoboni apparently lacked funds for further operatic productions, and is known to have written only one more libretto, *Carlo Magno*, his *festa teatrale* of 1729. He did nevertheless continue to support dramatic productions elsewhere. He was, for example, the guarantor for at least two productions at the Teatro Capranica, in 1692 and 1714, and he sponsored at least one oratorio in the Chiesa Nuova as late as 1739. When he died, in 1740, he had been at the centre of Roman musical life for half a century. Yet his music library was considered virtually worthless by his Roman contemporaries in 1742, who sold 'above 150 pounds weight' of it to Edward Holdsworth, who thus procured for Charles Jennens (one of Handel's librettists) 'a large purchase of Operas, Oratorios, Cantatas, & what not, ... most of it by celebrated hands, such as Scarlatti, Pollaroli, Mancini, Bencini, and Marcello .... The whole amounting not to above 40 shillings'.

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LOWELL LINDGREN

Ottoman music. Ottoman music may be defined as the dominant music of those urban areas of the Ottoman Empire (1389–1918) where Turkish was the secular literary language of the Muslim population; primarily in Istanbul, Edirne, Izmir, Thessaloniki and, until the later 18th century, the cities of south-east Anatolia. Elsewhere genres of Ottoman music were supported by certain social classes in a predominantly non-Ottoman musical environment, for example in Cairo, Baghdad, Belgrade and Sarajevo. Ottoman music emerged in the late 16th century (almost two centuries after the appearance of the Empire) and has continued in some form up to the present day. With the creation of the Republic of Turkey in 1923, it was redefined as 'Turkish classical music' within the new state (*see* TURKEY, §§I, III AND IV). Sources for Ottoman music are unique among West Asian *maqām* musics as they contain musical notation and a theory based mainly on practice, enabling the music to be discussed historically. All the composers mentioned in this article are associated with surviving repertory. However, most of the repertory has been transmitted orally and the task of analysing it using the musical principles found in the notated documents is still in its infancy.

1. 1580–1700. During this formative period the characteristic social organization of Ottoman music was put in place: a combination of state support of musical instruction; composition and performance through official palace service; the attraction or capture of foreign experts; musical amateurism among the bureaucratic élite; and the participation of clerical musical experts (*hafiz*, *müezzin*), dervish *zakirs* and *neyzens*. Towards the end of the period free urban musicians, including non-Muslims, were hired by the court, while the role of foreign experts declined. The prestigious Mevlevi dervish order moved its focus to the capital, Istanbul, and began creating a mystical art music that exerted a strong influence on the urban élite. The reigns of Murad IV (1623–40) and Mehmed IV (1648–87) saw significant musical developments through the practices of musicians such as Koca Osman, Sütcüzade Isa (*d* 1628), Küçük Imam Mehmed (*d* 1674) and Hafiz Post (*d* 1694). The roles of vocal and instrumental performers were strictly differentiated; vocalists did not perform to their own accompaniment. The profession of composer was highly prized and not necessarily dependent on vocal ability, with instrumental composers being far less prolific than vocal.

A new cyclical genre (*fasıl*) was formed around the *murabba*, a formerly popular form which used Turkish texts, the *kâr*, a local development of the Timurid era, and the *semai*, a vocal form derived from Turkish Sufi ecstatic hymns and dance. The *şarkı*, a genre that entered informal court music in the mid-17th century, had similar origins but used shorter rhythmic cycles.

A parallel creation was the Mevlevi dervish ceremony (*ayin*) in a separate cyclical format, usually by a single composer. Their first named composer was Mustafa Dede (*d* 1683) who lived in Edirne. However, by the end of this period most new composition was centred on Istanbul. The Mevlevi lodges became major centres of musical teaching throughout the area of Ottoman rule (*see* ISLAMIC RELIGIOUS MUSIC).

The large, and previously dominant, medieval Iranian ensemble of *ud* (Arabic *'ūd*) and *kopuz* lutes and the *mugni* (psaltery) and *çeng* (harp) was replaced by a smaller ensemble which included the *tanbur* (long-necked lute) and the *ney* (a flute associated with the dervish orders). Instrumental music principally comprised the prelude *peşrev*, derived from the Timurid *pishrow*. Major *peşrev* composers include Hasan Can (*d* 1567), the Crimean Khan Gazi Giray (1554–1607), Mıskali Solakzade (*d* 1658), Sultan Murad IV (1623–40) and, towards the end of this period, the Greek Tanburi Angeli (*d* ?1690).

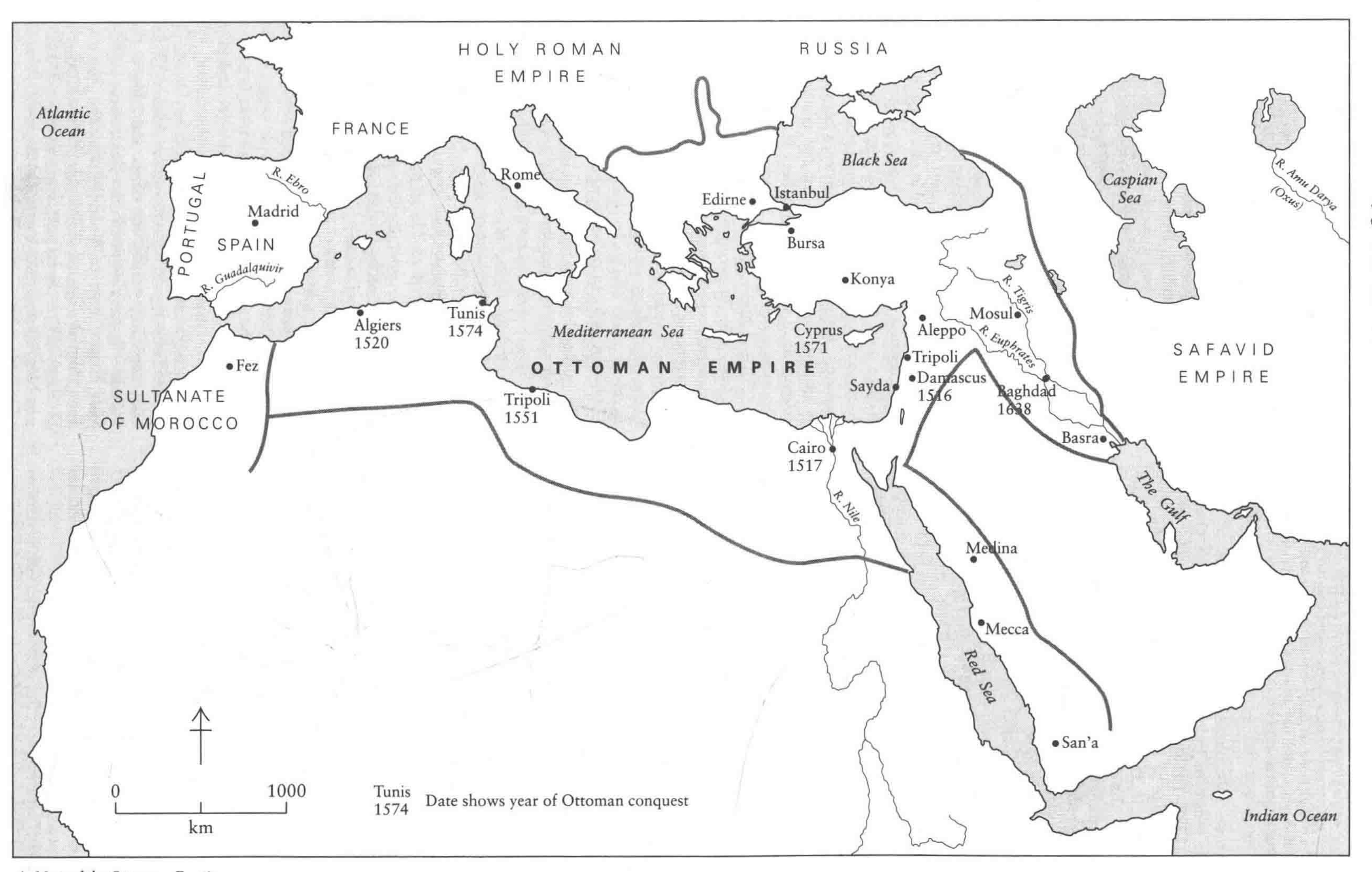
An important development was that of an improvisatory form for both voice and instruments, the *taksim* (Arabic *taqsīm*), featuring flowing rhythm, codified melodic progressions (*seyir*) and modulation. The term *taksim* began to be employed in this sense during the early 17th century and was gradually adopted in both the Balkan and Arab provinces of the empire. The *taksim* became the centre of the new instrumental suite, the *fasıl-i sazende*, featuring several *taksim*, a *peşrev* and a *semaisi*. A similar composed cycle for the synagogue was first composed in Edirne, from where it was spread to other Ottoman cities by Jewish composers such as Avtalyon (*d c*1570) and Aharon Hamon (*d c*1690).

Close links between the music of the court and the Anatolian Turkish musical tradition made their mark on the emerging Ottoman music. The Anatolian *makam Hüseyni* (*Kürdi*) became the predominant modal species at the court along with popular local rhythmic cycles such as *düyek* (eight beats), *devr-i kebir* (14 beats), *devr-i revan* (14 beats), *evfer* (nine beats) and *semai* (six beats).

2. 1700–80. It was during this time that Ottoman music went through its greatest period of change and development. There was a great increase in the number of urban musicians, including non-Muslims, indicating a wide acceptance of *makam* art music by much of the urban middle class.

The beginning of the period saw the vocal compositions of Buhurizade Itri (*d* 1711/12), an urbanite associated with the Mevlevi order, including his *kar* in *makam Neva*, his *ayin* in *makam Segah* and his *na'at* in *makam Rast*, all extant today; the compositions of Seyyid Nuh of Diyarbekır (*d* 1714); those of Kutb-u Nay Osman Dede (1652–1730), a Mevlevi sheikh who composed a *miraciye*, an *ayin* in *makam Irak* and invented a system of musical notation; and Prince DIMITRIE CANTEMIR (1673–1723), the son of the *voyvod* (ruler) of Moldavia, a *tanbur* player who revolutionized the composition of the *peşrev*, invented a system of notation and created the most influential theory of Ottoman music.

The Tulip Age (1703–30) under Ahmed III witnessed an extraordinary collection of musical talent at the court. Notable figures included Ebu-Bekir Aga (1685–1759); Enfi Hasan Aga (1670–1729); Ibrahim Aga (*d* 1740); Kara Ismail Aga (*d* 1724); Şeyhülislam Esad Efendi (1685–1753), a cleric, poet, lexicographer and the author of a biographical dictionary of musicians; Mustafa Çavuş (*d* ?1745) who developed the *şarkı* song, which was by that time accepted by the court; and Tabi Mustafa (1705–?1770). Subsequently the music was dominated by



1. *Map of the Ottoman Empire*

composers such as the Jewish *tanbur* player Haham Musi (Faro, *d* ?1770), the Greek violinist Corci and the Greek church-singer Zaharya Efendi. Also notable was the Armenian *tanbur* player Harutin, who wrote a musical treatise which included a system of notation.

During this period the tempos of both vocal and instrumental compositions began to slow and melodies became tonally more dense, leading to longer and more intricate melodic lines. In the *peşrev* small subdivisions of the composition were broken down, allowing more developed connections between successive sections of the melody. The older instrumental *semai* in six beats was gradually replaced by the new *semai* in ten. In addition, melodic progression, *seyir*, dominated the composition from beginning to end. In terms of mode, compositions began to employ the subsidiary *terkib*s as well as the independent *makam*s as their nominal mode.

There was a great deal of interaction between Greek Orthodox cantors, the Mevlevi dervishes and the Ottoman court. Both neo-Byzantine and Ottoman musics display evidence of interaction, as can be seen in the careers and compositions of Zaharya Efendi and Petros the Peloponnesian (1730–77).

The instrumental ensembles of this time were divided between a large outdoor ensemble and a smaller concert ensemble. The outdoor ensemble featured several *ney*s, *miskal*s (panpipes), *tanbur*s, *kemanche* or *rebab* (Iranian spike fiddle), *santur* and percussion. In contrast the concert ensemble was led by the *ney* and *tanbur*, with *miskal*, *rebab* and a single percussion instrument. By the middle of the period the *rebab* shared place with the European viola d'amore (*sine kemani*). The *kanun* (Arabic *qānūn*) had its metal strings replaced with those of gut and was largely replaced at court by the *santur*, one of the oldest Ottoman instruments (the *kanun* became a mainly female instrument). The concerts of the court became formalized as the *fasıl-i meclis* (from Arabic *majlis*: 'assembly').

3. 1780–1876. What might be termed the 'first classical period' culminated in the music of the court of Selim III (1789–1808). Selim was a notable composer and patron of music who gathered around him a group of virtuosi such as Tanburi Isak Fresco (*d* 1814), the founder of the existing *tanbur* style and also one of the foremost composers of both instrumental and vocal music; the Moldavian violinist Miron; Santuri Hüseyin; the Greek composer Ilya (*d* 1799); the Armenian composer Baba Hamparsum (1768–1839); Musahhib Numan Aga (1750–1834), father of Zeki Mehmed Aga (1776–1846); Sadık Aga (1757–1815); Sadullah Aga (*d* 1801); and Şakir Aga (1779–1840). Mevlevi musicians received a great deal of patronage, including the composers Abdürrahman Şeyda Dede, Abdülbaki Nasır Dede (1765–1821) and Künhi Abdürrahim Dede (1769–1831). Both Abdülbaki Dede and the Armenian Hamparsum created new systems of notation.

The end of the reign of Selim III witnessed the beginning of the career of Ismail Dede Efendi (1778–1846), which reached its zenith under Mahmud II (1808–39). Ismail Dede, a Mevlevi dervish, produced compositions in all the forms then available, setting the compositional norms which remained standard throughout the remainder of this period.

Apart from Ismail Dede, major vocal composers of the 19th century include Dellalzade Ismail (1797–1869), Kazasker Mustafa Izzet (1801–76), Ser-Müezzin Rifat Bey (1820–88), Zekai Dede (1825–96), Haci Faik Bey (1831–91), Bolahenk Nuri Bey (1834–1910), Ismail Hakkı Bey (1866–1927) and Tanburi Ali of Izmir (1836–1902). Important composers of instrumental music are Tanburi Büyük Osman Bey (1816–85) and Serneyzen Yusuf Paşa (1821–84).

During the 19th century the changes overtaking Ottoman society – beginning with the destruction of the Janissary corps (1826), the Tanzimat reforms (after 1839) and the general military and economic weakening of the empire – had the effect of inhibiting the development of Ottoman music.

Ottoman music in the 19th century was characterized by processes of rhythmic retardation and melodic elaboration which led to a five-fold decrease in tempo and a corresponding increase in melodic density compared to 1650. In addition all rhythmic cycles (*usul*) were doubled; for example *devr-i kebir* in 14 beats now had 28, *muhammes* and *hafıf* in 16 beats now had 32 and *sakil* in 24 beats now had 48.

The general scale made a definitive shift from the medieval Iranian 17-note system with neutral (2·5 comma) tones, to a broader system featuring single comma tones. The distinction formerly made between independent (*makam*) and subsidiary (*terkib*) modal entities was abandoned, leading to the 'open-ended' modal system of modern Turkish and (Ottoman) Arab music, with many new *terkib*s being invented. The *Hüseyni makam* became less characteristic of art music with the augmented 2nd species (known variously as *Hicaz*, *Uzzal*, *Araban* or *Şehnaz*) assuming a prominent role.

By the mid-19th century the *peşrev* had adopted a four-section (*hane*) structure, with significant modulations between each section. The *mülazime* (or long ritornello) of the older *peşrev* was replaced by the shorter *teslim*. In the ensemble the *ney* had replaced all other flutes, the viola d'amore had replaced the *keman*, a new form of *santur* with an increased range had assumed a major melodic role with the *tanbur* and *ney* retaining their prominent positions. Within 50 years this new *santur* had been replaced by another version, introduced by Moldavian *klezmorim* (*see* JEWISH MUSIC, §IV, 3(ii)).

4. 1876–PRESENT DAY. The accession of Sultan Abdulhamid II (1876–1908) marked the decline of Ottoman court music. The music was dominated by the *şarki*, especially following Haci Arif Bey (1831–85), and various forms of Western music. Other than the emergence of the more 'serious' *şarkı* using the doubled 'heavy' (*agir*) forms of the *usuls aksak* (in nine beats) and *aksak semai* (in ten beats) there were no substantial formal developments. Major composers of *şarkı* other than Haci Arif Bey were Asdik Asadur Hamamcıyan (1840–1913) and Rahmi Bey (1865–1924).

The creation of a new hybrid of court and popular music in the *gazino* clubs owned by Greeks and Armenians attracted some court musicians while alienating others. The early 20th century saw a rift between the more popular trends and the strictly classical school of music, led mainly by Mevlevi dervishes such as Rauf Yekta Bey, the founder of modern Turkish musicology. Şevki Bey (1860–91), while at first a performer at the court, contributed a considerable repertory of *şarkı* for the *gazino* which were later claimed by classical musicians. Other famous composers for the *gazino* were the Istanbul

Greek Kemençeci Nikolaki (*d* ?1915); the brothers Lavtacı Zivanis/Civan Kiryazis (*d* 1910), Lautacı Andon Kiryazis (*d* 1925) and Lautacı Hristo Kiryazis (*b* 1914); the Bursa Armenian Bimen Şen Dergazaryan (1873–1943); the Thessaloniki Armenian Kanuni Artaki Candan/Terziyan (1885–1948); Dramalı Udi Hasan Güler (*b* 1896); and Misirli Udi Ibrahim (Udi Avram, 1872–1933), an Egyptian-Jewish *ud* player who composed in the Turkish style.

Early in the 20th century a number of composers, such as Zeki Arif Ataergin (1896–1964), Lemi Atlı (1869–1945) and Subhi Ziya Özbekkan (1887–1966), continued to develop the *şarki*, especially those in the *agir usul*. Sadettin Kaynak (1895–1961) developed a lighter, more popular style. Mevlevi composers of the period included Rauf Yekta Bey (1871–1935), Ahmet Avni Konuk (1871–1938) and Zekai-zade Ahmet Irsoy (1869–1943). The major instrumental composers were TANBURI CEMIL BEY (1873–1916) and Refik Fersan (1883–1965).

The musical roles of minority groups had begun to change by the mid-19th century. Armenians such as Kuyumcu Oskiyam (1780–?1870), the student of Tanburi Isak, and Nikogos Taşciyan (1836–85), the student of Ismail Dede and Dellalzade, were excellent performers and composers of Ottoman music. There were schools of Ottoman Hebrew music in Edirne, Thessaloniki, Istanbul and Izmir. The last composers to come from these were Santo Şikiar of Izmir and Moshe Cordova of Istanbul. The foremost cantor from the schools was Isak al-Gazi (1889–1950) of Izmir. Haham Nesim Sivilya (*d* ?1920) also composed in the classical style. However, on the whole musicians from minority groups found more scope in the *gazinos* for their activities, as they lacked the support of either the dervish orders or high bureaucratic positions.

After 1918 the instrumentation of Ottoman music changed radically. The *ud* was reintroduced from Syria and accepted as a classical instrument, the use of the *tanbur* was somewhat restricted, the *kanun* had been reintroduced by the Egyptian Kanuni Ömer (*d* ?1900) and had risen to a dominant position, the Greek *lira* was adopted as the *kemençe*, replacing the Western violin, and the *santur* fell into disuse. The *ney* was gradually restricted to its original Mevlevi context and was often replaced in secular music by the clarinet.

5. FORM AND RHYTHMIC CYCLES. The courtly vocal repertory was divided between genres which used long and short *usul*. The former group consisted only of the *beste* and sometimes the *kâr* (which used both long and short *usul*); the latter consisted of the various forms of *nakş* and *semai*. The *nakş* and *semai* showed a close connection between the rhythmic cycle and the poetic metre; no such connection was evident in the *beste* and the *kâr*. By the later 18th century the expansion of the *usul* system had led to a radical break not only between melodic structure and poetic metre (which had already occurred in the 17th century), but between melody and *usul* as well.

The structure of the *fasıl* (cyclical genre) of the later 17th century is shown in Table 1*a*. By the second half of the 18th century the order and composition of the *fasıl* had changed, showing an expansion of the Turkish compositional forms and less use of the Iranian forms *kâr* and *nakş* (see Table 1*b*). In the first half of the 17th century the *murabba* had contributed to the development of the dominant *fasıl*. By the latter half of the century the *murabba* itself had become known as the *beste* (or *murabba beste*). From the 17th century to the late 19th it dominated the *fasıl*, becoming the most characteristically Ottoman form. The *beste* allowed the fullest scope for the deployment of complex *usul*, and melodic and modal development.

TABLE 1

a. the *fasıl* of the later 17th century

1. instrumental *taksim*
2. one or two *peşrevs*
3. vocal *taksim*
4. *beste*
5. *naks*
6. *kâr*
7. *semai*
8. instrumental *semai*
9. vocal *taksim*

b. the *fasıl* of the later 17th century

1. instrumental *taksim*
2. one *peşrev*
3. [vocal *taksim*, optional]
4. *birinci beste* or *kâr*
5. *ikinci beste*
6. *agir semai*
7. small suite (*taksim*) of *şarki*
8. *yürük semai*
9. instrumental *semai* (*saz semai*)
10. [vocal *taksim*, optional]

In the *beste* the melodic line begins at the start and concludes at the end of two *usul* cycles (or of one cycle in the very long *usul*). A pause may exist at the end of one cycle, but this is optional. The melodic line may be broken up in a variety of ways which do not necessarily correspond to the heavy (*düm*) or light (*tek*) strokes or pauses of the *usul* pattern. The drum beats form a large-scale cycle (*devr*) which exists independently of the melodic line, only coinciding at the beginning and end.

As with all forms within the *fasıl* the *beste* consists of one melody called the *zemin* ('ground'), to which the first, second and fourth lines of verse are set, and the *miyan* ('middle') for the third line. There may also be a section without poetic text, called the *terennüm*. In the existing repertory *beste* composed in most of the long *usul* employ two cycles (*devr*) of the *usul* to present the first *misra* (stich) of the poetic text. If there is a *terennüm* it also spans two cycles. The same principles apply to the *miyanhane*. There may be a clear pause following the first cycle. In the case of *muhammes* or *hafif*, a single poetic line is extended for 64 beats, necessitating frequent repetition of words or syllables and the insertion of non-textual elements. This drawn-out presentation of the poetic text distinguishes the *beste* from the *kâr* and *nakş*.

In longer *usul*, such as *havi* (in 64 beats), the first *misra* is presented within a single *usul* cycle (equivalent to two cycles of *muhammes*), as is the *terennüm*. There may be a pause half way through the cycle, which may be emphasized by a short instrumental break. In the longest compound *usul*, such as *zencir* in 120 beats, the first *misra* and the *terennüm* are sung in a single cycle. The first *misra* is stretched over 60 beats. Although a single poetic line covers the entire *hane*, the musical line is broken into the constituent segments of the compound *usul zencir*.

There is a pause following each successive *usul* cycle: *çifte düyek* (16 beats), *fahte* (20 beats), *çenber* (24 beats), *devr-i kebir* (28 beats) and *berefşan* (32 beats). In a number of commonly used *usul*, those in 32 and 28 beats, two cycles produce the same number of beats as a longer cycle and thus the length of the melodic line will be identical.

6. NON-CLASSICAL GENRES. Many musical genres occupied the space between *makam* music and popular styles. One of the foremost of these was the *ilahi* and other hymns sung by the dervish orders (other than the Mevlevi). Although only written down in the early 20th century a considerable repertory survives today, the oldest being by Halveti Zakiri Hasan (*d* 1622). The branch of the *ilahi* used in *zikr* has a distinctive style, adapting elements of both courtly and popular musics to a ritual purpose. Dervish musicians also composed numerous hymns (*tevşih*: Arabic *tawshīḥ*) for Islamic holidays. These employed the *makam* system and used distinctive asymmetrical or long *usul*. Rubato composition was explored with great sophistication in *durak* and *na'at* (*see* ISLAMIC RELIGIOUS MUSIC). The forms flourished until the economic decline of many Sufi lodges in the early 19th century. They were finally prohibited when the dervish lodges were closed in 1925.

In the secular sphere the music of the *mehterhane* of the Janissary corps (*see* JANISSARY MUSIC) and its relative the *mehter-i birun* blended classical and popular styles and genres. The official *mehter* represented an old Turkish tradition conferring rank and authority on state officials as well as being a musical encouragement to battle. The repertory of the *mehter* principally used the *peşrev* and *semai* forms arranged in a cycle called *nevbet* (Iranian *naubat*; *see* NAQQĀRAKHĀNA). By the 18th century some court composers had created *peşrev* for the *mehter*. Between 1720 and the 1770s the *mehter* achieved great popularity in Europe where it influenced new styles of military music.

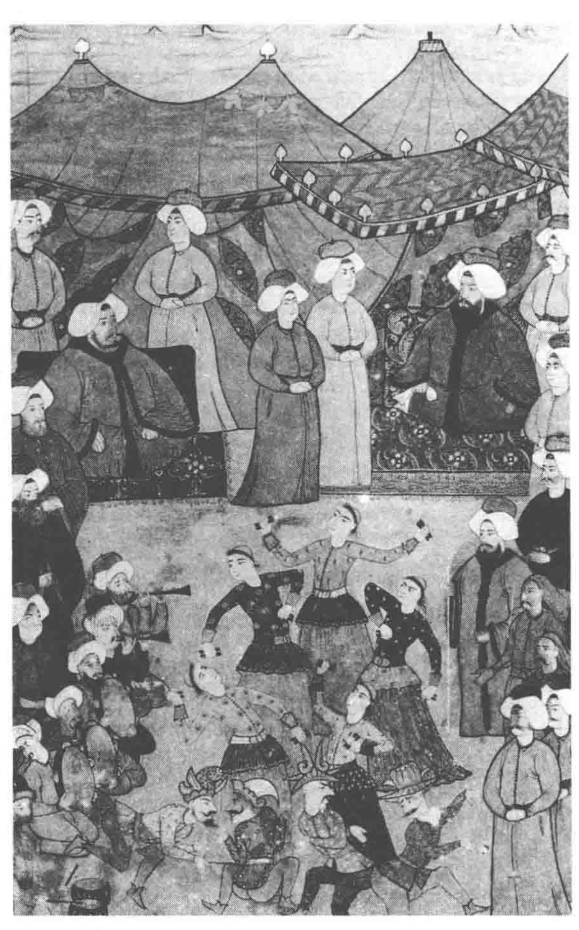
The popular *mehter-i birun* was subordinate to the leader (*aga*) of the Janissaries but its musicians were free and unsalaried. They were employed by the state for public festivities and seem to have largely had a Gypsy personnel. Associated with the *mehter-i birun* were the boy dancers known as *köçekçe* and *tavşan*, usually of non-Muslim origin. In the late 18th century and during the 19th many *köçek* were Gypsies or Greeks from the island of Chios. They were accompanied by an urban Greek ensemble which contained the *lira* (Turkish *kaba kemençe*) and *laouto* (Turkish *kava lavta*). The most sought-after dancing troupes performed at the imperial court and also in taverns (*meyhane*) found mainly in the Christian parts of Istanbul. The dancers wore luxurious costumes and earned a lot of money.

Little is known of the music which accompanied the dancers until the early 19th century. Several musical suites survive from that period which feature a medley of traditional and newly composed songs in related *makam*, usually in the *aksak* (nine beat) *usul*, derived from Anatolian Turkmen music, which had come to dominate the urban popular music of this period. The suites often ended with a Greek *sirtos* or a dance of Romanian origin. Some of the suites were in part the work of court composers such as Ismail Dede. *Köçek* dance disappeared during the reign of Abdülaziz (1861–76).

Both the male and female Greek popular dances of Istanbul survived as a separate category, at times mingling with the *köçekçe* repertory. The urban Turkish fashion for the *sirtos* in the mid-19th century and the survival of the *hasapikos* (Turkish *kasap*) dance testifies to the existence of this distinct repertory. In Izmir (formerly Smyrna) the working-class Greek repertory was termed *Smyrneïka* and showed differences from that of Istanbul, notably in the development of the *zeibekikos* out of the local Turkish *zeybek* dance (*see* GREECE, §IV, 1(iii)).

The female dancers known as *çengi* were an old tradition, already documented by the 15th century. They sang and danced, principally accompanied by the *çeng* (Persian *chang*: 'harp'), and were favoured by the palace and the mansions of the wealthy. Their organization survived the decline of the *çeng* and continued until the mid-19th century.

Probably related stylistically to the *çengi* were the erotic performances of the *cariye* women of the Seraglio, documented in many Ottoman paintings. Paintings from the 17th century show an ensemble of the *çeng* and *ud*, or *çeng*, *keman*, *miskal*, *daire* (frame drum) and *nakkare* (kettledrum), which differed from male ensembles. Earlier depictions also showed the *santur*. Other sources show male performers on the *tanbur* and *santur*, but no *çeng*.



2. Dancing and entertainment before the Sultan, with five köçek dancers playing çarpare (clappers), four costumed jesters, and musicians (seated left) playing nakkare (kettledrums), three zilli def (frame drums) and two zurna (shawms); miniature, painted under the supervision of Levni, from 'Surname-i Vehbi' ('The Festival book of Vehbi'), written and illuminated for Ahmed III, c1720 (TR-Itks III.A.3593, f.37r)

It is known that male musicians instructed the *cariyes* from at least the 17th century onwards, but it seems unusual that the women were expected to master the classical repertory. One notable exception is Dilhayat Kalfa (*d* 1780), one of the teachers of the future Selim III and a major composer. Many paintings depict the *cariyes* playing the *bozuk* (lute) and by the mid-17th century this instrument was the accompaniment for a variety of popular songs, the *türkü*, *bayati*, *varsagi* and *şarkı*, used for informal performance both in the city and the court.

Another popular musical institution was the *kahve* coffee-house, much favoured by the Janissaries. In these popular Turkish music, as well as the hymns (*nefes*) of the Bektaşi order, was performed; much of the 17th-century repertory was recorded in the anthology of Bobowski ('ALĪ UFḲĪ Bey, *d c*1675). After the destruction of the Janissary corps in 1826 something of the Bektaşi repertory survived in the *semai kahve* and the popular urban *aşık* minstrel suites known as *divan* and *nazire*.

During the 17th century, when the empire extended far into Europe, the irregular troops of the border regions played a distinctive *levendane* repertory on a variety of lutes, mostly related to the *kopuz*. The name (although not the shape) of these survives in the Romanian *cobza*, while the *mugni* seems to have led to the development of the hybrid *bandura* psaltery in Ukraine.

The *gazino fasıl* appeared in the late 19th century. This genre preserved the concept of cyclicity but followed the instrumental *peşrev* in form, with one or two *şarkı* in the *usul agır aksak* or *agır aksak semai* instead of the *beste* and *semai*. The remainder of the *fasıl* consisted of *şarkı* in gradually accelerating rhythms and tempos, interspersed with vocal and instrumental *taksim*. The *saz semai* was often followed by a *longa*, modelled on the Romanian *hora* or *sirba*. As the urban middle class had increasingly less contact with the classical *fasıl* they began to adopt this nightclub *fasıl* as a 'classical' form.

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WALTER ZEV FELDMAN

Ottoni (It.). *See* BRASS INSTRUMENTS.

Ottósson, Róbert Abraham (*b* Berlin, 17 May 1912; *d* Lund, 10 March 1974). Icelandic musicologist, conductor and composer of German birth. The son of the musicologist Otto Abraham, he studied in Berlin at the Hochschule für Musik (1932–4) and privately with Sachs. After leaving Germany in 1934, he continued his studies with Scherchen in Paris and then moved to Iceland in 1935, becoming an Icelandic citizen in 1947. He gained the doctorate from the University of Iceland in 1959 with a dissertation on a 14th-century rhymed office for St Thorlakur, the patron saint of Iceland. He taught musicology, theory and conducting at the Reykjavík College of Music, and was appointed docent at the theological faculty of the University of Iceland in 1966. He served as music director of the Icelandic Lutheran church (1961–74) and prepared a thoroughly revised edition of the Lutheran hymnal (first ed. 1972).

Ottósson was an active conductor both in Iceland and abroad. He conducted the State Radio Choir (1947–9), led the Iceland Symphony Orchestra in its first concert under that name (9 March 1950) and served as assistant conductor of the Berlin SO (1956–7). In 1959 he founded the Philharmonia Choral Society, which introduced a number of major works to Icelandic audiences under his direction, including a legendary series of performances of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony in 1966. As a scholar, his research on medieval Icelandic church music earned him an outstanding reputation. He was a prolific arranger of hymns and plainchant melodies, and his publications of music for liturgical use prompted a renewed interest in the use of chant-based melodies in Lutheran services. His

choral arrangements of Icelandic folk songs have also enjoyed great popularity, and a rare example of an original composition, *Miskunnarbean* ('Prayer for Mercy', SATB, str, 1967) combines chant-like melodic writing with modern choral techniques.

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ÁRNI HEIMIR INGÓLFSSON

Ouchard. French family of bowmakers. Emile François Ouchard (1872–1951) was apprenticed to Eugene Cuniot-Hury from 1884; after 1912 he continued running this shop with his master's widow, assuming complete management in 1926. His bows, while not elegantly finished, are well made and show ample evidence of a clearly developed style, though remaining fairly conservative throughout his career. Their box-like heads have rather straight chamfers, while the frogs are fairly low, with rounded heels. The buttons are either silver-capped or banded. They are branded EMILE OUCHARD, though some of his work doubtless appears under Cuniot-Hury's brand.

Emile François' son, Emile A. Ouchard (1900–1969), who became the most important member of the family, appears to have learnt the craft from his father in Mirecourt. He went to Paris in 1941 and soon afterwards emigrated to the USA, working in New York and later in Chicago. In the mid-1950s he returned to France and set up shop in the provinces. His bows, while similar in appearance to those of the Voirin-Lamy school, have quite different playing qualities; many players find his sticks rather stiff. The frogs, of conventional design, are usually mounted in a recessed track which is carved into the three lower facets of the butt. The buttons are either capped or banded and are often threaded to the screwshaft. He used various forms of his name as his brand; some bows of the 1940s are also stamped with the year of manufacture under the frog.

Bernard Ouchard (1925–79), son and pupil of E.A. Ouchard, accompanied his father to Paris in 1941. During World War II he enlisted with the French army and in 1949 joined the workshop of Pierre Vidoudez in Geneva. He remained there as a bowmaker until 1971, when he was appointed professor of bowmaking at the Mirecourt school. His bows, whose sticks are mostly octagonal, are of elegant proportions and are apparently based on a kind of Peccatte model. They are branded with his surname only, although much of his work bears the Vidoudez brand.

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JAAK LIIVOJA-LORIUS

Oud. *See* 'ŪD.

Oudenaerde, Iacobus de. *See* JACOBUS OF LIÈGE.

Oudin, Eugène (Espérance) (*b* New York, 24 Feb 1858; *d* London, 4 Nov 1894). American baritone of French descent. He studied with Moderati in New York, where he made his début in 1886 at Wallack's Theatre with the M'Caul Opéra-Comique Company as Montosol in an English version of Roger's *Joséphine vendue par ses soeurs*. He was engaged by Sullivan to create the part of the Templar in *Ivanhoe* at the Royal English Opera House, London, in 1891. He sang the title role in the English première of *Yevgeny Onegin* (1892) at the Olympic Theatre, and in 1893 he sang the High Priest in the first performance in England (a concert version) of *Samson et Dalila*, in his own translation. Oudin sang with notable success in 1893 and 1894 at St Petersburg as Wolfram, Telramund and Albert (*Werther*).

HAROLD ROSENTHAL/R

Oudot, Claude (*b* Paris; *d* Paris, 1696). French composer and musician. He was a singer in the service of the Duke of Orleans and the dauphin and was *maître de chapelle* for the Jesuits at the Maison St Louis, Paris. In 1683 he was named *maître de musique* of the Académie Française. In the same year he competed unsuccessfully for a place in the royal chapel at Versailles. He conducted a performance of one of his motets in the Louvre chapel every year from 1680 to 1695 on the Feast of St Louis and also composed and conducted a *Te Deum* to celebrate the king's recovery from illness: all these works are lost. So too are his opera *Les amours de Titon et l'Aurore*, performed before Colbert at Sceaux in 1677 and heard again in 1679, his cantata *Le banquet des dieux* (1683), written for the birth of the Duke of Burgundy, his *intermède Démétrius* (1685), his dialogue *Scène d'une bergère* (1689) and his choruses for the tragedies *Jephté* and *Judith* by Boyer. His extant works comprise *Stances chrestiennes*, for two, three and four voices and continuo, printed by Christophe Ballard (Paris, 1692, 4/1722), settings of words by the Abbé Testu, which are sacred dialogues between two soloists and chorus; and six *airs* for solo voice and continuo (Paris, n.d.).

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Oudrid (y Segura), Cristóbal (Domingo) (*b* Badajoz, 7 Feb 1825; *d* Madrid, 12 March 1877). Spanish composer and conductor. He studied singing and the piano with his father and taught himself the horn, the oboe and other instruments. He had no formal harmony or counterpoint lessons, but arranged some of the works of Haydn and Mozart for the flute, oboe, clarinet and cornet. In 1844 he went to Madrid, where he became the protégé of the Madrid writer Ramón de Mesonero Romanos (1803–82) and the friend of Baltasar Saldoni, who, as director of the

Teatro Español, gave the premières of some of his symphonic works. He became known as a pianist, and for the next two or three years wrote songs and fantasias and other music for the piano, which he included in his concerts. His greatest success with the public came, however, from his zarzuelas. His first, *La venta del puerto, o Juanillo el contrabandista*, was written for the Teatro del Instituto in 1847, and in the same year *La pradera del canal*, written in collaboration with Cepeda and Iradier, was performed at the Teatro de la Cruz. From that time he composed five or six zarzuelas a year, his greatest successes being *El postillón de la Rioja* (1856) and *El molinero de Subiza* (1870), which had 300 performances in one year. The jota he wrote for Lombía's play *El sitio de Zaragoza* has remained a popular favourite. After 1867 he conducted Italian opera in Madrid, in 1870 becoming director of the Teatro Real, where he died suddenly during a rehearsal of *Mignon*.

WORKS

complete list of stage works in Peña y Goñi

88 zars, all first performed in Madrid, incl.: La venta del puerto, o Juanillo el contrabandista (1, M. Fernández), Príncipe, 16 Jan 1847; La pradera del Canal (1, Azcona), Cruz, 1847, collab. S. Iradier, L. Cepeda; Buenas noches, Sr. Don Simón (1, L. Olona), Circo, 16 April 1852, vs (Madrid, n.d.); Estebanillo (3, V. de la Vega), Circo, 5 Oct 1855, collab. Gaztambide; El postillón de la Rioja (2, Olona), Circo, 7 June 1856, vs (Madrid, n.d.); La flor de la Serranía (1, J. Gutiérrez de Alba), Verano, 2 Aug 1856, vs (Madrid, n.d.); El hijo del regimiento (3, V. Tamayo), Circo, 22 Aug 1857; Don Sisenando (1, Puerta Vizcaíno), Circo, 4 April 1858, vs (Madrid, ?1865); El joven Virginio (1, M. Pina), Zarzuela, 30 Nov 1858

El último mono (1, N. Serra), Zarzuela, 30 May 1859, vs (Madrid, n.d.); Enlace y desenlace (2, Pina), Zarzuela, 27 Sept 1859; Memorias de un estudiante (3, J. Picón), Zarzuela, 5 May 1860; Nadie se muere hasta que Dios quiere (1, Serra), Zarzuela, 19 Sept 1860, vs (Madrid, ?1860); A Rey mueto (1, L. Rivera), Zarzuela, 17 Nov 1860; Un concierto casero (1, Picón), Zarzuela, 3 Dec 1861; Un viaje alrededor de mi suegro (3, Rivera), Zarzuela, 24 Dec 1861, collab. Vázquez; La Isla de San Balandrán (1, Picón), Zarzuela, 12 June 1862; Influencias políticas (1, Pina), Zarzuela, 24 April 1863; Bazar de novias (1, Pina), Variedades, 9 March 1867; Un estudiante de Salamanca (3, Rivera), Zarzuela, 4 Dec 1867

La gata de Mari-Ramos (2, Pina), Zarzuela, 27 Jan 1870; El paciente Job (1, R. de la Vega), Zarzuela, 13 May 1870; El molinero de Subiza (3, Eguilaz), Zarzuela, 21 Dec 1870, vs (Madrid, ?1865); Ildara (4, R. Puente y Brañas), Zarzuela, 5 Jan 1874; Compuesto y sin novia (3, Pina), Zarzuela, 5 Dec 1875

Other stage works, incl.: Los polvos de la madre Celestina (magia, 3, Hartzenbusch); La pata de cabra (magia, 3, Grimaldi); Dalila (drama, 1, Gil-Rosales); Una zambra de gitanos (baile, 1)

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GUY BOURLIGUEUX

Oudryns, Johannes. *See* ORIDRYUS, JOHANNES.

Ouïe (Fr.). *See* SOUNDHOLE.

Oulibicheff, Aleksandr Dmitryevich. *See* ULÏBÏSHEV, ALEKSANDR DMITRYEVICH.

Oury [née de Belleville], **Anna Caroline** (*b* Landshut, 24 June 1808; *d* Munich, 22 July 1880). German pianist and composer, of French descent. The daughter of a French nobleman who was director of the Munich Nationaltheater, she spent her childhood in Augsburg, where she studied with the cathedral organist. From 1816 to 1820 she studied with Carl Czerny in Vienna, where she was introduced to Beethoven and heard him improvise on the piano. In 1820 she returned to Munich, performing there with great success; she spent the next year in Paris and then resumed her studies in Vienna with Johann Andreas Streicher. She subsequently toured to Warsaw and Berlin. In July 1831 she made her London début in a concert at Her Majesty's Theatre with Nicolò Paganini and in October married the English violinist Antonio James Oury. Between 1831 and 1839, they toured in Russia, Germany, Austria, the Netherlands, France and Belgium, before settling in England. In 1846 and 1847 they visited Italy; afterwards, until her retirement in 1866, she devoted herself primarily to composition, producing some 180 drawing-room pieces – mainly dances and fantasies for piano.

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J.A. FULLER MAITLAND/ANDREW LAMB

Oury, Antonio James (*b* London, 1800; *d* East Dereham, Norfolk, 25 July 1883). English violinist. He received his first violin lessons from his father, a former officer in Napoleon's army who had settled in London, and from George Macfarren. He later studied with Mori, Spagnoletti and Kiesewetter, and in the 1820s made regular trips to Paris, where he had violin lessons from Baillot, Kreutzer and Lafont, and studied composition with Fétis. In 1823 he joined the Philharmonic Society's orchestra in London, and from 1824 to 1830 performed concertos and participated in chamber music at Philharmonic concerts. He also played in the Concert of Ancient Music and at the Royal Italian Opera; in 1826 he was appointed leader of the ballet orchestra at the King's Theatre. In the 1820s he taught at the RAM, where his pupils included G.A. Macfarren and W.S. Bennett.

In 1831 Oury married the pianist Anna Caroline de Belleville. They toured Europe from about 1832 to 1839, giving concerts in Russia, Germany, Austria, the Netherlands, Belgium and France. A concert tour of Italy followed in 1846–7. In the 1840s and 50s the Ourys were active in Brighton; in 1847 they set up the Brighton Musical Union, a chamber music club modelled closely on the London Musical Union, itself the brainchild of Oury's friend John Ella. From 1868 Oury lived in retirement in Norfolk.

Trained in the classical French school of violin playing and possessing a full, round tone, Oury absorbed into his technique some of the brilliant effects favoured by Paganini, whom he had met in 1831. According to his pupil Haweis, 'he had the fine large style of the De Beriot school, combined with a dash of the brilliant and romantic Paganini, and the most exquisite taste of his own'.

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CHRISTINA BASHFORD

Ouseley, Sir **Frederick Arthur Gore** (*b* London, 12 Aug 1825; *d* Hereford, 6 April 1889). English church musician, scholar and composer. His father, Sir Gore Ouseley (1770–1844), a noted orientalist, was successively ambassador to Persia and to Russia, and was made a baronet in 1808; he was also an amateur musician, and helped found the Royal Academy of Music in 1822. His only son, named after the boy's godfathers, Frederick, Duke of York, and Arthur, Duke of Wellington, was educated at home in Beaconsfield, Buckinghamshire. In 1840 he was sent as a pupil to James Joyce, vicar of Dorking, who instructed him in the classics and theology. In 1843 he entered Christ Church, Oxford, and the following year inherited his father's title and estate. He graduated BA in 1846 and received the DMus in 1854. From 1846, when he moved to London, he sang as a lay member of the newly surpliced choir of St Paul's, Knightsbridge, under its Tractarian vicar W.J.E. Bennett; after his ordination in 1849 he became one of Bennett's curates at the new church of St Barnabas, Pimlico, where the notorious 'no popery' riots occurred in 1850. During his curacy he presented the organ and paid the entire costs of the choir. Following Bennett's resignation in 1851 the choir of St Barnabas's was dismissed, but Ouseley kept it together by housing and educating the boys at his own expense at Langley, Buckinghamshire. They became the nucleus of his foundation, St Michael's College, Tenbury Wells, which was begun in 1854 and dedicated in 1856, with Ouseley himself as warden and vicar of the newly formed parish; he appointed a former St Barnabas chorister, John Hampton, as first choirmaster. Meanwhile in 1855 Ouseley had been elected professor of music at Oxford, and in the same year he was appointed precentor of Hereford Cathedral. He was later given honorary degrees at Durham, Dublin and Edinburgh, and the Lambeth LLD; in 1886 he was made canon residentiary at Hereford.

Ouseley's musical precocity was almost as great as that of Mozart or Crotch. Many incidents are on record to prove the astonishing accuracy of his ear, while his ability in playing and improvising was the wonder of the fashionable world and impressed many musicians including Mendelssohn. From the age of three he began to compose, the music being at first written down by his sisters and later by himself. His early compositions show as much skill and originality as Mozart's. One remarkable example from 1832 is a piece of descriptive programme music for piano in A♭ major and minor, illustrating the progress of an illness (printed in Joyce, 1896, pp.239ff). His early works include an opera, several orchestral pieces and some string quartets.

Something in his upbringing made Ouseley repress this early vitality of imagination, though his musical skill remained undiminished. He subjected himself not only to the most rigorous technical discipline, but also to the purging of all 'secular' influences from his style. His comments in 1872 about the use of secular melodies as hymn tunes reveal a deep anxiety on this point: 'How can they result in aught but the disgust and discouragement of all musical churchmen, the misleading of the unlearned, the abasement of sacred song, the falsification of public taste, and (last, but not least) the dishonour of God and his worship?'. He treated all modern and popular trends in music with suspicion and curbed the natural exuberance of his style by modelling himself on the classics – Mozart for instrumental music, Handel for oratorio, the 17th-century English masters for cathedral music. The result is a prevailing dullness in his mature compositions, however great their technical mastery and assurance. His anthems and services were once in great demand, especially *How goodly are thy tents*, *From the rising of the sun* and *O saviour of the world*; but they have scarcely survived their own era, lacking the imaginative power of Wesley or Walmisley. In the F major Service, however, Havergal Brian found 'wonderful stretches of self-expression which disclose an unusual feeling for the deep underlying significance of the words'. In a remarkable modern appreciation Gatens treats Ouseley as the leading representative of the 'timeless idiom' in Victorian cathedral music. He was also a successful composer of hymn tunes.

But Ouseley's importance was not primarily as a composer. Simply by dedicating his rank and wealth to the musical profession, he helped to lay the foundations for the upward progress of English music which was already evident. His social position, though unaided by any marked force of personality, allowed him to secure for music a recognition such as it had not enjoyed for generations. As professor at Oxford he made music a serious subject of study; as nominal founder and first president of the Musical Association he established musicology (as it was later termed) as a respected field of learning. His own scholarship was distinguished, especially in Spanish theory and early English church music.

Ouseley's most enduring monument is the College of St Michael and All Angels, Tenbury Wells, which for over 100 years remained 'a model for the choral service of the church in these realms'. He lavished much of his wealth as well as his energy and devotion on the founding and nurturing of this institution. It was described in 1883 as 'the one real development of the aesthetic principle that England is yet able to boast' – a startling challenge to Victorian materialism and popular culture, thrust into the sleepy valley of the Teme. There Ouseley, as unchallenged and beloved master, could develop in peace his own ideal of the cathedral service, which was that of a high churchman deeply influenced by the Oxford movement but still retaining a distaste for adapted Gregorian chants and for extremes of ritualism. His model prevailed over its rivals to become the standard form of cathedral service.

Ouseley was a lifelong collector of music and music theory books. He bequeathed to St Michael's his splendid library of over 3000 volumes, which, in King's words, 'probably represents the genius of the Victorian collector at its highest point in range, variety and quality'. (Much of the collection is now in *F-Pn*, *V* and *GB-Ob*.) He was also an expert on organ design. He inspected 190 organs during a tour of Europe in 1848–9.

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The Lord is the true God (cant.), 1850, unpubd
The Martyrdom of St Polycarp (orat) (1855)
Hagar (orat), vs (1873)
5 full services, 19 anthems, in Ouseley's Cathedral Music, Services and Anthems (1853)
8 other services incl.: C, 8vv, unpubd; F, 8vv, orch; 2 evening services, B♭, E♭; Communion, C; 2 TeD, D, F; Gloria, D

[13] Special Anthems for Certain Seasons and Festivals (1861–6)
c43 other anthems; 42 single and 15 double chants; 42 hymn tunes, incl. 12 in Hymns Ancient and Modern (1889); 4 hymn settings; 4 Christmas carols; Final Amen, 1889

SECULAR VOCAL

L'isola disabitata (op, P. Metastasio), 1834
Let tears fall down, ode, 4vv, orch, 1852
Peace Ode, S, 5vv, orch, 1855
Now let us praise famous men, ode, S, 5vv, orch, Nov 1869
11 songs, incl. Set of 6 Songs (R. Wilton); 10 glees; 3 partsongs; 1 madrigal

INSTRUMENTAL

Orch: 3 ovs., D, d, F (1888, n.d.), 2 marches, 2 minuets
Chbr: 2 str qts, C, d (1868); str qt, fugue for strs: both unpubd
Org: 31 preludes and fugues in 3 sets (1864, 1877, n.d.); 6 short preludes (1869); 3 andantes; 2 sonatas (1877, 1883); other pieces, incl. 2 voluntaries in Original Compositions for the Organ, viii–ix (1882)
Pf: songs without words, 1839–49, unpubd
243 juvenile works, *GB-Ob*

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NICHOLAS TEMPERLEY

Ousset, Cécile (*b* Tarbes, 23 Jan 1936). French pianist. She studied with Marcel Ciampi as a child and later at the Paris Conservatoire. She gave her first recital at the age of five and made her professional début in 1954 at the Salle Gaveau, Paris. Despite success in several international competitions including finalist status in the Queen Elisabeth (1956) and Van Cliburn (1962), her early career was largely restricted to minor musical venues. This situation changed abruptly in 1975 after her London début. From then until the 1990s, her unflagging brio, force and clarity were greatly celebrated. The French remained sceptical, but London audiences were thrilled by her heroically scaled performances. Ousset has appeared with most of the major European orchestras and at festivals, and made her US début in 1984 with the Los Angeles PO and Minnesota Orchestra. She has returned annually to perform widely in the USA, and has also performed in Australia, New Zealand, Hong Kong, Japan and South Africa. A specialist in the virtuoso repertory, she has been heard to glittering advantage in music such as Brahms's Second Concerto, Rachmaninoff's Third Concerto, the Liszt B minor Sonata and Ravel's *Gaspard de la nuit*, all of which she has recorded. Her BBC television appearances include a film charting her career and a recital in which she performed the complete Debussy Preludes.

BRYCE MORRISON

Ouvert [overt, vert] (Fr.: 'open'). In medieval French music the first-time ending for a repeated musical section; the second-time ending is termed *clos* (Fr.: 'closed'). The words are found particularly in the sources of 14th-century music (like the Italian APERTO (ii) and CHIUSO (ii)) since songs at that time characteristically included sections that were repeated with the second ending on the tonic, or final, and the first ending on some other pitch, often a 2nd away. In many such cases the open and closed endings would be equal in length and would have the same part-writing except for the shift to a different pitch level.

The words 'clausum' and 'apertum' were applied to such endings by Johannes de Grocheio (c1300) and many subsequent theorists. In his *Tractatus cantus mensurabilis* (*CoussemakerS*, iii, 124–8) Egidius de Murino even provided instructions for the composition of secular forms in terms of the *ouvert* and *clos* cadences: for a ballade *simplex* there was to be an *apertum* and a *clausum* at the end of the first half but only a *clausum* at the end; a ballade *duplex* should have *apertum* and *clausum* after each half; a virelai *simplex* has an *apertum* at the end of the first half and a *clausum* at the end of the second half; a virelai *duplex* has an *apertum* and a *clausum* after each half; and a rondeau should have a *clausum* at the end, but

at the middle it should have an *apertum* built on a 10th when it finishes on *ut* and on a 5th when it finishes on *la*. A similar passage in *US-PHu* lat.36, f.207, refers to the endings as *overtum* and *clausulum*.

□

Ouverture (Fr.). *See* OVERTURE.

Ouvrard [Du Reneau], **René** (*b* Chinon, Indre-et-Loire, 16 June 1624; *d* Tours, 19 July 1694). French theorist, musician, ecclesiastic and man of letters. As a youth he trained in theology and music in Tours. About 1657 he was *maître de chapelle* of Bordeaux Cathedral, about 1660 *chef de la maîtrise* of Narbonne Cathedral, and from 1663 at the latest *maître de musique* of the Ste Chapelle in Paris until in 1679 he retired to Tours as canon at the cathedral.

Ouvrard wrote on architecture, theology, mathematics and music. As correspondence reveals he was aware of the most recent developments in musical theory and in French and Italian musical practice. He seems to have been close to such prominent Parisian figures as the Perrault brothers, François Blondel and François Arnaud. His first works are traditional, but *La Musique rétablie*, which occupied him for the last 20 years of his life, is a vast encyclopaedic project. It was to be divided into three parts ('Harmonic Prenotions', a 'Harmonic Library' and 'The Universal Practice of Music') but only the first two subjects were covered, and then only incompletely. The 'Harmonic Prenotions' was to have contained eight treatises presented in Latin and French. Ouvrard hoped to end this section with reflections of a pedagogical nature. The 'Harmonic Library' aimed to be a historical and bibliographical catalogue of compositions and writings on music, with a summary of each entry. As for the 'Universal Practice of Music', its objective was to provide an introduction to practical musical issues such as composition and the art of singing, and a definition of current musical style. Although no compositions of Ouvrard's have survived, he is known to have favoured the Italian style, especially oratorios in the style of Carissimi, for which he developed a taste while visiting Italy in 1655. He had a great influence on such theorists as Etienne Loulié and Sebastien de Brossard.

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PHILIPPE VENDRIX

Ovcharenko, Halyna (Ivanovna) (*b* Novodruzhevka settlement, Lugansk province, 9 July 1963). Ukrainian composer. A graduate of Ishchenko's class at the Kiev Conservatory (1987), she taught at the Lysenko Middle School (1990–93) before lecturing at the pedagogical institute in Sumy. She is a laureate of the Kiev Festival competition (1992 and 1995) and of the Leontovych Prize (1992). The main trend in her work is determined by rural folklore (she has sung in and directed folk ensembles) and folk music forms the basis of all of her compositions. In her attempts to breathe symphonic life into folksong, she has encountered the problem of amalgamating folk sources and frequently complex contemporary techniques. She is especially attracted to choral cycles; *Chumats'ki pisni* ('Songs of the Oxcart Drivers') is based on seasonal texts and games, while the more recent *Opalyonnaya mal'va* ('The Sun-Scorched Mallow') deals with the Chernobyl tragedy. In *Predkovichne* ('Ancestry') she exhibits a deep sympathy for the pagan roots of Ukrainian culture and its relevance to the position of humanity in the universe.

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MSS in *UA-Km*; Ukraine Ministry of Culture

NINA SERGEYEVNA SHUROVA

Ovchinikov, Vladimir (*b* Belebey, 2 Jan 1958). Russian pianist. He studied in Moscow with Anna Artobolevskaya and Aleksey Nazedkin. He was runner-up to Ivo Pogorelich in the Montreal Competition in 1980, two years later won a joint silver medal of the Tchaikovsky Competition in Moscow with the British pianist Peter Donohoe and was the winner of the Leeds International Piano Competition in 1987. Thereafter his career took off particularly in Britain, with a solo début at the Barbican, London, in 1987 and his London concerto début with the Philharmonia two years later; by this time he had already appeared in recitals in the festivals at Aldeburgh, Cheltenham, Edinburgh and Lichfield. He toured Japan in 1989 and has appeared in Canada and the USA as well as throughout Europe. His recordings include piano trios by Rachmaninoff and Shostakovich and Tchaikovsky's First Concerto with the LPO under Yury Simonov; he has also made a particularly fine disc of the Liszt *Etudes d'exécution transcendante*. During the 1990s he consolidated his reputation as an interpreter of Russian music and the 19th-century virtuoso Romantics, notable especially for his strong, flexible technique and powerful projection.

JESSICA DUCHEN

Ovchinnikov, Vyacheslav Aleksandrovich (*b* Voronezh, 29 May 1936). Russian composer and conductor. He graduated from the Moscow Conservatory where he studied composition with Bogatïryov; he undertook postgraduate studies with Khrennikov, and attended the conducting class of Lev Ginzburg (1955–66). He is a member of the Union of Composers and of the Union of Cinematographers. From the mid-1950s he worked under contract

with film studios in Russia and abroad, and on commissions for Russian radio and television. At the start of the 1970s he toured as a conductor, later holding posts with the Bangkok Royal SO (1989–84) and as professor at the University of Kansas (1990–91).

Orchinnikov's chief area of success is film music; an acknowledged master of this genre, he has composed more than 40 film scores. His collaboration with S. Bondarchuk in *Voyna i mir* ('War and Peace') won an Oscar in 1967; he has been awarded a grand medal for his film music (Great Britain). His works feature in the repertories of such musicians as Aleksandr Gauk (who conducted the première of Symphony no.1, 1961), David Oistrakh, Leonid Kogan, Emil Gilels, Vladimir Ashkenazy, Maxim Shostakovich, Dmitry Levayn and others. He made his conducting début at a Rachmaninoff commemorative evening in which his own *Ėlegiya pamyati S.V. Rakhmaninova* ('Elegy in memory of S.V. Rachmaninoff, 1973') received its first performance.

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ALLA VLADIMIROVNA GRIGOR'YEVA

Overblowing. Technique used by woodwind players to ascend to a higher register. The AIR COLUMN of a woodwind instrument is characterized by a set of natural ('normal') modes of vibration. A stable note can normally be sounded only if its fundamental frequency is close to that of one of the natural modes (or resonances) of the air column (*see* ACOUSTICS, §IV). In the first register of an instrument, the fundamental frequency of the sounded note is close to the first natural mode frequency; within this register, the pitch is changed by altering the pattern of open and closed side holes (*see* FINGERING, §III), thereby modifying the length of the air column and hence the first mode frequency. Overblowing is the term applied to the process by which the player ascends to a higher register, in which the fundamental frequency of the sounded note is close to the frequency of the second (or a higher) air column mode.

For instruments with approximately conical tubes (such as the oboe or bassoon), and for those with approximately cylindrical tubes effectively open at both ends (such as the flute), the frequencies of the first few natural modes form a complete harmonic series (frequency ratios 1:2:3 . . .); these instruments therefore overblow to the octave in the second register. For cylindrical instruments effectively closed at one end (such as the clarinet), the lower natural mode frequencies form an odd-member-only harmonic series (frequency ratios 1:3:5 . . .), and these instruments overblow to the 12th.

On the flute overblowing involves an increase in blowing pressure, modification of the shape of the jet of air issuing from the lips, and the angle at which this strikes the far edge of the mouth-hole. On a reed instrument it requires, as well as increased wind pressure, the adjustment of the pressure and position of the lips on the reed blade. Modern reed instruments have certain very small 'speaker' holes in the body tube which assist the process (*see* SPEAKER KEY). The muscular adjustments required are extremely small and subtle, and are learnt only by long and assiduous practice. Once acquired, however, they become quite automatic to the player.

PHILIP BATE/MURRAY CAMPBELL

Over-dotting. *See* DOTTED RHYTHMS. *See also* NOTES INÉGALES and PERFORMING PRACTICE, §I, 5.

Overend, Marmaduke (bur. Isleworth, Middlesex, 25 June 1790). ?English organist, theorist and composer. According to Fétis, Overend was born in Wales, although this is not verified by later biographers. From 1760 until his death he was organist at Isleworth. He assisted Hawkins in transcribing early music for the *General History*. He also compiled a dictionary of musical terms that remained unpublished. His verse introduction to the first rudiments of music got only as far as a few proof sheets, and his compositions, most of which remained in manuscript, made little impact in his day.

Overend is, however, remembered as part of an English school of music theory concerned with the mathematical structure of musical pitch. The investigations of the founder, J.C. Pepusch, were continued by his pupil, William Boyce, with whom Overend studied. After *c*1776 the two men retained communication until Boyce's death, when Overend bought his teacher's manuscript treatise from his widow Hannah. His own investigations are contained in four manuscript volumes and summarized in his course of eight lectures on the science of music

(c1781). In 1784 he issued proposals for publishing Boyce's treatise together with his own work; but this plan came to nothing and after his death copyright was assigned to J.W. Callcott by Overend's sister, Mary.

In 1791 Overend's library was sold at auction. His manuscript volumes, as well as Boyce's treatise, were bought by Callcott, who used these manuscripts as sources for his own manuscript treatise. In 1807 Callcott donated all the manuscripts to the Royal Institution (sold in 1972 to the Bodleian Library). John Farey visited the Royal Institution to study the manuscripts, which were cited by him in several articles written for the *Philosophical Magazine*. These articles, as well as Farey's subsequent investigations, mark the culmination of the school of English theory that began with Pepusch.

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JAMIE C. KASSLER

Overlapping. *See* REACHING OVER.

Overspun [overwound, wirewound] **string.** String with a core of gut or metal that is wound round along its length with a coil or coils of a (relatively thin) ductile wire to increase its mass without substantially increasing stiffness. In non-keyboard string instruments gut cores are generally overspun with aluminium or silver. The steel core bass strings of the modern piano are completely covered with copper, but in some early pianos, spaced brass windings on a brass core string were used. (*See* STRING.)

FRANK HUBBARD/DENZIL WRAIGHT

Overstrung [cross-strung]. A term applied to a piano in which the strings are arranged in two nearly parallel planes, with the bass strings passing diagonally over those in the middle range. Both groups may thus fan out over the soundboard and make more effective use of its entire area. Because of the fanning out of the long bass strings and their diagonal orientation, an overstrung grand piano has a characteristically wide tail compared with that of a straight-strung instrument, in which the strings do not fan out and the bass strings run entirely to the left of the treble strings (*see* PIANOFORTE, fig.28, 29).

EDWIN M. RIPIN

Overt. *See* OUVERT.

Overton, Hall (*b* Bangor, MI, 23 Feb 1920; *d* New York, 24 Nov 1972). American composer. He began his music studies in Grand Rapids, Michigan, composing an overture and a polytonal orchestral piece while still in high school. He pursued studies in counterpoint with Gustav Dunkelberger (1940–42) and in composition with Persichetti at the Juilliard School (1947–51); later he took private lessons with Riegger and Milhaud. Serving overseas in the US Army (1942–5), he developed remarkable skill in jazz improvisation and later appeared with such jazz musicians as Getz, Pettiford, Teddy Charles, and Jimmy Rainey; he also made arrangements for the Thelonious Monk Orchestra and contributed to *Down Beat* and *Jazz Today*. His own music was deeply influenced by jazz but without his trying to make jazz 'respectable' through the unnatural imposition of classical forms or materials. He taught at Juilliard (1960–71), the New School, New York (1962–6), and the Yale School of Music (1970–71). Among his many honours were two Guggenheim Fellowships (1955, 1957), a BMI award (1962), and the combined award of the American Academy of Arts and Letters and the National Institute of Arts and Letters (1964).

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OLIVER DANIEL

Overtone. One of the frequency components of a sound other than that of lowest frequency. Usually overtones are numbered consecutively in ascending order of frequency; they need not be harmonic. *See* HARMONICS and SOUND, §5.

MURRAY CAMPBELL

Overtone-singing [throat-singing, *chant biphonique*, *chant diphonique*, *höömii*]. A vocal style in which a single performer produces more than one clearly audible note simultaneously. In melodic overtone-singing styles, a drone is produced on the first harmonic or fundamental

and a flute-like melody created from a series of upper harmonics or overtones. In non-melodic styles, overtones may occur because of the pitch of the fundamental drone combined with the vocal sounds being enunciated, for instance when Mongols sing the bass overtone-singing style *harhiraa höömii* or Tibetan *dge lugs pa* monks in Gyume and Gyütö monasteries chant using a profound bass in the chest register. Overtone-singing may also comprise a rich tapestry of harmonics without the presence of a drone.

1. History, locations and contexts. 2. Styles. 3. Musical, acoustical and physiological analyses.

1. HISTORY, LOCATIONS AND CONTEXTS. Myths of origin vary. Tuvans believe that overtone-singing originates in lullabies sung by women dating back to the time when humans first inhabited the earth, or that it originates in the environment; Khalkha Mongols cite musical communications between natural phenomena and the effects of such sounds on humans. Both Tuvans and Mongols generally refute connections posited by Europeans of its relationship with Shamanism, Buddhism or the jew's harp. Given their beliefs about the spirits of nature, however, overtone-singing may traditionally have been linked to folk-religious practices.

Indigenous overtone-singing is found predominantly among the Turco-Mongol peoples of INNER ASIA, the nomadic pastoralists of the Republic of Tyva (*see* TUVAN MUSIC) and Mongolia (*see* MONGOL MUSIC), and the Khakassians and Gorno Altais of southern Siberia. Tuvans, Khakassians and Gorno Altais live across the northern border of west Mongolia, where overtone-singing is traditionally performed by Western Khalkha, Bait, Torgut and Altai Urianghai Mongols. A style of overtone-singing (*uzliau*) is also performed by the Bashkirs, a Turkic-speaking people from the Ural mountains. Isolated examples have been found in other parts of the world, for instance among the Xhosa speakers of South Africa and the Gogo of central Tanzania. A single example recorded in Rajasthan in 1967 is thought to be imitating either the *satara* double flute or the jew's harp. It is Mongolian and Tuvan overtone-singing that has become particularly well known in recent years.

Traditionally, both Mongols and Tuvans use overtone-singing in a range of different contexts including lulling babies to sleep, calling yaks or camels while herding, and luring wild animals during the hunt. Occasionally it is used in formal contexts such as during wedding celebrations. Mongols sometimes accompany themselves with the morin HUUR, Tuvans with the *toshpulur*, *shanzy*, *byzaanchi*, *balalaika*or the horse-head fiddle. Until the communist period, overtone-singing was performed only by men, which is explained by Mongols in terms of the bodily strength required and by Tuvans in terms of its effects on fertility. Under communism, the gendered performance of songs and instruments was changed.

Over the cusp of the new millennium, overtone-singing has been increasingly assimilated by Westerners into a New Age collage of spiritual and alternative beliefs about nature, the earth and spirituality. It has been used in a range of different musical genres. In *Stimmung*, the first major Western classical composition to be based entirely on vocal harmonics, KARLHEINZ STOCKHAUSEN was inspired by 'a range of Mexican gods and magical forces'. Similarly, David Hykes relates the overtones of his New York-based Harmonic Choir to 'solar winds', 'gravity waves' and the 'flight of the sun'. Overtone-singing has become popular as a sonic icon of the 'other' among ethnic and WORLD MUSIC enthusiasts. In indigenous contexts, overtone-singing was elevated into an 'art form', became part of 'national' and 'international' Soviet repertories, and was taught in schools under communism. In Tuva, Xunashtaar-ool, who died in 1993, was said to perform 'in the classical style' and in Mongolia Sundui is considered to be the founder of the 'modern classical form'. Partly in order to reclaim and reinvent traditions and beliefs in post-Soviet times and partly to secure a niche in world music and global culture, local overtone-singers are reinvesting overtone-singing with spiritual aspects (Pegg, 2001).

2. STYLES. In general, Tuvan styles of overtone-singing are pitched much lower than Mongolian styles.

Aksenov (1964) identified four basic Tuvan styles within the *xöömii* genre – *kargiraa*, *borbannadir*, *ezeng-gileer* and *sygyt* – but noted that in some regions *xöömej* was used to refer to *borbannadir*. More recently it has been suggested that *xöömej* is the oldest style, originating from the lullaby, as well as giving its name to the genre.

Styles and substyles are proliferating partly because of the individuality of renowned performers, such as Mongush Mergen and Kajgal-ool Xovalyg, and partly because of increased interest and research. *Kargiraa* has many substyles: *xov-* or steppe *kargiraa* (characterized by long flowing lines); *dag-* or mountain *kargiraa* (also called *kozhakar kargiraa*); *chelbig-kargiraa* (which uses a birch tree leaf as a fan); *ün-* or 'throat' *kargiraa*; *öpej-* or 'lullaby' *kargiraa*; *chilangit*, *Stil Oidupa*, *xörek-kargiaazi* and *dumchukargiraazi*. Other recently-discovered styles and substyles include *kanzyr* (without bourdon), *chilandyk* (a combination of *sygyt* and *kargiraa*), *dunchuktaar* ('through the nose'; used in combination with *sygyt*, *kargiraa* and *xöömej*); *xorekteer* (a bourdonless melody used in between overtone-singing sections in *sygyt* and *kargira* styles; when performed in a low register it is called *xörekkargirazi*) and *tsepeng khoomei* (*sygyt*) with fast tremolo-like notes characteristic of *borhangnadir*).

In Mongolia, styles and methods vary according to ethnicity and the ability of individual performers. Bait Mongol *helnii üg* (root of the tongue) style corresponds to Western Khalkha *bagalzuuryn* or *hooloin* ('glottal' or 'throat') *höömii*. Some have styles peculiar to their group, for instance, Altai Urianghais perform *hargia* with the hand cupped to the mouth and only Kazakhs perform 'tooth *höömii*' (*shüdnii höömii*).

The musician Tserendavaa and the music scholar Badraa identified seven types of Western Khalkha *höömii*, six of which use overtones to produce a 'melodic whistle' (*uyangiin isgeree*). These are as follows: labial (*uruulyn*) – fundamental '*e*' (167–8 Hz), range of overtones in Helmholtz pitch notation *b″–c♯″″*; palatal (*tagnain*) – fundamental '*e*' (167–8 Hz), range *b″–c♯″″*; nasal (*hamryn*) – fundamental '*f♯*' (182–3 Hz), range *c♯‴–c♯″″*; glottal, throat (*bagalzuuryn*, *hooloin*) – fundamental '*e*' (170 Hz), range, *b″–b″″*; chest cavity, stomach (*tseejiin höndiin*, *hevliin*) – '*a*' (214–15 Hz), range *e‴–e″″*; and 'with *türleg*' (*türlegt*) – fundamental *g* (202–3 Hz), range *d‴–d″″*.

In performance of labial and palatal *höömii*, Tserendavaa employed a single lively overtone melody but used a second more reflective melody for nasal, chest cavity and glottal *höömii*. His use of the seventh and eleventh

partials as auxiliary rather than structural notes supports the suggestion that overtones were selected in accordance with the collection of five pitches typical of Mongolian traditional music (ex.1). *Türlegt höömii*, called *hosmoljin*

Ex.1 Mongolian *bagalzuuryn höömii* (glottal overtone-singing) melody (as sung by Tserendavaa, 1987)



höömii by Mongolian researchers, combines speaking, singing, humming, long-song melodies and the other five melodic *höömii* types.

The seventh type, *harhiraa*, produces overtones but does not attempt to create melodies with them. It requires a deep bass voice that can reach a fundamental drone at least as low as *B* producing melodic overtones within the range *b″–g‴*.

Training methods include holding a cup to the mouth to provide an echo (*ayagaar deveh*, literally 'to fan by means of a cup') and performing against the wind (*salhny ögsüür höömiilöh*). Traditionally, learning is by example and imitation.

3. Musical, acoustical and physiological analyses. The multiphonic quality of sound and rich textures of overtone-singing have led to diverse scholarly attempts to represent its production and essence. Musical transcriptions usually represent the fundamental drone and overtone melody for different styles rather than notate any additional harmonics.

Acoustical analyses seek to explain the mechanisms through which the vocalist reinforces harmonics in order to make them discernible as individual pitches. Using the acoustic theory of speech production together with methods including video fluoroscopy (motion X-ray) and nasoendoscopy (imaging the vocal folds using a miniature camera), it has been demonstrated that singers do this by changing the shape of the vocal tract to align the frequency of a resonance or 'formant' with that of a harmonic. Physiological techniques used to achieve this include manipulating the vocal folds and glottis in the larynx; moving other organs, such as the 'false folds', arytenoid cartilages, aryepiglottic folds and the epiglottic root in the vocal tract; modifying the volume of the mouth and vocal tract by moving the jaws backwards and forwards, changing the shape of the lips (including enunciating vowels) and altering the thickness or position of the tongue (*see* Acoustics, §VI, 5(vii)).

Frequency-spectra have been used to show the effects of labial movements on the amplitude of overtones – as the performer's lips close during *uruulyn höömii* for instance, the overtones become softer. Spectograms and sonograms have indicated the presence of two, three and sometimes four voices in Mongolian, Tuvan, Tibetan and South African overtone-singing as well as that performed by Westerners.

Physiological research has yet to take on board the potentially damaging effects that overtone-singing might have on the body. Mongols stress that there are physical dangers in the learning and performance of *höömii* and *höömii* performers cite a number of potential injuries including loss of consciousness, burst blood vessels around the eyes and the inability to swallow because of a damaged larynx. These are more likely to be a result of performing the more difficult styles, such *hamryn* and *türlegt höömii*. Tuvans consider the *ezenggileer* style, which involves fast tongue movements, difficult to perform.

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CAROLE PEGG

Overture (Fr. *ouverture*; Ger. *Ouvertüre*; It. *sinfonia*). A piece of music of moderate length, either introducing a dramatic work or intended for concert performance. *See also* FRENCH OVERTURE.

1. Definitions. 2. Dramatic overture. 3. Concert overture.

1. DEFINITIONS. The word 'overture' derives from the French *ouverture*, which denoted the piece in two or more sections that formed a solemn introduction to a ballet, opera or oratorio in the 17th century. (It was sometimes applied, notably by Bach, to a suite comprising a French overture and a group of dance movements.) In 18th-century usage it was extended to works of the symphony type, whether or not they were preludes to dramatic works; the terms were often used interchangeably. Thus in the 1790s Haydn's London symphonies were sometimes billed as 'overtures'.

In modern usage the word denotes, first, a substantial piece of orchestral music designed to precede a full-length dramatic work (it would thus include an Italian overture which might actually be called 'sinfonia'). It may be in one or more sections, and may or may not come to a full close before the drama begins (Mozart's overture to *Die Entführung aus dem Serail*, for example, does not). But it is expected to conclude with a fast section of some brilliance. If it does not it is more likely to be called a 'prelude' (*Vorspiel*), as in the case of *Tristan und Isolde*, or an 'introduction', as in the case of *Swan Lake*.

The word also extends to a work of similar scope designed for independent performance in a concert. A concert overture usually, but not always, has a title, either suggesting a literary or pictorial content (as Mendelssohn's *The Hebrides*) or identifying the occasion for which it was written (as Beethoven's *Die Weihe des Hauses* or Brahms's *Akademische Festouvertüre*). It is approximately equivalent to the first movement of a symphony, and is more restricted than a symphonic poem.

2. DRAMATIC OVERTURE. Renaissance court entertainments frequently began with a flourish of trumpets, of the type that survives as the Toccata of Monteverdi's *Orfeo* (1607). A 'sinfonia' at this early date was any instrumental movement in the course of the opera; commonly they were played before each act or section. The one at the beginning of Landi's *Il Sant'Alessio* (1631 or 1632) happens to be in three sections, fast–slow–fast, but this was long before any systematic use of such a plan. The Venetian operas of the 1640s and 50s generally began with a simple homophonic movement for solo strings and continuo, in three short, slow phrases. In some cases this served also as the ritornello of the first vocal section. In Cesti's *La Dori* (1657) it was used twice: in D before the prologue, and in C before the first act. Later this 'sinfonia' expanded to two or more movements of different tempos and metres, and as time went on the most common pattern became slow duple followed by fast triple, not unlike a pair of dances (e.g. Cavalli's *Scipione affricano*, 1664).

A similar form was used in the French *ballet de cour*, and had been termed 'ouverture' at least as early as 1640 (in the *Ballet de Mademoiselle*, printed in Prunières). Lully expanded it, and began to develop the characteristic contrast between the two sections. The opening became march-like, with pompous dotted rhythms that would become almost synonymous with the majesty of absolute monarchy. Typically it would end with a half-cadence and would be repeated. The second section was usually in triple or compound metre and was canzona-like in its use of imitation; it, too, would generally be repeated. There was often a brief return to the tempo and rhythm of the first section at the close. The first fully characteristic French overture is that to Lully's ballet *Alcidiane* (1658). In the *tragédie lyrique*, from Lully to Rameau, it was usual to include a pair of overtures, one before the prologue and the other to introduce the opera itself. The scoring was predominantly for oboes, five-part strings and continuo. The French overture was imitated in Germany, England, and sometimes even Italy. Handel preferred it for both operas and oratorios, but used it with freedom, and often with a variety of additional movements, sometimes linked to the ensuing action. In England the French overture could be used as prelude to a spoken play, as in *The Beggar's Opera*, and also became popular as a keyboard form (Pont).

The Italian overture (*sinfonia avvanti l'opera*), coming from the same ultimate origins, began to develop a standard pattern in late 17th-century Naples. It was typically in three short, simple sections arranged in the order fast–slow–fast. Alessandro Scarlatti employed this type in *Tutto il mal non vien per nuocere* (1681), and with some regularity after 1695. He often scored for one or two trumpets in the two outer movements, playing brilliant passages that were echoed by the violins (also by unison flute and oboe in *Eraclea*, 1700). Indeed, the Italian overture from this period is sometimes indistinguishable from a trumpet concerto, naturally in D major (a good example is the sinfonia to Scarlatti's serenata *Il giardino di amore*, *c*1700–05). The slow middle section for strings alone would often move briefly into related minor keys, and the last section was a binary dance movement in compound time. Italian oratorio overtures in this period might resemble church sonatas, or be in the French or Italian overture form.

In operas of the early 18th century the Italian overture gradually spread north of the Alps. Keiser's *Croesus* (1711) at first had a French overture, but when he revived it in 1730 he substituted a new overture in the Italian style. In France the overture formed part of the lengthy public debates over Italian versus French styles. Increasingly, the outer movements began to resemble sonata form designs without development sections. There were two subclasses: the 'reprise' overture, in which the third section used the same material as the opening one (it is found as early as Caldara's *Don Chisciotte*, 1727); and the two-movement type, where the opening vocal number serves as the finale of the overture (Fux, *Elisa*, 1719).

All three types were still alive after 1760, by which time the Italian overture had become normal for operas throughout Europe. The form was evolving, however, in ways that closely paralleled the modification of the da capo aria, and which caused it gradually to diverge from the symphony proper. The full three-movement type gradually disappeared: Mozart's last dates from 1775, Haydn's from 1779. The reprise overture survived at least until Paisiello's *Socrate immaginario* (1775) and Mozart's

Die Entführung (1782), where it leads into an aria based on the slow section. The two-movement type also continued to flourish for a while, as in Haydn's *Philemon und Baucis* (1773). But by 1790 the established form was a single movement, generally with a slow introduction. It was very much like the opening movement of a contemporary symphony except for the absence of a substantial development section.

An important part of the reform of *opera seria* was the effort to link the overture emotionally and dramatically with the coming opera: this is clearly stated in the famous preface to Gluck's *Alceste* (1767), whose overture sets the tragic mood that will characterize the first act. Topical overtures were not entirely new: 'storm' settings can be traced as far back as Draghi's *L'albero del ramo d'oro* (1681), and Gluck himself had attempted a 'Chinese' overture to *Le cinesi* (1754) and a 'Turkish' one for *La rencontre imprévue* (1764). Mozart's *Idomeneo*, *Die Entführung* and *Le nozze di Figaro* prepare the audience, in very different ways, for what is to follow. In *Don Giovanni*, *Così fan tutte* and *Die Zauberflöte* the overture quotes significant musical ideas from the opera, a practice already established by Rameau in his later works, and indeed by Pepusch in *The Beggar's Opera*. The more thorough-going 'medley' overture, stringing together a number of tunes to be used in the opera, seems to have been an English invention, found for instance in Dibdin's *The Touchstone* (1779). *The Times*, reviewing Shield's *The Lad of the Hills* on 11 April 1796, complained that 'the Overture was very *la, la*, it consisted of old provincial tunes ill put together', tunes that were later sung to newly written texts in the course of the opera.

Thus, all the main ingredients of the 19th-century dramatic overture were already in place well before 1800. While Rossini's earlier works used a stereotyped one-movement model of a sonata form movement lacking development but with an independent slow introduction, Spontini, Méhul and the early German Romantics tended to develop the notion of tying the overture to the opera in mood and theme. Beethoven made powerful use of dramatic motifs in his three *Leonore* overtures, while Weber in *Der Freischütz* and *Euryanthe* extended the method to a point where almost every theme, in both slow and fast sections, was to reappear at an important point in the drama. But the formal structure changed little. Composers of French *grand opéra*, from *Guillaume Tell* onwards, tended to expand the traditional overture by means of a slow lyrical section preceding the loud, fast conclusion. Often they brought in important and symbolic themes from the opera, for example the chorale 'Ein' feste Burg' in Meyerbeer's *Les Huguenots*. Wagner in his early operas imitated this type, but in the *Ring* preferred a 'prelude' which was fully integrated into his music drama. *Tannhäuser* (1845) was one of the last important serious operas to be preceded by a full-dress, independent overture. For Bellini, Donizetti and Verdi the prelude was always an alternative possibility, and it became normal in Italian opera after the mid-century, though *La forza del destino* (1862) has an extended overture. With Verdi the prelude to the first act may be no longer than those to the other acts. For *Aida* (1871) he experimented with a full-scale overture, but decided on a prelude that had been first planned as an entr'acte. *Otello* has no overture or prelude at all. Some 'nationalist' operas were conservative in their overtures, a prominent example being *Prince Igor*, which has a full sonata form movement complete with slow introduction.

In comic operas and operettas the independent overture lasted longer, and here the structure based on themes from the drama became a mere medley of tunes, with perhaps a short final sonata form section as a link with the traditional form. This 'potpourri' overture was the pattern frequently chosen by Auber, Gounod, Thomas, Offenbach, Johann Strauss (ii) and Sullivan; it can still be traced in musical comedy overtures of recent times.

Oratorio overtures tended to be conservative. An exception is the 'Representation of Chaos' that introduces Haydn's *The Creation* (1798), a unique triumph of imagination in which the instrumental prelude is made the first term of the drama itself. In this respect it anticipates Wagner's methods by more than 50 years. The French overture never quite died out in oratorio, and in the 19th century it received a new impetus from historicism. Smither's study provides lists of some 40 German and English oratorios that began with French overtures, chiefly on the model of Handel. Composers frequently felt constrained to write full-dress fugues, as did Spohr in *Des Heilands letzte Stunden* and Mendelssohn in *Elijah*. But Liszt, for each of his two oratorios, wrote an overture that was a free rhapsody based on an old hymn tune.

3. Concert overture. There was never a time when the concert overture was entirely distinct from the dramatic overture. Just as some of Haydn's and Mozart's early symphonies were used to introduce stage works, so their later overtures were sometimes detached from their operas and played as concert pieces. Several endings have been added to the *Don Giovanni* overture to bring it to a full close for concert use, the first of them by the composer himself. Like several of Handel's overtures, many of Mozart's, Cherubini's and Beethoven's were commonplace in the concert repertory long after the theatrical works to which they belonged had been forgotten. This was especially likely to happen with overtures to spoken plays, which were often far more substantial than any other music used in the play. Beethoven's overture to Collin's play *Coriolan* was played in concert even before its first performance in the theatre.

From this it was but a small step to the creation of an overture as an independent piece. One might be commissioned for the opening of a theatre, or for a patriotic celebration: several of Beethoven's were written for such purposes, and then quickly became standard concert works. Between 1805 and 1820 many German composers wrote overtures, in one movement on the Mozartian model, without title – or with a title that told only the occasion of their performance. Among them were Hoffmann, A.J. Romberg, Weber and Winter. Schubert composed several, one of which, 'in the Italian style', was later revised and used as the overture to *Rosamunde*. Beethoven's *Die Weihe des Hauses* was an 'abstract' concert overture in this tradition. It had an unusual structure, consisting of several unpredictable sections followed by a long and boisterous fugue. Untitled concert overtures were later composed by Spohr, Wagner, Bruckner and others; Kalliwoda wrote as many as 15.

But the typical Romantic concert overture, though still recognizably in the traditional form, had a title of historical, poetic or pictorial character which the composer set out to illustrate, in a general way, in his music.

Perhaps the first true example was Weber's *Der Beherrscher der Geister* (1811). Although it was a revised version of the overture to an unfinished opera, *Rübezahl* (1804–5), its title was purely descriptive, having no reference to any dramatic work. It is in one sonata form movement without introduction. Botstiber, however, regarded Mendelssohn as the first true composer of concert overtures. His overture to *A Midsummer Night's Dream* was written as a piano duet (1826) and first performed as a concert piece: the incidental music for the play was not added until many years later. His *Meeresstille und glückliche Fahrt* was inspired by reading Goethe's book of that name, while *The Hebrides*, originally called *Die einsame Insel* and later *The Isles of Fingal*, was suggested to him during a visit to the Scottish islands. In the case of *Melusine* the stimulus was the negative one of hearing Kreutzer's opera: Mendelssohn disliked the overture so much that he decided to write another, expressing what he felt was the true essence of Schiller's fairy tale.

In these pieces Mendelssohn took a form that was well known and understood as a means of setting the mood of an opera, and converted it, without radical change, to embody his personal response to a specific work of art or of nature. A detailed programme was hardly possible if the form was to be maintained: the result is a mood piece, not a musical narrative. Mendelssohn's concert overtures are perhaps the most perfect examples of the genre. Certainly there is no other great composer in whose fame overtures play so important a part.

Many composers followed his lead. Almost simultaneously Berlioz began to write overtures on literary subjects, like *King Lear* and *The Corsair*. Though strongly marked in theme, they stay fairly close to the conventional model in form. Sterndale Bennett succeeded more than once in capturing the poetic charm of Mendelssohn's form. Most of Schumann's overtures were originally linked with dramatic works or with other music, but several became detached concert pieces. Of these the *Rheinweinlied* overture (1853) is interesting for one innovation: the use of rondo form. His Overture, Scherzo and Finale op.52 (1841–5) combines an overture of standard form with two other movements, not quite adding up to a symphony.

Nationalist composers frequently found the concert overture suited their needs: Glinka, Rimsky-Korsakov, Glazunov, Smetana, Dvořák, Grieg and Elgar all contributed important examples. The medley overture of comic opera had its analogue in the concert overture based on one or more well-known national tunes, such as Wagner's on *Rule Britannia*, Tchaikovsky's on the Danish national anthem, Rimsky-Korsakov's 'sur des thèmes de l'Eglise russe', and Brahms's *Akademische Festouvertüre* based on student songs. A late example was Quilter's *Children's Overture* based on nursery rhymes. An interesting experiment of Dvořák's linked three self-contained overtures, 'Nature', 'Life' and 'Love', in a cyclic work entitled *Carnaval* (1891): a 'nature' motif is common to all three. Another type, designed for spectacular orchestral effect, is represented by Tchaikovsky's *1812* overture. It continued the ancient tradition of battle-pieces, which had appeared in the guise of many musical forms.

The decline of the concert overture began in the 1850s with Liszt's invention of the SYMPHONIC POEM. Several of the works he called by this name originated as dramatic overtures, and in *Prometheus* (1850, revised 1855) and *Hamlet* (1858) the outlines of the old form can still be discerned. According to Raff, Liszt almost decided to call them concert overtures. Others, however, have a freely programmatic structure, in which the music follows the outlines of a story (*Mazeppa*), or attempts to depict the subject of a painting (*Hunnenschlacht*) or to sketch a character (*Tasso*). The freedom to mould the musical form according to outside requirements, though it may have been illusory, was the chief distinction between the two genres, and it allowed for a far more detailed 'programme' than the stricter form would admit. The symphonic poem naturally attracted the avant garde, while more conservative composers remained faithful to the overture, and preserved at least the spirit of its traditional form. So there are symphonic poems by Franck, Richard Strauss, Skryabin and Schoenberg; overtures by Rubinstein, Tchaikovsky, Brahms and Sullivan. Brahms's *Tragic Overture* (1880) is one of the most important late examples. It lacks an external association, but never deviates from the mood its title defines; it is one movement in strict sonata form, with profound thematic development more characteristic of symphonies than of overtures. This 'symphonic' style of overture was taken up by Karl Goldmark, who greatly expanded the form without crossing the border into the 'free' symphonic poem.

In general, after 1900 the overture was scarcely relevant to what was happening in European music. The title remained one of a number of alternatives to describe an orchestral piece in one movement of moderate length; it was frequently chosen for music written for festive occasions. One of the last that still shows some links with tradition is Shostakovich's Festive Overture op.96 (1954), which is in two linked sections, Allegretto and Presto.

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NICHOLAS TEMPERLEY

Ovezov, Dangatar (*b* 1 Jan 1911; *d* 5 May 1966). Turkmen composer and conductor. In 1940 he entered the Leningrad Conservatory, where he studied with N. Timofeev, but the advent of World War II prevented him from completing his studies. He headed the Turkmen Composers' Union (1940–48) and is considered a founder of

Turkmen art music. The main areas of his compositional work are opera and symphonic music, while as a conductor he directed the orchestra of the Turkmen Theatre of Opera and Ballet (1941–8). He became a People's Artist of Turkmenistan in 1961 and was granted the State Prize of Turkmenistan in 1966.

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(*selective list*)

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RAZIA SULTANOVA

Ovid [Publius Ovidius Naso] (*b* Sulmo [now Sulmona, Italy], 43 BCE; *d* Tomis [now Constanţa, Romania], 17 CE). Roman poet.

1. Life and writings. 2. Later musical treatments.

1. LIFE AND WRITINGS. Ovid was born into a family of equestrian rank and educated for public life, but as a young man he decided on a literary career. He first attracted attention with his light, sophisticated love elegies, the *Amores*. His *Heroides*, love letters written between mythological figures, and *Ars amatoria* established him by the time he was 40 as the leading exponent of Roman wit and elegance. His masterpiece is the *Metamorphoses* (*see* PAN; SYRINX), a vast collection of legends and mythology using the theme of change as a unifying device. In 8 CE he was exiled by Augustus for some unknown indiscretion. He spent the last years of his life pining for Rome in the Black Sea fishing village of Tomis, where he wrote the *Tristia* and *Epistulae ex ponto* ('Letters from the Black Sea').

His work is of some musical significance. In the *Tristia* he mentioned that some of his poems were performed in the pantomime, although they were not intended for it. *Medea*, a lost drama presumably had musical portions. A passage in the *Amores* suggests that he may have played the lyre on occasion. Wille argued strongly that Roman lyric and elegiac poetry in general, and that of Ovid in particular, was regularly sung. Most classicists, however, maintain the view that, unlike Greek lyric poetry, it was recited rather than sung.

2. LATER MUSICAL TREATMENTS. Ovid has provided inspiration, notably through the *Heroides* and *Metamorphoses*, for European literature (from the 12th century) and eventually a wide range of music. Letters in the *Heroides* from Penelope to Ulysses, Phaedra to Hippolytus, Dido to Aeneas, Ariadne to Theseus, Medea to Jason, and the epistolary exchanges between Paris and Helen, Leander and Hero were absorbed by many librettists and composers. The *Metamorphoses* became a main source for works treating the myths of Greece and Rome, particularly involving such characters as Acis and Galatea, Apollo and Hyacinth, Ariadne, Daphne, Echo and Narcissus, Hercules, Medea, Orpheus and Eurydice, Pygmalion, Venus and Adonis.

In Rinuccini's libretto *Dafne*, set by Jacopo Peri and Jacopo Corsi (Carnival 1598), Marco da Gagliano (1608) and (in translation) Schütz (1627), Ovid actually delivers the prologue. Other Ovidian operas are Cornacchioli's *Diana schernita* (1629); *Gli amori d'Apollo e di Dafne* by Cavalli (1640); the *Venus and Adonis* of Blow (*c*1683); Rameau's *Pigmalion* (1748); Galuppi's *Arianna e Teseo* (1763 and 1769); the *Paride ed Elena* of Gluck (1770); Auber's *Actéon* (1836); *Héro et Léandre* by Augusta Holmès (1875); settings of Boito's *Ero et Leandre* by Bottesini (1879) and Luigi Mancinelli (1896); Pizzetti's projects for an *Apollo and Leda* (*c*1900); a one-act poème lyrique, *Hélène*, by Saint-Saëns (1904); the *Narcissus* of Rebikov (1913); and Strauss's *Ariadne auf Naxos* (1912 and 1916) and *Daphne* (1938). Further dramatic works are the *festa teatrale Ercole in Tebe* of Boretti (1670), and an *Actéon pastorale* by M.-A. Charpentier (1683–5), with a *Metamorphoses* ballet by Maximilian Steinberg (1914). In a genre of their own are Handel's *Apollo e Dafne* (*c*1708), *Aci, Galatea e Polifemo* (1708), *Acis and Galatea* (1718) and *Hercules* (1745). Vocal settings have been as diverse as Mudarra's songs with vihuela accompaniment (1546) and a *Tarantella* chorus by Elliott Carter (1936). Instrumental works include Dittersdorf's *3 symphonies exprimant 3 métamorphoses d'Ovide* and *Six Metamorphoses after Ovid* for solo oboe by Britten (1951).

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JAMES McKINNON (1), ROBERT ANDERSON (2)

Owen [Llwyn-Owen], **Morfydd** (*b* Treforest, 1 Oct 1891; *d* Oystermouth, 7 Sept 1918). Welsh composer, mezzo-soprano and pianist. She was educated at University College, Cardiff (BMus 1912), and at the RAM with Frederick Corder (Lucas Silver Medal 1913, ARAM 1918). World War I frustrated her ambition to study folk music in St Petersburg in 1915, and she developed instead her collaboration with Ruth Lewis, the pioneering Welsh ethnomusicologist. Many of her 180 compositions – orchestral works, choral, chamber and piano music, and a wealth of exquisite vocal miniatures – bear the imprint of folksong. Her mercurial yet emotionally intense personality, which intrigued a wide circle from David Lloyd George to D.H. Lawrence and Ezra Pound, also shines through. Productivity and engagements dwindled after her sudden marriage in 1917 to the Freudian psychoanalyst Ernest Jones, with whom she had a chequered relationship. Her early death was the result of a failed appendicectomy. A four-volume memorial edition of her songs, orchestral and piano music was published in London, 1923–4, and a centenary edition in Cardiff, 1991–6. Despite the brevity of her life and output, Owen was a pivotal figure in early 20th-century Welsh music.

WORKS

Orch: Romance, str, 1911; Nocturne, 1913; Prelude, 1913; Morfa Rhuddlan, 1914; The Passing of Branwen: Death Music (Threnody), str, 1916; Funeral March to Branwen, 1916

Vocal: Fierce Raged the Tempest (S. Thring), SATB, pf, 1911; The Refugee (F. von Schiller), SATB, pf, 1911; Sea Drift (W. Whitman), Mez, orch, 1911; Sweet and Low (A. Tennyson), SATB, 1911; Ave Maria, Mez, SSATB, str, 1912; A Cycle of Sea-Songs (C. Rossetti, W. Watson, C. Mackay, T. Campbell), Mez, orch, 1912; Love's Music (P. Bourke Marston), S, orch, 1912; Mad Song (W. Blake), SATB, 1912; My luve is like a red, red rose (R. Burns), SATB, 1912; My Sorrow (E. Crawshay-Williams), S, orch, 1912; Y Fwyalchen (Welsh folksong), SSA, 1912; Jubilate Deo, SSATB, brass, org, 1913; Toward the Unknown Region (Whitman), Mez/T, orch, 1913; Choric Song (A. Tennyson), S, str, cel, 1914; My luve is like a red, red rose (Burns), S, T, pf, 1914; Pro Patria (Elidir Sais), cant., S, Bar, SATB, orch, 1915; Trugarha wrthyf, O Dduw [Be merciful unto me, O God], unison vv, org, ?1915; 2 Songs (Eos Gwalia), S, orch, 1916; 2 Songs for Little Children (anon., D. Ainslie), S, orch, 1917; 22 hymns, SATB, 1909–16; 85 songs, v, pf, 1910–18; transcrs. and arrs. of Welsh, Eng., Pyrenean and Russ. folksongs, v, pf, 1913–17

Chbr: Romance, vn, pf, 1911; Pf Trio, 1915

Pf: Sonata, 1910; Impromptu, 1910; Etude, 1911; Fantaisie, 1911; Mélodie, 1911; Minuet and Trio, 1911; Chromatic Fugue, 1911; Rhapsody, 1911; Causerie gracieuse de riens, 1911; Story Fantaisie, 1911; Fantaisie appassionata, 1912; Berceuse, 1912; Prelude, 1913; Prelude and Fugue in the Ancient Style, 1914; Preludes: Beti Bwt, Citi Cariadus, Glantaf, Little Eric, Nant-y-Ffrith, Talyllyn, Waiting for Eirlys, 1914–15; [reworking of 1911 pf work] BetiBwt as a Minuet and Trio, ?1915

MSS in *GB-CDu*, *AB*, private collections

Principal publishers: Anglo-French Music Co./OUP, Boosey, Chappell, Hughes & Son, Guild for the Promotion of Welsh Music (Swansea), Snell

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RHIAN DAVIES

Oxeia. Sign used in pairs, or paired with the *teleia*, in Byzantine EKPHONETIC NOTATION.

Oxeiai diplai. Sign used in pairs in Byzantine EKPHONETIC NOTATION.

Oxenford, John (*b* Camberwell, London, 12 Aug 1812; *d* Southwark, London, 21 Feb 1877). English dramatist, librettist and critic. He wrote librettos for G.A. Macfarren and Edward Loder, and collaborated with Dion Boucicault on *The Lily of Killarney* for Benedict. Oxenford was unquestionably the best-read English librettist of his day, though his scholastic stance sometimes detracted from the dramatic force of his stage pieces. Nevertheless, he succeeded in raising the literary qualities of British opera to a level which greatly narrowed the gap between native and continental products. He was aided in this by the highly professional attitude of Macfarren, for whom he wrote eight librettos, 1834–64; in *Robin Hood* (1860) the two men created so thoroughly nationalist a work that the way lay open for composers such as Stanford and Ethel Smyth. For more than 30 years Oxenford was dramatic critic of *The Times*, but in this role his 'excessive kindliness of disposition induced such leniency of judgment as was fatal to the value of his verdict' (*Athenaeum*, 24 February 1877). His fine essay 'Iconoclasm in German Philosophy' (*Westminster Review*, new ser., iii, 1853, pp.388–407), which remains one of the most lucid introductions to Schopenhauer ever written, helped to advance the cause of Wagner in Britain.

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NIGEL BURTON

Oxford. English cathedral and university city, on the River Thames (known locally as the Isis).

1. General. 2. Choral foundations. 3. Theoretical tradition. 4. Music-making in the university and city. 5. Academic tradition. 6. Libraries and collections. 7. Printing and publishing.

1. GENERAL. The first documented reference to Oxford is in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* under the year 912. Parts of the medieval fortifications survive today in the remains of the city walls (some of which were incorporated into the colleges) and castle tower (built for William the Conqueror in 1071). Among the medieval monasteries were St Frideswide's (within the city, to the south) and Oseney Abbey (beyond the city walls, to the west). These centres of learning, together with the exclusion of English students from France (1167) and dispersal of the University of Paris (1229), contributed to the development of the new university. The chancellor (first mentioned in a document of 1214) was originally appointed by the Bishop of Lincoln (in whose diocese Oxford was then situated), but the right of nomination passed to the masters of the university, until in 1367 the university was given formal dispensation from episcopal control. By the mid-15th century the medieval 'academic halls', based in rented accommodation, were displaying greater specialization, with some halls dedicated exclusively to students of the liberal arts. The decline of the academic halls coincided with the rise of the colleges, which possessed the advantages of endowments, land and buildings, and statutory ordinances, combining to create a more permanent institution. The statutes drawn up for the earliest colleges, which included University College (1249), Balliol (1263) and Merton (1264), generally made provision for liturgical music.

2. CHORAL FOUNDATIONS. Musically the most significant of the early foundations in Oxford was New College (1379) where scholars entered from the founder's school, Winchester. As the first of the three major choral foundations, New College had statutory provision for ten chaplains, three clerks and 16 choristers: the clerks and choristers also performed domestic duties. An *informator choristarum* was first documented in 1394–5. The first mention of part-music seems to have occurred in the founder's statutes (1340) for The Queen's College, which prescribed 13 chaplains and two clerks to give instruction in plainsong and polyphony to the 'poor boys'. The second of the major choral foundations to be established, Magdalen College (1458), was provided with four chaplains, eight clerks, 16 choristers and their *informator*. The *informator* from 1490 to 1492 was Richard Davy; some of the music he wrote for the choir survives in the Eton choirbook. At Cardinal College (1525) on the site of St Frideswide's, Wolsey provided for 13 chaplains, 12 clerks (one of whom was to act as organist), 16 choristers and an *informator*. From 1526 to 1530 the *informator* was John Taverner. After Wolsey's fall, the college was refounded by Henry VIII (1532) as King Henry's College.

From 1542, when Oxford was created a diocese, Oseney Abbey served as its first cathedral. In 1546 the old priory church of St Frideswide's was designated Christ Church Cathedral, thenceforth serving as both diocesan cathedral church and college chapel for Henry's new college, now called Christ Church (or Aedes Christi), the third of the great choral foundations. Also in 1546 Henry established the cathedral school for the free education of the choirboys, with a complement of fee-paying pupils. The three choral foundations, New College, Magdalen and Christ Church, together with their choir schools, have remained among the focal points of the English choral tradition.

3. Theoretical tradition. While the practice of singing plainsong and polyphony flourished from early in the history of the university, the medieval scholars also established a tradition of music theory in connection with the study of the seven liberal arts (in which music was studied as part of the Quadrivium alongside arithmetic, astronomy and geometry). The writings of John of Garland (not the French music theorist of that name), Robert Grosseteste (chancellor of the university in about 1224), Robert Kilwardby and Roger Bacon in the 13th century were mainly concerned with ideas of music derived from Aristotle and Boethius. A further series of treatises of Oxford provenance dating from the 14th century to the 16th – including the *Quatuor principalia musice*, as 'set forth at Oxford by a certain Friar Minor' and surviving in an anonymous 14th-century manuscript attributed to John Tewkesbury, and the related compilation (*c*1500) by John Tucke of New College, copied in 1526 by William Chell (an Oxford BMus) – deal not only with traditional theoretical ideas but also with more practical matters, such as the ornamentation of plainsong and the structure of polyphony. The *De musica* of Boethius retained its position in the Oxford curriculum from at least 1431 (when it was specified in the statutes that candidates for the MA must have studied 'musicam per terminum anni, videlicet Boecii') through to the 16th century. In the 17th century, a new wave of scholarship was represented by Oxford mathematicians and philosophers involved in both the study of ancient music theory and the modern science of music: the work of Edmund Chilmead (canon of Christ Church, 1632–48), John Wallis (Savilian Professor of Geometry, 1649–1703) and John Wilkins (Warden of Wadham College, 1648–60) and their colleagues showed a particular preoccupation with acoustic theory. Wilkins's Oxford group formed the nucleus of the early Royal Society (founded 1660).

4. Music-making in the university and city. City waits were documented from medieval times (and through to the 19th century). From the early period there are references to both private and sociable music-making within the university. It was written of Robert Grosseteste that:

> He loved moche to here the Harpe,
> For mans witte yt maketh sharpe.
> Next hys chamber, besyde his study,
> Hys Harper's chamber was fast the by.

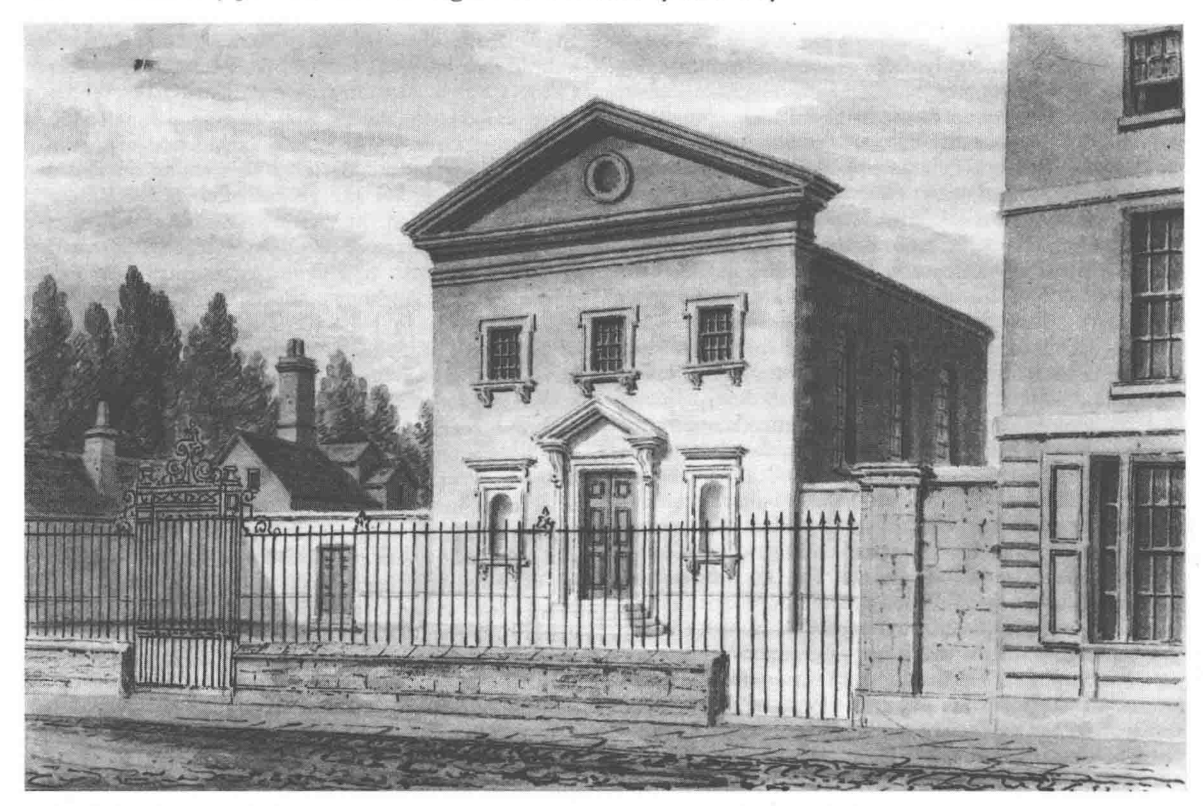
And Chaucer's Nicholas, the poor 'Clerk of Oxenford', possessed (according to *The Miller's Tale*) a psaltery,

> On which he made a nightes melodye
> So swetely that all the chamber rang:
> And Angelus ad virginem he sang.

In 1381 three harp makers were documented in Oxford; various musical instruments, including harps and lutes, appeared among 15th- and 16th-century inventories of goods of university members. Music as social recreation formed part of early college custom, whereby members of the colleges sang songs around the fire in hall after supper on festivals and special occasions. During the period of the Reformation, secular entertainments may have provided extra employment for the members of the choral establishments, whose liturgical activity had been curtailed. Richard Edwards's play with music *Palaemon and Arcyte* was performed for the royal visit to Oxford in 1566. During the Civil War, Charles I made Oxford his military headquarters from 1642, setting up his court at Christ Church and remaining until the city eventually surrendered to the Parliamentary forces in June 1646. At his Oxford court the King was served by such talented musicians as the lutenist John Wilson and the organist George Jeffreys. For the period of the Civil War and Interregnum, when the choral tradition was disrupted and organs destroyed or displaced, evidence suggests that Oxford flourished as a centre of musical activity, as documented by Anthony à Wood. Wood joined various musical societies in the 1650s, such as the music meetings of William Ellis (formerly organist of St John's College) at which both professional musicians and university graduates, including John Wilson and Edward Lowe, gathered regularly to play chamber music. Although Ellis's meetings lapsed after the Restoration, at which time the professionals left to return to their posts, a new focus for weekly music meetings was created by Narcissus Marsh at Exeter College (as fellow from 1658) and then at St Alban Hall (where he was principal from 1673). Henry Aldrich (Dean of Christ Church, 1689–1710) 'had concerts and rehearsals at his apartments weekly' (Burney).

In the late 17th century and the early 18th Oxford musical societies continued to flourish, attracting members of considerable musical and social distinction, such as Daniel Purcell (organist of Magdalen College, 1688–95) and James Brydges, later 1st Duke of Chandos. By the mid-18th century their performing activities and resources had outgrown their meeting-places in taverns and college rooms, and a subscription scheme was launched to finance a new venue. The Holywell Music Room (opened 1748), the earliest purpose-built public concert room in Europe, seating up to about 250, provided a permanent location for Oxford concerts (see illustration). Its acoustics make it ideally suitable for chamber music and for small choirs and orchestras. In the 18th century and the early 19th it was associated with a series of subscription concerts drawing together university and city under the auspices of the Musical Society, which maintained its own orchestra (the Holywell Band). The programmes typically presented a miscellany of vocal and instrumental items and featured both local and visiting performers. The Music Room was also the venue for performances of Handel oratorios: from 1754 it was customary to perform *Messiah* at least once annually (it received its first Oxford performance under William Hayes in 1749, for the opening of the Radcliffe Library). 'Benefit concerts' were performed periodically during the year at both the Music Room and the Town Hall (built 1751).

The Sheldonian Theatre, designed by Christopher Wren and built between 1664 and 1667 with seating for about 2000, was from early in its history associated with musical performances in connection with university ceremonial. For the original *Encaenia* (dedication of the building) in 1669 (the annual commemoration of this event became connected with the bestowal of honorary degrees) an organ was borrowed from Gloucester Hall, forerunner of Worcester College. In 1671 the Sheldonian acquired its own 'Father Smith' organ (periodically replaced since); among the benefactions of Lord Crewe (Rector of Lincoln College from 1668, Bishop of Oxford from 1671, *d* 1721) to the university was an endowment for organ playing at *Encaenia*. The university's degree ceremonies (the 'Act')



Holywell Music Room, Oxford: watercolour by John Chesell Buckler, 1822 (Bodleian Library, Oxford)

traditionally featured incidental music: during the period 1669–1710, when the Act (which had been transferred from the university church of St Mary to the Sheldonian Theatre) flourished, composers who contributed Act-Music included Locke and Blow. It was for the 1733 revival of the Oxford Act that the Vice-Chancellor invited Handel: in a series of performances at St Mary's, the Sheldonian Theatre and Christ Church, over a period of several days, Oxford audiences heard *Athalia* (its première) and other oratorios and shorter works by Handel under the composer's direction, and possibly his first public performances of organ concertos. During the later 18th century it became customary to mark the annual degree ceremonial and commemorative events with a three-day festival featuring a series of 'grand concerts'. In 1791 the 'three grand concerts in the Theatre' were distinguished by the presence of Joseph Haydn, who received the (then uncommon) award of the honorary DMus and 'expressed himself very handsomely . . . on the manner in which his Overture [i.e. Symphony no.92, the 'Oxford'] was performed'.

Concert life in Oxford in the 19th and the early 20th century was characterized by the growth of numerous college, university and civic musical societies. 'Dr [Charles] Corfe's Motett and Madrigal Society' (founded 1847) was perceived as providing the future clergymen trained by the university with useful skills in reading music and singing at sight. Institutions of lasting significance to Oxford's musical life that were established during this period included the Oxford Harmonic Society (an amateur choral society founded in 1921), the Oxford SO (founded 1902), the Oxford Chamber Music Society (founded in 1898 as the Oxford Ladies' Musical Society), the Subscription Concerts (from 1920), and the Oxford Silver Band (founded in 1887 as the Headington Temperance Band). Among university societies which have survived are the Oxford University Musical Club and Union, formed in 1916 from an amalgamation of the Oxford University Musical Club (founded by Charles Harford Lloyd in 1872), and the Oxford University Musical Union (founded by J.H. Mee in 1884) and renamed in 1983 the Oxford University Musical Society. The Balliol Concerts (founded by John Farmer in 1885) have now passed their 1500th concert. Local patrons of music included the Deneke sisters, Helena and Margaret (choirmaster of Lady Margaret Hall), who were associated with Ernest Walker (organist and director of music at Balliol from 1901) and P.V.M. Benecke (fellow of Magdalen from 1891 and grandson of Mendelssohn).

The Oxford Bach Choir, continuing to unite 'town and gown', was founded by Basil Harwood in 1896. In 1905 it incorporated the Oxford Choral and Philharmonic Society, itself an amalgamation (1890) of the Oxford Choral Society founded by Crotch in 1819 and the Oxford Philharmonic Society founded by Stainer in 1865. Under Hugh Allen's conductorship (1901–26) the Oxford Bach Choir gave performances not only of large-scale choral works of Bach but also of works by contemporary British composers, culminating in the première of Vaughan Williams's *Sancta civitas* in 1926. The choir under Allen fostered a special connection with the music of Parry.

The Oxford University Opera Club was formed in 1926 following a production of Monteverdi's *Orfeo* 'by members of the University and Friends' in 1925. It gave annual productions from 1926 until 1934, resuming in 1947. Under Westrup's conductorship (1947–62) it

presented works ranging from A. Scarlatti's *Il Mitridate Eupatore* (1961) to Wellesz's *Incognita* (1951), many of them in their British premières. The Oxford University Orchestra grew out of the orchestra formed, from 1947, for the Opera Club performances: it was constituted as an independent concert orchestra in 1954. University-based choral activity was expanded by László Heltay's founding of the Kodaly Choir (1957) and the Schola Cantorum of Oxford (1960), originally the Collegium Musicum Oxoniense. The Oxford Pro Musica was formed in 1965 as a small professional orchestra. Principal concert venues are still the Holywell Music Room (restored to primarily musical use in 1901 after a hiatus), the Sheldonian Theatre and the Town Hall (rebuilt 1893–7), as well as the cathedral, the university church and numerous college chapels and halls. Touring opera and ballet companies regularly appear at the Apollo (formerly the New) Theatre, which opened in 1836. Local customs include the celebration of May morning with singing by the choristers from the top of Magdalen College tower and folk-dancing by Morris dancers. Morris dancing is an old tradition in Oxfordshire: it was Cecil Sharp's meeting with William Kimber and his team at Headington in 1899 that led eventually to the foundation of the English Folk Dance Society in 1911. In the 18th century J.B. Malchair, leader of the Holywell Band, collected local folksongs and dances, including the tune known as 'Magpie Lane', from which the modern performing group of that name is derived.

A series of festivals, conferences and exhibitions has marked Oxford's commemoration of musical anniversaries (of Haydn in 1932 and 1991, the latter for the bicentenary of his Oxford visit; of Bach and Handel in 1935; of Parry in 1948; of Wellesz in 1985) and of the Heather Professorship (1926 and 1976). The English Bach Festival was originally formed in Oxford in 1963; an annual 'Handel in Oxford' festival was founded in 1985; and an annual Oxford Contemporary Music Festival began in 1994.

5. Academic tradition. Degrees in music (BMus and DMus, as distinct from BA and MA, awarded after four, then a further three, years' study of the liberal arts) are documented from the late 15th century. Among the 29 candidates awarded musical degrees in the period up to 1535 were Hugh Aston (1510) and Robert Fayrfax (incorporated DMus from Cambridge in 1511, the earliest recorded mention of the doctorate). Candidates normally supplicated for the BMus after many years' study (which could be external to the university) and on condition that they composed a mass, or mass and antiphon, customarily performed during the degree ceremony. The formal request, first documented in 1507, was 'to be admitted to lecture on the musical books of Boethius'. Supplicants for the BMus in the later 16th century and the early 17th included Nathaniel Giles (1585), John Bull and John Munday (1586), Thomas Morley and John Dowland (1588), Giles Farnaby (1592), Francis Pilkington (1595), Robert Jones (1597), Thomas Weelkes (1602), Thomas Tomkins (1607) and Richard Dering (1611). The DMus was granted to, among others, John Marbecke (1550) and John Sheppard (1554), *informator* at Magdalen College; Christopher Tye (1548) and John Bull (1592) incorporated DMus from Cambridge. In 1622 William Heather took the BMus and DMus degrees simultaneously. The Laudian Statutes of 1636 codified the formula whereby candidates where required to have spent seven years in the study or practice of music for the BMus and a further five years for the DMus, and to submit a composition ('Canticum') of five parts for the BMus, and of six or eight parts for the DMus, to be performed publicly in the School of Music 'tam vocibus quam instrumentis etiam musicis'. The School of Music, situated among the several schools of the various disciplines clustered around the Bodleian quadrangle (built 1613–24), where the inscription 'Schola Musicae' still stands over the doorway, was presided over by the Heather Professor of Music and housed Heather's collection of music books and instruments; it was periodically refurbished and the collection supplemented.

When William Heather endowed the professorship of music at Oxford in 1626, he acknowledged the dichotomy of theory and practice by providing for the appointment of a choragus (by the 18th century called 'professor') to hold weekly music practices in term-time, and a lecturer in the science of music (the latter post fell into disuse in the course of the 17th century, although it was absorbed into the music lecture or 'music speech' delivered as part of the university Act). In the 19th century the duties and posts of professor and choragus became separated (from 1848) as they still are today, and a new post of coryphaeus was added (1856), but later allowed to lapse. The Heather professorship has been held since its foundation by Richard Nicholson (1626–39), Arthur Phillips (1639–56), John Wilson (1656–61), Edward Lowe (1661–82), Richard Goodson sr (1682–1718), Richard Goodson jr (1718–41), William Hayes (1741–77), his son Philip Hayes (1777–97), William Crotch (1797–1847), Henry Rowley Bishop (1848–55), F.A. Gore Ouseley (1855–89), John Stainer (1889–99), C. Hubert H. Parry (1900–08), Walter Parratt (1908–18), Hugh Percy Allen (1918–46), Jack Westrup (1947–71), Joseph Kerman (1972–4), Denis Arnold (1975–86), Brian Trowell (1988–96) and Reinhard Strohm (from 1996). Until the mid-19th century the professorship was usually held concurrently with one or more college organistships, and frequently also with the post of university organist at St Mary's. Oxford musical graduates in the 18th and 19th centuries were most characteristically church and cathedral organists, among them William Croft (DMus 1713), John Stanley (BMus 1729), Charles Burney (DMus 1769) and Samuel Sebastian Wesley (BMus and DMus 1839).

During the 19th century the trend towards increasing involvement in musical scholarship was reflected in the work of the professors. In the 18th century Philip Hayes's termly 'lectures' consisted of performances, usually of choral works, in the Music School. Crotch's Oxford lectures (1800–04) encompassed a series of scholarly investigations. The 'opening' of the new organ in the Sheldonian Theatre in 1877 was marked by Ouseley's lecture on 'The History and Construction of the Organ'. Stainer (with W.H. Hadow) strove to provide systematic instruction in music history. Among publications in music history and theory produced from Oxford at this period were Ouseley's edition of the translation of Naumann's *History of Music*, Ouseley's treatises on harmony and counterpoint, Stainer's *Dufay and his Contemporaries* and *Early Bodleian Music*, and the *Oxford History of Music* (1901–5). The academic content of the music degrees gathered increasing weight during the same period. Ouseley's reforms (initiated in 1856) added a

written examination to the statutory requirements. Until then the degrees were awarded solely on the basis of the 'exercise' in composition submitted for the professor's approval. (The public performance of the BMus exercise was abolished in 1870, and of the DMus exercise in 1891.) Those who took the Oxford examinations under the new conditions during the late 19th century and the early 20th included Donald Francis Tovey, Leopold Stokowski, Edmund Fellowes and Adrian Boult. The first two women who in 1892 'distinguished themselves by taking the degree' (of BMus) would have been unable to receive it formally; it was not until 1920 that the university began conferring degrees on women.

In 1911 a new Board of Studies in Music was formed to regulate the degrees, which were still open to external candidates. Residence requirements eventually came into force after 1918. In 1944 the modern Faculty of Music was instituted, with premises in Holywell Street (next to the Music Room, with which it has been traditionally linked) until 1981, when it moved to the Linacre College building in St Aldate's. The Honour School of Music was set up in 1950: Westrup, together with colleagues such as Frank Harrison (from 1952), Frederick Sternfeld (from 1956) and Egon Wellesz, presided over the teaching and examining of a new BA syllabus requiring a wider knowledge of musical scholarship. Postgraduate research degrees in music were instituted; the BMus now became a postgraduate degree in composition, the DMus being awarded to composers more advanced in their careers. From 1879 the honorary DMus has been regularly awarded; early recipients included Sullivan (1879), Elgar (1905), Grieg (1906) and Vaughan Williams (1919, on the 250th anniversary of the Sheldonian Theatre), while more recent performers and composers honoured have included Janet Baker (1975), Alfred Brendel (1983), Andrés Segovia (1972) and Michael Tippett (1967). Composers on the faculty have included Egon Wellesz, Edmund Rubbra, Kenneth Leighton and Robert Sherlaw Johnson. Other 20th-century composers who have resided or studied in Oxford include Lennox Berkeley, George Butterworth, Geoffrey Bush, Gordon Crosse, Bill Hopkins, Joseph Horovitz, Nicola LeFanu, Stephen Oliver, Nigel Osborne and William Walton.

6. Libraries and collections. World-famous collections of manuscript and printed music (incorporating the old Music School collection) are held by the Bodleian Library, which is one of the national deposit libraries. Foremost for music among the college libraries is that of Christ Church (to which Aldrich's and Goodson sr's collections were bequeathed). The Music Faculty Library is one of the most substantial university music libraries in the country, comprising a wide-ranging collection of books, scores and periodicals as well as recorded music and rare reference materials. The Faculty of Music also houses a fine collection of musicians' portraits, dating from the 17th to the 19th centuries and originally built up as part of the Music School collections. Important collections of musical instruments are housed in the Music Faculty's Bate Collection of Historical Instruments, the Ashmolean Museum (the Hill collection of string instruments) and the Pitt-Rivers Museum (mainly ethnic instruments).

7. Printing and publishing. Books on music were printed at Oxford from the late 16th century; printed music appeared from 1659 with John Wilson's *Cheerful Ayres or Ballads*. The Oxford University Press (housed at first in the Sheldonian Theatre from 1669, although the origins of printing in Oxford go back much further) is one of the leading publishers of music and music books.

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SUSAN WOLLENBERG

Oxford House Choral Society. London choir founded in 1898. *See* London, §VI, 2(ii).

Oxford University Press [OUP]. English publishing concern, a division of Oxford University and hence a non-profit organization without shareholders. Its principal editorial centres until the 1970s were in London (from 1880) and the Clarendon Press in Oxford. From 1977 publishing was again centralized in Oxford, though the music department remained in London until 1982. Its publications are distributed by a network of affiliates and agents throughout the world. The firm celebrated its quincentenary in 1978.

The musical activities of OUP were almost entirely a 20th-century development, though in the 19th century it

had occasionally brought out works with music, such as Tallis's *Preces and Litany* (1847) and the *Yattendon Hymnal* (1899), which used original 17th-century music type cut by Peter Walpergen for John Fell. An interest in books on music began with the *Oxford History of Music* (1901–5, enlarged 2/1929–38), edited by W.H. Hadow and issued from the Clarendon Press at Oxford, but the real development dates from the employment of the 22-year-old HUBERT J. FOSS at the London office in 1921. Probably with the encouragement of the Bach specialist W.G. Whittaker, OUP started printing sheet music, and in June 1923 the first publications appeared in the two series Oxford Choral Songs and Oxford Church Music. Within two years a separate music department had been established in London under Foss's management, and a rapid publication programme was started, averaging over 200 works a year during the first decade. There was from the first a strong emphasis on contemporary English music; some works by Britten were published and many by Warlock, all the later works of Vaughan Williams and Gerhard (a naturalized Briton), and virtually the entire output of Lambert, Rawsthorne and Walton. In addition, anthologies such as *The Oxford Book of Carols*, *The Oxford Song Books* and *The Church Anthem Book* were issued and were soon regarded as standard collections. After the completion of the ten volumes of Tudor Church Music (1922–9), financed by the Carnegie United Kingdom Trust, OUP also began to issue new editions of individual works of old English music, especially of the 16th to 18th centuries, including an octavo series of Tudor Church Music, derived initially from the Carnegie edition and still in progress. With a few exceptions such as the complete Chopin edition (1932), edited by Edouard Ganche, OUP generally avoided the publication of the standard repertory until in 1985 Vivaldi's *Gloria* initiated a series of new editions of staples of the choral repertory. The publication of the collected works of C.P.E. Bach was started in 1989.

Apart from the continuing commitment to music by 20th-century British composers (prominent among whom are Crosse, Hoddinott, Mathias and Rutter), choral, organ and educational music forms the core of OUP activities. In addition, the New York branch (Oxford University Press Inc.) began in the 1960s the separate publication of contemporary American music, including works by Jack Beeson, Ezra Laderman and Libby Larsen as well as various editions, notably Noah Greenberg's edition of *The Play of Daniel*. The Toronto branch also had its own music division until 1973.

Parallel with its printed music programme, OUP has published a large number of books on music, including such important works as Cobbett's *Cyclopedic Survey of Chamber Music*, Tovey's *Essays in Musical Analysis*, the many editions of *The Oxford Companion to Music*, *The New Oxford History of Music* and concise Oxford dictionaries of music, opera and ballet. This activity, divided between the Oxford and New York branches, moved exclusively to New York in 1999. Since 1955 it has published the scholarly quarterly *Music & Letters*, since 1973 the periodical *Early Music*, and since 1987 the *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, while the New York branch took over the publication of the *Musical Quarterly* in 1989.

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PETER WARD JONES

Oxinaga [Oxinagas, Oginaga, Ojinaga, Orinaga, Martínez de Oxinaga], **Joaquín de** (*b* Bilbao, bap. 26 Oct 1719; *d* Madrid, 24 Oct 1789). Spanish organist and composer. The chapter records of Toledo Cathedral provide the date of baptism. Donostía reported his service as organist at Burgos Cathedral (1740) and in Bilbao (1742). A note by Vicente Pérez in the royal chapel records (*E-Mn* M.762) indicates his appointment as third organist of the royal chapel on 8 January 1747, a position he still occupied in 1749 when he wrote the *dictamen* to the works of Elías. He was appointed principal organist of Toledo Cathedral in 1750, assuming the post on 11 December, and became the expert on the organ built by Justo Llaneza for the collegiate church of Talavera de la Reina, Toledo, in 1786. Pérez, in reporting his death, mentioned that he had been in Madrid for the coronation of Carlos IV in 1789.

The few known works by Oxinaga are of high quality. A sonata and two minuets were published by Ruiz-Pipó in *Música vasca del siglo XVIII para tecla* (Madrid, 1972). Pedrell included a *paso* in *El organista liturgico español* (Barcelona, 1905) and three fugues in *Antologia de organistas clásicos españoles*, ii (Madrid, 1908, 2/1968); one of these corresponds to one of the two fugues (termed *intentos*) in Rubio's *Organistas de la Real capilla*, i (Madrid, 1973). P. Donostia published a sonata on the fifth tone in *Música da tecla en el país vasco: siglo xviii* (Lecaroz, Navarra, 1953, 2/1976). Oxinaga's fugues are among the finest Spanish organ pieces of the 18th century, distinguished by their sparkling counterpoint, varied treatment of the subjects and climactic endings. A 1793 inventory from Toledo Cathedral (Barbieri papers, *E-Mn*) lists an eight-voice mass and *Dixit*, neither apparently extant.

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ALMONTE HOWELL/LOUIS JAMBOU

Oxonia, J. *See* EXCETRE, J.

Oyster Band. English folk-rock group. Initially an informal dance band at Canterbury University during the 1970s, its three key members were Ian Telfer (*b* Falkirk, May 1948), Alan Prosser (*b* Wolverhampton, 17 April 1951) and John Longley Jones (*b* Aberystwyth, 19 Oct 1949). Under the name Fiddlers Dram, they gained chart success with the single *Day Trip to Bangor* (1979) before changing direction and becoming the Oyster Ceilidh Band. They recorded four albums for their own label, Pukka, including the wittily titled *English Rock 'n' Roll: the Early Years 1800–1850*, in which they explored the idea of an 'English roots dance band'. Using rousing guitar, melodeon and

fiddle, and adding a drummer in the mid-1980s, their self-composed songs fused English influences with the energy of post-punk rock and roll.

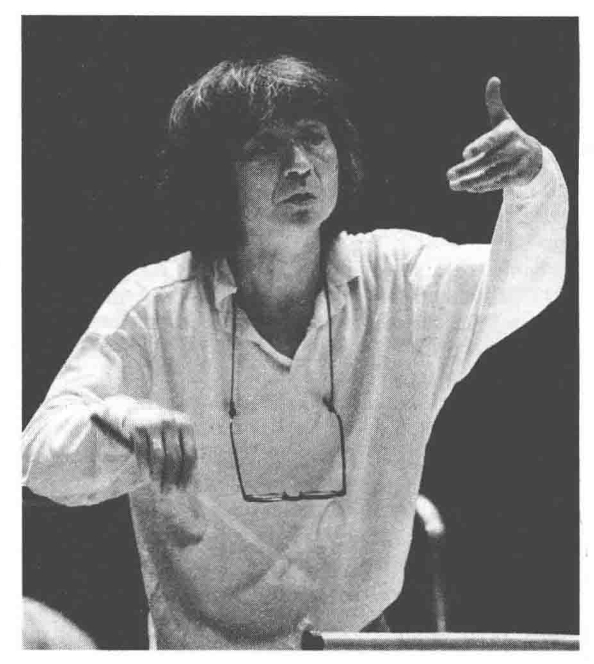
In 1986, the Oyster Band released *Step Outside*, a mixture of traditional songs and their own high-energy dance tunes, on the Cooking Vinyl label. For the rest of the 1980s they led the British folk-rock scene. In albums such as *Wide Blue Yonder* and *Ride*, they expanded their often angry and political repertory by recording songs by BILLY BRAGG and Nick Lowe. In 1990, *Freedom and Rain*, a collaboration with the singer JUNE TABOR, included songs by LOU REED and RICHARD THOMPSON. *Deep Dark Ocean* (1998) showed them in calmer mood, with a sophisticated set of stirring but often sad ballads.

ROBIN DENSELOW

Ozawa, Seiji (*b* Fenytien [now Shenyang], China, 1 Sept 1935). American conductor of Japanese descent. He learnt the piano from an early age, studying Bach with Noboru Toyomasu from the age of 12. He entered the Tōhō School of Music in Tokyo at 16 as a pianist, but switched to conducting and composition, studying with Hideo Saito, when he broke two of his fingers playing rugby. In 1954 he first conducted the NHK SO and the Japan PO and in 1958 he won first prizes in both conducting and composition at the Tōhō School. He moved to Paris, where he took first prize in the International Conductors' Competition at Besançon and befriended two of the judges: Eugène Bigot, who gave him conducting lessons, and Charles Munch, who invited him to the Berkshire Music Center at Tanglewood, where he studied with Munch and Monteux and won the Koussevitzky prize. He then travelled to Berlin where he won a scholarship to study with Karajan; Bernstein noticed him there and offered him a job as an assistant conductor with the New York PO, a post he held from 1961 to 1965.

In 1962 Ozawa made his début with the San Francisco SO and soon began to work as a guest conductor with the Chicago SO during the Ravinia Festival, where he became artistic director (1965–9). He became music director of the Toronto SO (1965–9) and began appearing with the Boston SO, the Philadelphia Orchestra, the Japan PO and the San Francisco SO, where he was music director from 1970 to 1976. In 1970 he also became artistic director of the Berkshire Music Festival, along with Gunther Schuller. Ozawa was appointed music director of the Boston SO in 1973 but managed to continue certain duties in San Francisco until 1978. In addition to his continuing appointment in Boston, he maintains an active musical life in Japan and Europe. He was made honorary artistic director of the Japan PO (now New Japan PO) in 1980 and in 1984 he founded the Saito Kinen Orchestra. Opera has been a growing interest with Ozawa since he made his opera début at Salzburg with *Così fan tutte* in 1969. In addition to concert performances of opera in Boston, he has appeared at Covent Garden (début 1974), La Scala, the Vienna Staatsoper and the Paris Opéra, and made his Metropolitan début in 1992.

Ozawa attributes his graceful podium style to his first conducting teacher, Saito, and to the language barrier which he feels he still faces. While audiences respond to his dance-like conducting, he is well respected by musicians for his skilled baton and rehearsal technique, his even temperament, and his detailed, intensive preparation. He routinely conducts even the most difficult scores from memory. His repertory favours large-scale works by



Seiji Ozawa, 1994

Berlioz, Brahms and Mahler and much modern music. While in San Francisco, he performed nearly all of Schoenberg's orchestral music and a wide range of Stravinsky's works. Some of his best early recordings are of Lutosławski, Honegger and Messiaen's *Turangalîla*. Strauss, Bartók, Debussy, Ravel, Messiaen and Takemitsu have all remained in his repertory, and he has given the premières of new works by Peter Maxwell Davies, Lucas Foss and many others. In Boston he has improved technical precision and developed a darker, weightier sound for the Romantic German repertory; but he has been criticized for a lack of expressive depth on the relatively infrequent occasions when he conducts Mozart, Haydn and Schubert. Similarly, his opera performances, both on stage and in the recording studio, have received a mixed reception, a brilliant recording of *Elektra* being followed by a lush but lethargic *Carmen*. But his bold 1990s Boston Mahler cycle, recorded by Philips, has been widely admired, while his world première of Messiaen's *St François d'Assise* (1983, Paris) received worldwide acclaim.

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JOSÉ BOWEN

Ozgijan [Osghian], **Petar** (*b* Dubrovnik, 27 April 1932; *d* Zagreb, 1 April 1979). Yugoslav composer. He completed his composition studies at the Belgrade Academy under Rajičić in 1959, with further studies until 1964, including conducting with Predrag Milošević. From 1959 to 1964 he was also a teacher at the Slavenski Music School in Belgrade; from 1964 he was a lecturer at the Belgrade Music Academy. Ozgijan's earlier works use a concise neo-classical style with fairly traditional harmony,

classical forms and closely knit thematic structures. A period of intense atonal expressionism followed, shown very strongly in the *Poema eroico*. Even in his later works, especially in the prizewinning *Silhuete* and *Sigogis*, he further expanded his atonal harmonic language and explored many new orchestral techniques, while always controlling his forms with great motivic economy. His *Nokturno* (1977) posthumously won the October Prize of the city of Belgrade.

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(*selective list*)

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Inst: Suite concertante, fl, pf, 1954; Pf Sonata, 1955; Varijacije, pf, 1956; Str Qt, 1958; Str Qt [no.2], 1972; Divertimento, double str qt, 1973; Za mimu, cl, 1977

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NIALL O'LOUGHLIN

Ozi [Ozy], **Etienne** (*b* Nîmes, 9 Dec 1754; *d* Paris, 5 Oct 1813). French bassoonist and composer. He was not (as has been suggested) a son of the composer Pierre Iso (or Yzo), nor did he ever use the pseudonym 'Yzo'. His parents were Marie Piala and Louis Ozy, a carder of floss silk. Like many wind instrumentalists in France at that time, he may have received his early musical training from a musical corps attached to a military regiment. According to Gerber he had settled in Paris by 1777. Ledebur indicated that he studied with G.W. Ritter, the Mannheim bassoonist, who was in Paris 1777–8. In 1779 he made a brilliant debut at the Concert Spirituel, where he played a bassoon concerto by P.D. Deshayes. His performance was described as: 'free and confident; the beautiful quality of his sounds on such an unresponsive instrument and the perfect accuracy of his intonation have earned for him a place in the ranks of the best artists'. During the next 12 years he appeared as a soloist at the Concert Spirituel 36 times; on 19 occasions he performed his own concertos and *symphonies concertantes*. Throughout his career he was praised in the Parisian press for his performances and compositions.

In 1783, while in the service of the Duke of Orléans, the first of his 32 *suites d'harmonies* (for two clarinets, two horns and two bassoons) began to appear in Boyer's catalogues. Ensembles using the same instrumentation were also used extensively in French Masonic lodges, where they were called *colonnes d'harmonies*. Ozi held membership in three different lodges, one of which was the 'Loge Olympique de la Parfaite Estime', whose members participated in the famous Concerts de la Loge Olympique. Ozi was a soloist as well as a member of the orchestra for these concerts. From 1786 to 1788 he was *Musicien ordinaire de la Chapelle et de la Chambre du Roy*. During this time he married Marie Adelaide Du Pont, with whom he had six children. Shortly after the Revolution, he joined the Garde Nationale Parisienne and became a teacher in its affiliated music school, which became the Conservatoire National de Musique in 1795. He continued his activities in the 1790s as a soloist and orchestral musician in the concerts of the Cirque du Palais-Royal (1790), the Théâtre Italien (1792–4), the Théâtre Feydeau (1796) and the Théâtre de la République et des Arts (1799–1800). He apparently had a talent for administrative activities. Representing the musicians in the Parisian National Guard who had established the *Magasin de musique à l'usage des fêtes nationales*, he dealt with officials of the new revolutionary governments. In 1797 he was appointed manager of this publishing house, which had become the Imprimerie du Conservatoire. He retained that position, as well as giving bassoon lessons at the Conservatoire, until his death. From 1798 to 1806 he was a member of the *virtuoses d'élite* of the Opéra orchestra and in 1806 he became first bassoonist of Napoleon's *chapelle-musique*.

Ozi's influence as a performer, teacher, and composer of bassoon literature was international in scope. His music and *Méthodes* (written for a six- and seven-keyed bassoon) are the most comprehensive and informative source of instructions on bassoon performance of the late 18th century. As late as 1838 Schilling observed that his 1803 *Méthode* 'was not only the first complete manual for learning to play the bassoon in France, but in most other countries as well'. The 20 pages devoted to embellishment and extempore variation have been cited as an important source dealing with late 18th-century improvisatory practices. His musical examples were used by Almenraeder as points of departure for improving the key mechanism of the bassoon. At least three of his concertos were published in Germany as well as France and editions of the *Méthodes*, sonatas and caprices continued to be published in Germany, France and Italy throughout the 19th century. Although his concertos and *symphonies concertantes* were intended for his own performance, they contain passages of virtuosic brilliance that contributed much to the development of the bassoon as a solo instrument during this time. As a soloist Ozi expanded the expressive as well as the technical capacity of the bassoon. It was observed that the bassoon took on 'in his hands, a life, a soul, and an expressive character' that was previously unattainable on the instrument. According to contemporaries, he was 'le meilleur basson de son temps'.

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HAROLD E. GRISWOLD

Ozim, Igor (*b* Ljubljana, 9 May 1931). Slovenian violinist. He studied from the age of eight with Leon Pfeifer at the Ljubljana Academy of Music, then (1949–51) with Rostal in London. He won the 1951 Flesch and the 1953 Munich international competitions, and has performed in Europe, the former USSR, the USA and Australia. He taught at the Ljubljana Academy of Music from 1960 to 1963, when he moved to Cologne to become a professor at the Hochschule. In 1984 he became professor at the Berne Conservatoire in addition. A refined executant with a pure tone and natural style, Ozim plays the Classical repertory. His recordings include Haydn, Beethoven, Brahms and Schubert, and he edited the Mozart concertos for the Bärenreiter complete edition. But he is strongly identified with contemporary music: among the first performances he has given of works composed for him are the Concertino for violin and chamber orchestra by Natko Devčić (1961, Zagreb), *Inventiones ferales* by Uroš Krek (1961, Zagreb, also recorded), the Violin Concerto by Manfred Niehaus (1965, Cologne), *Trois images* by Ivo Petrić (1973, Ljubljana), and many chamber works. From 1985 to 1990 he played in the Arion Piano Trio. He owns a 1737 violin by Domenico Montagnana. As a teacher Ozim has edited *Pro musica nova: Studien zum Spielen neuer Musik für Violine* (Cologne, 1975) with original contributions by leading contemporary composers. He has also made editions of many contemporary violin works, and has edited Mozart's violin concertos for the *Neue Mozart Ausgabe*. (J. Creighton: *Discopaedia of the Violin*, Toronto, 1974, 2/1994)

RUDOLF LÜCK

Ozy, Etienne. *See* OZI, ETIENNE.

P

p. *See* PIANO (i).

Pa'amon (Heb.). Ancient Jewish instrument, probably a bell or jingle. *See* BIBLICAL INSTRUMENTS, §3(viii).

Paap, Wouter (*b* Utrecht, 7 May 1908; *d* Lage Vuursche, 7 Oct 1981). Dutch writer on music and composer. He studied the piano with Lucie Veerman-Bekker, and theory with Anton Averkamp, at the Toonkunst Muziekschool, Utrecht (1928–32). From 1934 to 1947 he taught at the Netherlands Institute for Catholic Church Music in Utrecht. He was active as a teacher, critic, lecturer and broadcaster; in 1946 he founded *Mens en melodie*, which he edited from its inception until 1975, and in which he also wrote under the pseudonyms Gerard Werker and Arend Schelp. He performed many functions in Dutch musical life and was general secretary of the Maatschappij tot Bevordering der Toonkunst from 1960 until his death. As a composer Paap was self-taught; orchestral and vocal-orchestral works form a large part of his output, but he also composed carillon and keyboard pieces, music for the stage and songs, all conventional in idiom. His principal publisher is Donemus.

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JOOST VAN GEMERT

Pabbruwe, Cornelis Thymanszoon. *See* PADBRUÉ, CORNELIS THYMANSZOON.

Pablo. American record company. It was established in Los Angeles in 1973 by Norman Granz (and named after Pablo Picasso). It rapidly became extremely successful, continuing the rather conservative recording policies that Granz had pursued during his association with Verve. Material by such well-known performers as Oscar Peterson, Count Basie, Joe Pass and Ella Fitzgerald predominates in the catalogue. Granz also set up two subsidiary labels, Pablo Live (1977) and Pablo Today (1979). The former was used to issue recordings of concert performances; its first 14 albums were made at the Montreux International Jazz Festival of 1977. By the late 1980s hundreds of recordings had been issued on the three labels, some by all-star ensembles specially organized for the occasion. The catalogue includes reissues of material from Granz's earlier labels, Clef, Norgran and Verve, a few albums by Jazz at the Philharmonic groups, and an LP recorded by John Coltrane in 1963. In 1987 Granz sold Pablo to Fantasy (ii); its material was subsequently reissued in the Original Jazz Classics series.

BARRY KERNFELD

Pablo (Costales), Luis de (*b* Bilbao, 28 Jan 1930). Spanish composer. His childhood was marked by the Spanish Civil War, in which he lost his father. From the age of six he lived with his mother and siblings in Madrid, where he received his basic musical training. Although he was attracted to music at an early age and began to compose at the age of 12, family circumstances made it impossible for him to contemplate an artistic career. After studying law at the Universidad Complutense, Madrid (graduated 1952), he became the legal adviser for Iberia Airlines. He soon resigned the post, however, in order to follow his musical vocation. Largely self-taught as a composer, he took some lessons from Ohana and Max Deutsch, under

whose supervision he wrote *Tombeau* (1962–3) and *Cesuras* (1963). In 1959 he attended the Darmstadt summer courses, where, in subsequent years, some of his compositions were performed under Maderna and Boulez. A stipend from the Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst enabled him to spend a year studying in Berlin (1967–8); he returned to the city for another two months in 1975.

Like other musicians of his generation, Pablo worked to reinvigorate the conservative musical life of Spain. He founded the avant-garde associations Nueva Música (1958), Tiempo y Música (1959–64), and Alea (1965–73) and organized the concert series Forum Musical (1963) and Bienal de Música Contemporánea de Madrid (1964). He promoted an understanding of the Second Viennese School in Spain through his translations of Stuckenschmidt's biography of Schoenberg (Madrid, 1961) and the writings of Webern (Madrid, 1963). His musical views of these years are recorded in two works of music theory: *Aproximación a una estética de la música contemporánea* and *Lo que sabemos de música* (both Madrid, 1968). At the invitation of the Torquato di Tella Institute, he began lecturing in Argentina in 1969; he was appointed to a chair at the Real Conservatorio Superior de Música, Madrid, in 1971. In subsequent years he taught at many American, Canadian and European universities and music colleges. He also served as chair of the Juventudes Musicales Españolas (1960–63) and the Spanish section of the ISCM (from 1981), as director of the Centro para la Difusión de la Música Contemporánea (1983–5), as a judge for international composition competitions (from 1965), and as a member of the Sociedad Europea de Cultura (1966), the Real Academia de Bellas Artes, Granada, and the Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando, Madrid (both 1988). His numerous honours and awards include distinctions from the French government (1973, 1986), medals from the cities of Rennes (1988) and Lille (1989), the Luigi Dallapiccola prize (1979), the Spanish National Prize for Music (1991), the diploma of the International Music Council and the Spanish Ministry of Culture (1993) and an honorary doctorate from the Universidad Complutense, Madrid (1998). A documentary on his music was made by the city of Metz in 1990.

Pablo has described his artistic ideal, influenced in its universalism by the aesthetics of Messiaen, as the creation of 'a permanent dialogue between various traditions and cultures'. He has received countless commissions from outside Spain and the majority of his works have been given their premières abroad. His travel experiences have influenced his compositions, which are often inspired by non-musical impressions. Many of his instrumental pieces, such as *Tinieblas de agua* (1977–8) and *Senderos del aire* (1987), can be understood as symphonic poems. The ruins of a divided Berlin, in addition to the purely technical consequences of a successive neutralization of pitches, inspired him to use quotation in *Heterogéneo* (1967) and *Quasi una fantasía* (1969). The breadth of the American landscape and the cold Canadian climate determined the static form of *Portrait imaginé* (1974–5) and *Zurezko olerkia* (1975). His restless striving for new experience, nourished by a passionate love of reading and study as well as travel, led him to integrate music and actions in *Masque* (1973), *Berceuse* (1973–4), *Sólo un paso* (1974) and *Very Gentle* (1974), and music and objects in *Soledad interrumpida* (1971).

Pablo's compositions of the early 1950s, removed by the composer from his catalogue of works, assimilate French modernist influences and belong for the most part to traditional genres. Although his close study of Webern's music brought a radical change to his musical attitude, it did not exert a direct influence on his compositional style. After a brief period during which he experimented with serial techniques (*Coral*, 1954; *Sinfonías*, 1954–66; Piano Sonata, 1958), he embraced aleatory processes, the flexibility of which appealed to him. In the compositions entitled *Módulos* (1964–7), he used 'mobile form' as the point of departure for his concept of 'modules', units 'that have clear capacity for musical autonomy, and at the same time are capable of being combined with all the rest of the material' (Pablo, in Volder, 1998). His compositional language developed gradually across three creative phases represented by the orchestral works *Tombeau* (1962–3), *Iniciativas* (1965–6) and *Imaginario II* (1967).

This flexible method of composition means that the internal formal structure has to be redefined in each work. He has compared his compositions to adventure novels in which something unexpected always happens. Having begun by almost entirely removing the structural function of the interval through sheer weight of tonal density and timbre, Pablo later attempted to find a synthesis between tone colour and melodic line (*Eléphants ivres*, 1972–3). *Tinieblas del agua* (1978) is the first of his orchestral works in which melody has a unifying function. This technique acquired increasing importance in his music from the late 1970s onwards and is probably the result of his growing interest in vocal music. Another feature of Pablo's instrumental works from the 1970s is their borrowing of music material from the past (*Heterogéneo*, 1969); *We*, 1969–70; *Eléphants ivres*; *Vielleicht*, 1973). His interest in electronic music also dates from this period and is evident not only in his founding of Spain's first electronic studio (1965) and the organization of a Week of Electronic Music (1973, in collaboration with the Instituto Alemán), but also in his composition of a series of electro-acoustic works.

Pablo began composing music drama in the 1980s (*Kiu*, 1979–82; *El viajero indiscreto*, 1984–8; *La madre invita a comer*, 1992). The diversity of his handling of the voice in these and other vocal works is typical of the experimental nature of his music and owes itself partly to the influences of Schoenberg, Boulez and Nono. He employed Sprechgesang in *Ein Wort* (1965), and from *Una cantata perdida* (1981) onwards phonetic experimentation has been a decisive aspect of his vocal style. While in the *a cappella* works *Bajo el sol* (1977) and *Retratos de la conquista* (1980) the text is integrated into the polyphonic structure of the music as an equal element, *Tarde de poetas* (1985–6) uses the semantic and stylistic characteristics of nine heterogeneous texts to demonstrate the many possible ways of relating text and music. In his three operas the music plays a largely subordinate role in order to safeguard the comprehensibility of the libretto, restricting its function to the characterization of the principal roles and the articulation of the shape of the drama. Especially in *Kiu* (1979–82) and *El viajero indiscreto* (1984–8) a turn to an almost bel canto style can be observed.

WORKS
(selective list)

STAGE

Ops: Kiu (2, Pablo, after A. Vallejo), 1979–82, Madrid, Zarzuela, 16 April 1983; El viajero indiscreto (2, V. Molina Foix), 1984–8, Madrid, Zarzuela, 12 March 1990; La madre invita a comer (5 scenes, Molina Foix), 1992, Venice, 1993; La señorita Cristina (3, Pablo, after M. Eliade), 1997–9

Other stage works: Protocolo (Pablo), actors, Mez, T, 3 fl, 2 vn, 2 mar, 4 perc, pf, Hammond org, 1968, Paris, 1972; Por diversos motivos, 2 actors, S, 12vv, 2 pf, 1969, Royan, 1970; Berceuse, actor, S, 3 fl, 2 perc, Hammond org, 1973–4, New York, 1975; Masque, fl, cl, pf, perc, 1973, Toronto, 1973; Sólo un paso, actor, fl, 1974, Bremen, 1974; Very Gentle, S, Ct, 2 insts, 1974, Royan, 1974

Incid music

VOCAL

Choral: Escena (R. de la Vega), SATB, str, perc, 1964; Yo lo vi, SATB, 1970; Portrait imaginé, SATB, 20 insts, 2 tapes, 1974–5; Zurezko olerkia, SATB, 2 txalapartas, 4 perc, 1975; Bajo el sol, SATB, 1977; Retratos de la conquista (B.D. del Castillo), SATB, 1980; Sonido de la guerra (V. Aleixandre), spkr, 3 S, T, SSMez Mez, fl, vc, hp, cel, 2 perc, 1980; Viatges i flors (M. Rodoreda), spkr, S, SATB, orch, synth, 1982–4; Serenata, SATB, band, 1985; Tarde de poetas, S, Bar, SATB, insts, 1985–6; Antigua fe (trad.), S, TB, orch, 1990; Ricercare recordare (del Castillo), spkr, SATB, brass, perc, pf, hp, 1990; 3 frammenti sacri (old liturgical), SATB, 2 tpt, hn, 1999; Corta cerrada (St John of the Cross), 12vv, 1999–2000

Other vocal: Comentarios a dos textos de Gerardo Diego, S, pic, vib, db, 1956; Ein Wort (G. Benn), S, vn, cl, pf, 1965; Heterogéneo (Pablo), 2 spkrs, Hammond org, orch, 1967; Al son que tocan (A. Machado), S, 4 B, 3 tpt, 2 perc, hp, Hammond org, pf/cel, tape, 1974–5, rev. 2000; Visto de cerca, 3 men's vv, insts, tape, 1974; Ederki (Robertet), S, va, perc, 1977–8; Canción (J. Gil-Albert), S, ob, tpt, cel, hp, 1979; Pocket zarzuela (J.M. Ullán), Mez, fl, cl, pf trio, 1978–9; Una cantata perdida (F. Pessoa), S, db, perc, 1981; El manantial (J. Guillén), S, fl, 2 vn, cel, hp, perc, 1982; Malinche, S, perc, kbd, tape, 1983; Malinche, S, pf, 1985–6; Zu Strassburg auf der Schanz, Bar, orch, 1985; Com un epíleg (P. Gimferrer), 2 Ct, T, 2 Bar, B, orch, 1988; De la América pretérita, 2 spkrs, S, orch, 1991; Variaciones de León (Molina Foix), 2 S, A, T, Bar, B, 1992–3; Cape Cod, 2 S, A, T, Bar, B, 1994; Relámpagos (Ullán), T, orch, 1996; Puntos de amor (St John of the Cross), S, cl, 1999

INSTRUMENTAL

Orch: Invenciones, 1955, rev. 1959–60; Tombeau, 1962–3; Iniciativas, 1965–6; Módulos II, 1966; Imaginario II, 1967; Quasi una fantasía, str sextet, orch, 1969; Oroitaldi 1971; Eléphants ivres I, 1972; Je mange, tu manges, 1972; Eléphants ivres III/IV, 1973; Latidos, 1974–80; A modo de concierto, perc insts, 1975–6; Pf Conc. no.1, 1978–9; Tinieblas del agua, 1978; Chbr Conc., pf, chbr orch, elec org, 1979; Pf Conc. no.2, 1979–80; Intermedio de 'Kiu', 1982; Adagio, 1983; Conc., kbd, 2 perc, str, 1983; Adagio-Cadenza-Allegro spiritoso, ob, str, 1987; Fiesta, 6 perc, str, 1987, rev. 6 perc, 1989; Senderos del aire, 1987; Une couleur, sax, orch, 1988; Figura en el mar, fl, orch, 1989; 5 impromptus, 1990; Las orillas, 1990; Sueños, pf, orch, 1991; Vendaval, 1994–5; Rostro, 1995; Tréboles, 1995; Vn Conc., 1997

Chbr (5 or more insts): Coral, wind qnt, tpt, trbn, 1954, rev. 1958; Sinfonías, brass, 1954–66; Radial, 24 insts, 1960; Polar, 11 insts, 1961–2, rev. 1999; Prosodia, pic, cl, xyl, vib, perc, 1962; Cesuras, fl, ob, cl, vn, va, vc, 1963; Módulos I, 3 cl, 2 mar, str qt, 2 pf, 1964–5; Módulos III, 17 insts, 1967; Paráfrasis, 12 insts, 1968; La libertad sonríe, 15 insts, 1971; Eléphants ivres II, wind, str qnt, hp, 1972–3; Vielleicht, 6 perc, 1973; Déjame hablar, str, 1974; Credo, double wind qnt, 1976; Invitación a la memoria, 9 insts, 1976–7; Tornasol, 2 fl, 2 cl, vn, va, vc, db, tape, 1980–81; 5 meditaciones, 15 insts, 1983–4; Notturnino, 18 insts, 1987; Fiesta, 6 perc, 1989; Metáforas, pf qnt, 1989–90; Sextet (Paráfrasis e interludio), 2 vn, 2 va, vc, db, 1990; Libro de imágenes, 9 insts, 1991; Paraíso y 3 danzas macabras, wind, vc, db, pf, perc, 1992; Ritornello, 8 vc, 1992–3; Segunda lectura, 10 insts, 1992–3; Umori, wind qnt, 1992–3; Eros, fl, ob, cl, bn, hn, vc, pf, perc, 1993; Nonet, 9 insts, 1994–5; Carola, 4 sax, pf, timp, 1998; Quinteto, cl, str qt, 1999

Chbr (2–4 insts): Recíproco, fl, pf, perc, 1963; Módulos IV, str qt, 1965–7; Imaginario I, 3 perc, kbd, 1967; Promenade sur un corps, fl, perc, 1971; Historia natural, 2 org, perc, tape, 1972; Pardon, cl, trbn, 1972; Soirée, vn, cl, 1972; Str Trio, 1978; Dibujos, fl, cl, vn, vc, 1979–80; J.H., cl, vc, 1983–4; Saturno, 2 perc, 1983; 4 fragmentos de 'Kiu', vn, pf, 1984–6; Fragmento, str qt, 1985–6; Caligrafías, pf trio, 1987; Compostela, vn, vc, 1989; Parodia, str qt, 1992; Caligrafía serena, str qt, 1993; Pf Trio, 1993; Monos y liebres, b cl, mar, 1994–5; Exvoto, vn, va, 1995; Ouverture à la francaise, fl, sax, 1995; Flessuoso, str qt, 1996; Un día tan sólo, fl, cl, 1997; Trimalchio, bn, hn, 1998

Solo inst: Condicionado, G-fl, 1962; Le prie-dieu sur la terrasse, perc, 1973; Lerro, fl, 1977; Oculto, b cl, 1977; Ofrenda, vc, 1980–82; Il violino spagnolo, vn, 1988; Oculto, sax, 1989; Melisma furioso, 1990; Monólogo, va, 1990–92; Fábula, gui, 1991–2; Soliloquio, fl, 1997–8

Kbd (solo pf, unless otherwise stated): Sonata, 1958; Móvil II, pf 4 hands, 1959–67; Libro para el pianista, 1961–2; Módulo V, org, 1967; Comme d'habitude, 2 pf, 1970; Affettuoso, 1973; Cuaderno, 1982; 2 improvisaciones, kbd, 1982; Retratos y transcripciones, 1984–92; Amable sombra, 2 pf, 1989; Retratos y transcripciones II, pf, 1996

ELECTRO-ACOUSTIC

We, 1969–70, rev. 1984; Tamaño natural, 1970; Soledad interrumpida, 1971; Chamán 1975–6; Tinieblas del agua, 1977

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CHRISTIANE HEINE

Pablo Casals Orchestra. BARCELONA orchestra founded in 1919, active until the Spanish Civil War. *See also* CASALS, PABLO.

Pablos, Juan [Paoli, Giovanni] (*b* Brescia; *d* Mexico, *c*1560). Italian printer, active in Mexico. He was the first documented printer in the New World. Sponsored by the Bishop of Mexico, Juan de Zumárraga, he went to Mexico in 1539 under a ten-year contract to the Seville printer Juan Cromberger to establish a printing monopoly in the colony. He issued 62 items in his own name from 1548. Early titles included catechisms and Castilian-Mexican dictionaries. Later the publishing programme expanded to law, science, medicine, philosophy and music, notably the first printed music in the Americas, the roman plainchant in red and black in the *Ordinarium Sacri Ordinis Heremitarum Sancti Augustini* (1556; for illustration see García Icazbalceta). The quality and quantity of Pablos's types improved after he hired a type founder

from Spain, Antonio de Espinosa, who arrived in 1551. Espinosa broke Pablos's monopoly, setting up a shop in Mexico City in 1559 and printing music in a missal (1568), antiphonal (*c*1575) and gradual (1576).

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C. Griffin: *The Crombergers of Seville: the History of a Printing and Merchant Dynasty* (Oxford, 1988)

M.K. DUGGAN

Pabst, Paul (*b* Königsberg [now Kaliningrad], 27 May 1854; *d* Moscow, 9 June 1897). German pianist, teacher and composer. He and his elder brother Louis (*b* Königsberg, 18 July 1846; *d* Moscow, after 1903) were sons of August Pabst (*b* Elberfeld, 30 May 1811; *d* Riga, 21 July 1885), an opera composer and latterly director of the Riga Conservatory. Whereas Louis spent several years in Australia, founding the Melbourne Academy of Music in 1887 (where Grainger was one of his pupils), Paul, who studied with Anton Door in Vienna and later with Liszt, settled in Russia. From 1878 until his premature death he taught with considerable success at the Moscow Conservatory. Among his pupils were Igumnov, Aleksandr Gol'denveyzer, Gedike, Beckman-Shcherbina, Buyukli, Konyus and Medtner. Though a noted interpreter of Schumann and Liszt, Paul Pabst is remembered today for a virtuoso paraphrase of Tchaikovsky's *Yevgeny Onegin.* His other compositions include a piano concerto and a trio. Louis Pabst, who also wrote several piano pieces, went to Russia in 1897 and two years later became a teacher at the music school of the Philharmonic Society in Moscow.

JAMES METHUEN-CAMPBELL

Paccagnini, Angelo (*b* Castano Primo, Milan, 17 Oct 1930). Italian composer. He studied at the Milan Conservatory, graduating in the clarinet (1953), choral conducting (1954), composition and instrumentation (1955). In 1953 he attended the Darmstadt summer course, and from 1958 he worked with Berio and Maderna in the Studio di Fonologia Musicale of the RAI in Milan, of which he was later made director (1969–71). He taught electronic music at the conservatory in Milan (1969–80), after which he was director of the conservatories in Mantua (1980–83) and Verona (1983–9); in 1990 he was appointed artistic superintendent for musical and multimedia projects of the Laboratorio di Informatica Musicale of Milan University. In 1963 he founded and led the early music ensemble Ars Antiqua and in 1984 he founded and was the conductor of the all-women orchestra Nuova Armonia. His international awards include the Italia Prize (1964) and the Tribune Internationale des Compositeurs (1965). He was also involved in the working of a number of radio and television programmes on music.

Starting out as an observer of strict serialism, Paccagnini developed a radical and refined approach to pointillist structures followed by a deep interest in tone colour and harmony rooted in his experience of electronic music. Social and existential themes, often present in his works of the 1950s and 60s, derived from a dismay at the 'present loss of values, sense of disquiet and lack of orientation'. He has since come to a more relaxed and abstract view of musical gesture; and to an aligned use of sound materials in themselves, which result from experimental treatment of both acoustic instruments and electronic devices.

WORKS
(*selective list*)

Dramatic: Le sue ragioni (op, 1, Pagliarani and Paccagnini), Bergamo, 1959; I dispersi (ballet), 1961; Mosè (radio op), 1963; Il dio di oro (radio op), 1964; Tutti la vogliono, tutti la spogliano (op, 3), Venice, 1967; Patner, Turin, 1969; La misura, il mistero (G. Ungaretti, poetical tale), Milan, 1970; È l'ora (radio op, Piccioni, Paccagnini), 1970; C'era una volta un re (TV fable), tape, 1974; Underground (TV ballet), tape, insts, 1975; Olivo verde vivo (TV op), 1977; Dolce ombra, 1990; E il ricercar mi è dolce in questo spazio (multimedia performance), Teramo, 1994

Orch: 4 studi, 1954; Minima, chbr orch, 1955; Conc., vn, 6 groups, 1958; Variazioni, 1958; Gruppi concertanti, 1960; I dispersi, 1961 [from ballet]; Dialoghi, 1962–3; La città del miracolo 'Unterhaltungsmusik', fl, orch, 1965; Conc. no.4, double str, 1969; Flou VII, fl, hpd, str, 1981; FraSi, 1992

Vocal: 5 cori (Euripedes), chorus, 1952; 3 canti (Trakl), S, cl, vc, hp, 1953; 4 canti (F. García Lorca), Mez, pf, 1954; Cantata da camera, 2 S, vn, vc, pf, 1954; 3 brevi studi drammatici (Piodi), S, fl, ob, pf, b drum, 1956; Brevi canti I (Piodi), S, pf, 1956; Brevi canti II (P. Eluard), Mez, pf, 1958; Memoria (Ginzburg), Mez, pf, 1958; Anthem, chorus, insts, 1961; Reportage (Paccagnini), S, Bar, nar, 1962; Actuelles, S, chorus, orch, 1964; Vento nel vento (Paccagnini), Mez, orch, 1964; Conc. no.3, S, orch, 1965; Damon pastor gentil, 2 choruses, ob, hpd, str, 1981; Cantiga, female v, tambourine, 1989; Agnus Dei, female v, 1990

Chbr: Musica a cinque, 2 vn, va, vc, db, 1954; Musica da camera, ob, cl, hn, tpt, double str qnt, 1954; Flou IV, va, vc, db, 1956; Ringelschen, fl, ob, cl, bn, hn, 1956; Musica a due, vn, pf, 1957; Mutazione, vn, 1957; Musica da camera, 9 insts, 1960; Flou I, fl, 1970; Segnali notturni di Lanciano, any wind, 1970; Alleluia, 3 perc groups, 1985; Aforismi, gui, 1990; Flou VIII, hp, 1990; Flou IX, ob, 1990; Serenata a Carla, gui, 1991

Pf: 6 tempi, 2 pf, 1953; Variazione I, 1954, II, 1956; Seconda musica, 2 pf, 1956; Variazione, 2 pf, 1957; Variazione III, 1958; Récréation, suite enfantine, 1964; Microvariazione, pf 4 hands, 1990; Serenata a Elena, pf 4 hands, 1992

El-ac: Sequenze e strutture, tape, 1962; Actuelles 1968, S, orch, tape, 1968; Bivio, tape, 1968; Stimmen, tape, 1970; Underground, tape, synth, 1970; La cena, insts, tape, 1971; Flou II, tape, 1971; Flou III, cl, elecs, 1973; In hoc signo vinces, tape, 1974, collab. E. Carmi; Flou V, va, elecs, 1975; Musica da cantar voce soave, S, pf, elecs, 1981–9; Conc. per Carla, pf, timp, elecs, 1990

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STEFANO A.E. LEONI

Pacchierotti [Pacchiarotti], **Gasparo** [Gaspare] (*b* Fabriano, nr Ancona, bap. 21 May 1740; *d* Padua, 28 Oct 1821). Italian soprano castrato. Trained at either Forlì Cathedral, or with Bertoni at S Marco, Venice (where he was principal soloist for three years from 28 February 1765), he remained in Venice until 1770, taking a minor operatic role at the Teatro S Giovanni Grisostomo (1766) and singing in Galuppi's *Il re pastore* in 1769. After an

appointment as primo uomo at Palermo he sang in Naples as the partner of Anna de Amicis, beginning in 1771 with Jommelli's *Ifigenia in Tauride* and performing frequently at S Carlo up to Carnival 1776. He also sang in Bologna in Carnival 1773 (Bertoni's *Olimpiade*) and at the Naples court theatre in Carnival 1774 (Gluck's *Orfeo*), and for Carnival 1775 he was engaged at the Regio Ducal Teatro, Milan.

In spring 1776 he left Naples permanently, passing through Rome, Florence and Forlì (where his singing in Bertoni's *Artaserse* provoked the famous incident reported by Stendhal – the orchestra were unable to continue for the tears in their eyes). He was engaged by the theatres of Milan, Genoa, Lucca, Turin and Padua, at each singing in an opera by Bertoni. For two years (1778–80) he sang regularly at the King's Theatre in London, where Bertoni was resident composer. In July 1780 he left for Italy, singing at Lucca in Bertoni's *Quinto Fabio* (1780); at the Teatro S Benedetto, Venice, in the première of Bertoni's *Armida abbandonata* (Carnival 1780–81); and at Mantua, in Luigi Gatti's *Olimpiade* (1781). Persuaded by William Beckford, an English admirer and patron, he returned to the King's Theatre, where Bertoni was again composer, singing there with consistent success (1781–4); the London *Public Advertiser* called him 'superior to any Singer heard in this country since Farinelli'. In September 1781 Pacchierotti performed a Rauzzini cantata with Tenducci and the composer for Beckford's coming-of-age party at his Fonthill estate.

Pacchierotti then appeared as primo uomo nearly every season at the Teatro S Benedetto, Venice, and sang at Trieste (1785), Genoa and Crema (1788), Padua, Milan and Bergamo (1789), faithfully promoting Bertoni's operas each season and remaining in Italy until his last London visit, in 1791, where he sang at many concerts as well as in opera. Haydn first heard him on 7 February at a Professional Concert, and little more than a week later had him perform his cantata *Arianna a Naxos*, himself accompanying at the harpsichord. At Venice in 1792 Pacchierotti sang Bertoni's Requiem for Angelo Emo, the *Dies irae* of which he made famous. The inauguration and first Carnival season of the Teatro La Fenice, Venice (1792–3), were his last operatic appearances. Pacchierotti retired to Padua a wealthy man, living in the house of Cardinal Bembo surrounded by furniture from London, an English garden and many famous visitors including Goldoni, Stendhal and Rossini. He spent the last 28 years of his life studying Italian and English literature, and concentrating his musical interests particularly on Marcello's psalms. He sang in public at least twice: in 1796 in Padua before Napoleon (unwillingly), and on 28 June 1814 at S Marco for Bertoni's funeral.

By all accounts the greatest of the late 18th-century castratos, Pacchierotti was last in the line of the finest male sopranos. Both Mount Edgcumbe ('the most perfect singer it ever fell to my lot to hear') and Burney devoted more space to describing his genius than they accorded any other performer of the era. He was able to sing with facility from B♭ to *c‴*, had a command of many different styles, was a considerable actor and moved even casual listeners by his rendition of pathetic airs. He was the principal author of the anachronistic vocal treatise *Modi generali del canto premessi alle maniere parziali onde adornare o rifiorire le nude o semplici melodie o cantilene giusta il metodo di Gasparo Pacchiarotti* (Milan, 1836), published under the name of his friend Antonio Calegari.

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KATHLEEN KUZMICK HANSELL

Pacchioni, Antonio Maria (*b* Modena, bap. 5 July 1654; *d* Modena, 15 July 1738). Italian composer. He spent his entire career at Modena. He studied singing with Marzio Erculeo, counterpoint with Agostino Bendinelli (ii) and composition and the violin with G.M. Bononcini. In 1677 he entered the priesthood at S Carlo, Modena, and on 24 May 1679 was admitted to the *mensa comune* (a congregation of musician priests) of S Carlo, which operated a college important for musical education in Modena. On 28 September 1694 he succeeded Giuseppe Colombi as *maestro di cappella* of Modena Cathedral. His tenure was a stormy one: he retained the position until his death but only through the intervention of Duke Rinaldo I d'Este, in whose service he was simultaneously employed. On 1 December 1699 he was appointed *vicemaestro di cappella* at the ducal court. He served under Antonio Giannettini, whom he succeeded as *maestro di cappella* on 15 January 1722; he held this position too until his death. In 1732–3, along with G.O. Pitoni, he arbitrated in a dispute between G.B. Martini and Tommaso Redi about the solution of a puzzle canon by Animuccia. T.A. Vitali was one of his counterpoint pupils.

Pacchioni's oratorios were among the first to be presented in the Modena area, and his lost *Sant' Antonio abbate*, performed in the oratory of S Carlo in 1677, may well have been the first in an extraordinary succession of oratorios performed at the ducal court under Francesco II d'Este, who specially admired the genre. His oratorios are characterized by a high proportion of strophic arias; a number are instrumentally accompanied, and motto beginnings are frequent. All use a narrator and include one or more choruses, sung by ensembles of the characters. At a time when it was common to use choruses only to end the two parts of an oratorio, Pacchioni used them extensively in two of his works. His *a cappella* works, insofar as they have been studied, show that he was an expert contrapuntist who aroused the admiration of Martini, but he also wrote in the concertante style.

WORKS

SACRED VOCAL

Messa di Requiem, 8vv, org, *I-MOd** (frags. and pts)
Ky and Gl, 5vv, 2 vn, va, ob, tpt, org, *MOe* (holograph)
Ky and Gl, 4vv, vns, *Bc*; Adoramus te, ed. G.B. Martini: *Esemplare o sia Saggio fondamentale pratico di contrappunto*, ii (Bologna, 1775), 112ff
Gl, 4vv, *Bc* (frag.)
Cr, 4vv, vns, org, *Bsp*
Mag, 3vv, *D-MÜp*; Mag, 4vv, vns, 1713, *I-Bc*
Responsori del Mercoledì, Giovedì, e Venerdì santi, 4vv, org, *MOe* (holograph)
Laudate pueri, 4vv, org, *Bc*; extract (Sicut erat) ed. G. Paolucci: *Arte pratica di contrappunto*, ii (Venice, 1766), 69ff
Sicut erat, 4vv, org, *Bc*; ed. G.B. Martini: *Esemplare o sia Saggio fondamentale pratico di contrappunto*, ii (Bologna, 1775), 104ff
Inni delle principali solennità dell'anno, 4vv, vns, *MOd*
6 motets, 2–5vv, str, org, *MOe* (holograph)
10 motets, 3–8vv, some with insts, org, *D-MÜp*
16 motets, 2–5vv, some with insts, org, *I-Bc*

ORATORIOS

Sant'Antonio abbate, l'eroe trionfator dell'inferno (V. Carli), 6vv, insts, Modena, 1677; music lost, lib *MOe*
Le porpore trionfali di S Ignatio (Carli), 8vv, insts, Modena, 1678, *MOe*; Estinta e la mia luce, aria, ed. G. Roncaglia: *Il melodioso settecento italiano* (Milan, 1935), 367
La gran Matilde d'Este (A. Colombo), 6vv, insts, Modena, 1682, *MOe*

SECULAR

Se sia peggio il dir mal d'altri (cant.), B, vns, bc, *MOe* (holograph)
Canzonetta, A, bc (holograph); Canzone, A, bc; Serenata, B, conc. grosso, concertino: *MOe*

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Letters to G.P. Colonna, 19 Jan 1677, *I-Bc*; Duke Rinaldo I d'Este, 25 Jan 1729, Archivio Storico Comunale, Modena; G.B. Martini, 4 Nov 1732, 5 Dec 1735, 28 March 1736, *Bc*, 1 pr. in F. Parisini, ed.: *Carteggio inedito del P. Giambattista martini coi più celebri musicisti del suo tempo* (Bologna, 1888/*R*), 26

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E. Pancaldi and G. Roncaglia: 'Antonio Maria Pacchioni', *Studi e documenti* [R. Deputazione di storia patria per l'Emilia e la Romagna: sezione di Modena], new ser., i (1942), 126
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JULIA ANN GRIFFIN

Pace [Del Pace], **Antonio (i)** (*b* ?Florence, 17 Jan 1545; *d* Pisa, Oct 1581). Italian composer and organist. Trained in Florence as a priest and musician, he was appointed *maestro di cappella* at S Stefano dei Cavalieri, Pisa, in May 1571, exchanging the post for that of organist within the year. He served as informer for the Florentine grand duke, reporting on the situation in Pisa and on the Florentine exiles in Venice, where in 1571 he went to oversee the publication of two books of his madrigals. He was in Rome during March 1577 and returned there later that year to study the harp. His name, preceded by the title cavaliere, appears on Medici court rolls at Florence in 1579. In 1580 he requested permission from the grand duke to transfer to Rome, offering his services as an informer, but he seems not to have gone. When he died, in October 1581, he had returned to Pisa as organist. Both books of his madrigals, each containing 21 settings for six voices, are extant. Vincenzo Galilei intabulated the madrigal *Ecco che pur dopo l'assentia amara* from the first book and included it in the second revised edition of his *Fronimo* (1589). *Mi parto vita mia* from the second book was included in *Harmonia celeste* (RISM 1583[14]) and intabulated for lute by Johannes Rude in *Flores musicae* (1600[5a]). An interesting indication of performing practice of madrigals at the Florentine court appears with *Hor che le negre piume*, from the second book, which is subtitled as a serenade performed with instruments.

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FRANK A. D'ACCONE

Pace, Antonio (ii). Italian music printer. See under CARLINO, GIOVANNI GIACOMO.

Pace, Carmelo (*b* Valletta, 17 Aug 1906; *d* Sliema, 20 May 1993). Maltese composer. He studied composition with Vincenzo Ciappara, Antonio Genova and Thomas Mayne, and violin mainly with Carlo Fiamingo, later switching to viola. Between 1921 and 1938 he was principal viola in the orchestra of the Royal Opera House, Malta. In 1931 he started a career in private teaching, his main source of income, his pupils including most of the major Maltese musicians of the period. To provide a platform for music students, in 1948 he founded and conducted the Malta Cultural Institute Orchestra and Choir and until 1987 was also the institute's concert organizer, producing monthly concerts between October and June of each year, a total of over 400 concerts. The growing national regard for his achievements was reflected in many honours, while the Maltese government appointed him an Officer of the National Order of Merit (1992). Among the first prizes won by his chamber compositions were the 1962 and 1972 Performing Rights Society competitions (London), the 1964 Combined East London Festival of Arts International Competition and the 1967 and 1968 Society of Modern Music Competitions. Pace was a person of quiet charm, a sharp wit and a determined application to his chosen profession.

His creative work is diverse, largely unpublished and distinctive both for clarity of style and sincerity. De Gabriele and Caffari catalogue more than 500 compositions, ranging from simple religious hymns and solo songs to large-scale orchestral pieces, operas and oratorios, making him the most versatile and prolific native talent in Maltese musical history. His life-long insularity protected him from any compulsion to follow fashionable musical evolutions, allowing him to pursue his own personal line of 20th-century Romanticism. This is most evident in his four operas, which, while remaining essentially within the 19th-century Italian melodic tradition, include orchestral colouring and harmonic invention nearer to 20th-century innovations. Although these operas have plots based on Maltese history, they do not draw on the imagery and melodies of Maltese folk music. However, Pace was the first local musician seriously to study and collect it, as can be seen from a small group of works, such as the outstandingly popular *L-Imnarja*, in which he consciously draws on his Maltese cultural heritage.

Pace's greatest achievement is probably as an orchestral and instrumental composer; this has resulted in a broadening of Malta's national musical horizons. His

symphonies, concertos, ballets, tone poems, variations, suites and scherzos include the first example of each genre in Maltese musical history. Although the quality of Pace's work is uneven, his best work reveals a wide variety of modes of serious expression, a melodic diversity and an effective dynamism of movement and rhythmic textures. He was at his most adventurous in his varied chamber compositions, where musical conflict finds expression in the eloquent exploitation of timbres which probe unexplored human depths.

WORKS
(*selective list*)

Ops (perf. Valletta, Manoel): Caterina Desguanez (3, I. Muscat Azzopardi), 1964, 27 Oct 1965; I martiri (3, V.M. Pellegrini), 1966, 14 Oct 1967; Angelica (3, Pellegrini), 1971, 20 Oct 1973; Ipogeana (3, Pellegrini), 1974, 23 Oct 1976

Sacred dramatic works: La Predestinata (sacred drama, 3, Pellegrini) 1954, Valletta, Manoel, 9 March 1955; The Eternal Triumph (cant., *Bible*, liturgical), 1966; Il-Kappella tal-Paċi [The Chapel of Peace] (cant., A. Buttigieg), 1973, Valletta, Manoel, 13 May 1973; Ruth, ballet, 1, 1979, radio perf., 30 March 1980; Sultana tal-Vittorji [Queen of Victories] (orat, Pellegrini) 1985, Valletta, St John's, 5 Nov 1986; Alter Christus (orat, G. Cardona), 1986, Mdina, St Paul's, 26 Nov 1993; Sejha [The Call] (cant., K. Psaila), 1986, Valletta, St John's, 26 March 1987

Other sacred: Stabat mater, S, T, B, SATB, orch, 1982, Valletta, Manoel, 11 June 1982; Te Deum, S, T, SATB, organ, orch, 1983, Mdina, St Paul's, 26 Nov 1993

Orch: Brazil, sym. poem, 1936; Intermezzo, pf, str, 1940; Moto perpetuo, chbr orch, 1940; Pf Conc no.1, d, 1940; Pf Conc no.2, 1944; Bernadette, tone poem, 1946; Suite of Dances, 1946; Sinfonietta, 1966; Sym. no.2, 1966; Cl Conc, 1970; Jubilamus, tone poem, 1970; Rhapsody, vib, orch, 1971; 2 Plantation Sketches, 1975; Eclogue, 1978; It-Tiġrija [The Race], sym. scherzo, 1978; La caccia nel boschetto, 1985

Vocal-inst: Aprilja (W.P. Gulia), S/T, pf/orch, 1956; Hunting Song (W. Scott), SATB, pf/orch, 1956; To the Daisy (W. Wordsworth), S/T, pf, 1956; He Shall Be King, op. episode (Pellegrini), S, T, B, hp, str, 1958; Orgia (A.M. Cassola), 4 male vv, pf, 1960; Rose di maggio (C. Manzi), T, pf/orch, 1961; Ward ta' Mejju [May Flowers] (Pace), S, A, T, B, pf/orch, 1964; Verso l'aurora (Pellegrini), S/T, va, 1970; Talba [A Prayer] (Buttigieg), S, chorus, chbr orch, 1971

Vocal unacc.: Description of Spring (H. Howard), SATB, 1960; T'accogliam, pane celeste (Pellegrini), SATB, 1960; Fall, Leaves, Fall (E. Brontë), SATB, 1963; Penso printempa [A Spring Thought] (Psaila), SATB, 1966; Madrigali spirituali, 4–8 vv, 1972

Works based on Maltese folk melodies and rhythms: Maltesina, chbr orch, 1931; L-Imnarja [Feast of SS Peter and Paul] (Pace), SATB, opt. pf, 1960; Fejn it-Tieqa tal-Fanal [Near the Street-Lamp Window] (trad.), SATB, pf, 1963; Btajjel [Holidays] (trad), SATB, 1965; Variations on 2 Maltese Trad. Tunes, orch, 1970

Chbr with pf: Sarabande and Gigue, vn, pf, 1955; Passacaglia e furlana, pf, fl, cl, bn, 1957; Sarabande and Gigue, pf qnt, 1957; Rhapsody, cl, pf, 1960; Pf Qt no.1 (Quartetto lirico), 1962; Pf Qt no.2, 1969; Pf Qt no.3, 1973; Pf Trio, 1975; Rondo, fl, pf, 1979; Temi variati, t and bar flugelhorns, pf, 1985

Str qts: no.1, 1930; no.2, 1931; no.3, 1932; no.4, 1933; no.5, 1934; no.6, 1935; no.7, 1936; no.8, 1937; no.9, 1938; no.10, 1970

Other chbr: Sextet, 2 vn, 2 va, 2 vc, 1960; Wind Qnt, 1960; Tempo di sarabanda, 4 vc, 1970; Sax Qt, s, a, t, bar sax, 1971; Qnt, cl, 2 vn, va, vc, 1972; Fanfare, 2 tpt, hn, trbn, tuba, 1978; Contrasts, fl, a fl, t fl, viol, hpd, 1979; Nocturne, 3 fl, 1985

Pf: Impromptu, 1950; Toccatina, 1954; La vallée solitaire, 1955; 3 Maltese Pictures, 1955; Theme with Variations, 1957; Variations on a Theme of Nicolò Isouard, 1957; Prelude, fuga e finale, 1961; Capriccio, 1967; Variabile (1968); Pf Sonata no.2, 1973; Variations on the Maltese National Anthem, 1975

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JOSEPH VELLA BONDIN

Pace, Giovanni Battista (*fl* 1585–91). Italian composer. He was one of a small circle of composers gathered round Stefano Felis during Felis's period as *maestro di cappella* at Bari Cathedral. He is represented in Felis's *Primo libro de madrigali a cinque voci* (1st edn. lost, R/Venice, 1585, ?lost, contents listed in *VogelB/E*, i, 222–3), by a setting of *Bench'al gran duol*, and both composers, together with Giovanni Donato Vopa, another of Felis's pupils, produced a volume of madrigals jointly (RISM 1585[30]). The six compositions that Pace contributed to the print are solidly contrapuntal and provide a strong contrast to Vopa's pieces, which are in the light canzonetta style. His only other known work is textless and appears in Friedrich Lindner's *Bicinia sacra* (1591[27]).

IAIN FENLON

Pace [Paci], **Pietro** (*b* Loreto, 1559; *d* Loreto, 15 April 1622). Italian composer and organist. He was organist of the Santa Casa, Loreto, from 15 December 1591 to 31 July 1592. His activities between 1592 and 1611 are not precisely documented, although he was at some time in the service of Giuliano della Rovere of Urbino. He was organist of Pesaro Cathedral in 1597 and reportedly travelled to Rome. From 1 September 1611 to 7 April 1622 he was again organist of the Santa Casa, Loreto, when Antonio Cifra was *maestro di cappella* there. According to prefaces in his publications, several of his sacred works were performed at the Jesuit oratory at Loreto. His extensive contacts with the Della Rovere family are documented by many of his later prints and by his music for the *intermedi L'Ilarocosmo, overo Il mondo lieto*, written for the marriage of Federico Ubaldo della Rovere and Claudia de' Medici and performed at Urbino on 29 April 1621. The date of his death has sometimes been incorrectly cited as 11 April.

Many of Pace's publications are either partly or entirely lost, making impossible a complete assessment of his works. He appears to have been most active as a composer during the last decade of his life, when he adopted characteristics of the *seconda pratica*, including an obligatory continuo and affective vocal ornamentation. The surviving books of polyphonic madrigals begin in 16th-century unaccompanied style but by the fourth book incorporate concertato writing in various textures. Ten madrigals of op.15 introduce one or more purely instrumental sections, which he described as sinfonias. The madrigals for solo voice in the 1613 collection frequently contain very florid ornamentation over a slow-moving bass. Among the motet collections, the most varied is op.18. It contains 15 Latin motets for four to six voices, 15 spiritual arias for one or two voices, with vernacular texts which are paraphrases of those of the motets, and two eight-part works for double choir. *L'Ilarocosmo* is in three acts (as they are called in the score) preceded by a Prologue; the music is primarily for solo voices in recitative and arioso styles but also contains choral numbers for four to six voices.

WORKS

STAGE

La Delinda, favola pastorale, lost
L'Ilarocosmo, overo Il mondo lieto (intermedi, I. Bracci), *I-Rvat*

SACRED VOCAL

all probably with bc

Il primo libro de motetti, 1–4vv, con un Magnificat, 2vv, ?op.5 (Venice, 1613)
Il secondo libro de motetti, op.7, lost
Il terzo libro de motetti, 1–5vv, op.8 (Venice, 1614)
Il quarto libro de motetti, 1–5vv, op.9 (Venice, 1614)
Il quinto libro de motetti, 1–5vv, op.10 (Venice, 1615)
Litanie, 8vv, ?op.11, lost
Il primo libro de scherzi et arie spirituali sopra la Romanesca, Ruggiero, ed aria del Gazzella, 1–4, 6vv, op.12 (Venice, 1615)
Il secondo libro de scherzi ed arie spirituali sopra la Romanesca, Ruggiero con altre arie, 1–3, 7vv, op.14 (Venice, 1617)
Il sesto libro de motetti, 1–4vv, con il salmo Dixit Dominus, Laudate pueri, e Magnificat, 2–3vv, op.16 (Venice, 1618)
Magnificat, 2–4vv, op.17, lost [op.17 cited by Radiciotti as Sacri concentus, in *F-Pn*]
[Il settimo libro de] motetti, 4–6vv, et ciascheduno motetto ha una aria spirituale volgare se piace, 1–2vv, con il salmo Dixit e Magnificat, 8vv, op.18 (Venice, 1619)
L'ottavo libro de motetti, 1–4vv, con il salmo Dixit e Magnificat, 6vv, op.19 (Rome, 1619)
Salmi, 8vv, op.20 (Venice, 1619)
Il nono libro de motetti, 1–4vv, op.21 (Venice, 1619)
Il decimo libro de motetti, 1–4vv, op.23 (Rome, 1621), lost
L'undecimo libro de motetti, 2–6vv (Rome, 1625); cited in *LaMusicaD*, *RicordiE*

SECULAR VOCAL

Madrigali, 5–6vv, un dialogo, 7vv, op.1 (Venice, 1597)
Il secondo libro de madrigali, 5vv, ?op.2 (Venice, 1612)
Il terzo libro de madrigali, 5vv, op.3 (1612/13), lost
Il primo libro de madrigali, con un dialogo tra il Peccatore e la Morte, 1v, chit/theorbo/other insts, ?op.4 (Venice, 1613)
Il quarto libro de madrigali, 4vv, . . . con uno . . . sopra Ruggiero, 5vv, op.6 (Rome, 1614)
Scherzi, arie et madrigali sopra la Romanesca, Ruggiero, et Gazzella, 1–4vv, op.13 (Venice, 1616)
Madrigali, 4–5vv, parte con sinfonia se piace, e parte senza, op.15 (Venice, 1617)

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G. Tebaldini: 'Pietro Pace', *Rassegna marchigiana*, i (1922), 10–19
G. Radiciotti: 'Ancora di Pietro Pace', *Rassegna marchigiana*, i (1922), 61–2
A. Adrio: *Die Anfänge des geistlichen Konzerts* (Berlin, 1935)
M.C. Zucchini: 'L'Ilarocosmo di Pietro Pace', *Quadrivium*, xii/2 (1971), 49–57

WILLIAM V. PORTER

Pacelli [Pecelli], **Asprilio** (*b* Vasciano, nr Narni, 1570; *d* Warsaw, 4 May 1623). Italian composer, partly active in Poland. He is first heard of in the service of two Roman churches: from September 1589 to September 1593 he was at S Maria di Monserrato, and in 1594 he joined SS Trinità dei Pellegrini. By 19 May 1595 he had been appointed *maestro di cappella* of the Collegio Germanico, Rome. In 1601 he appears to have been given leave to visit Warsaw (see Szweykowska, 1971). On 2 March 1602 he became *maestro di cappella* of S Pietro, Rome. He remained there only until the end of that year, for he then accepted an invitation from King Sigismund III of Poland to become director of the royal chapel at Warsaw. He must have taken up his post at the beginning of 1603, and he held it until his death. He was buried in the crypt of the collegiate church of St John the Baptist (now the cathedral), Warsaw, and the king erected in his memory a marble epitaph with a bust (reproduced in *MGG1*, x, pl.40/ii), which was destroyed in 1944.

The Polish royal chapel in the reigns of Sigismund III (1587–1632) and Władysław IV (1632–48) was among the most distinguished in Europe. The music there was directed by a succession of Italians, from Marenzio to Marco Scacchi. Pacelli, who with Scacchi was one of the two longest-serving directors, upheld and consolidated the high reputation of the chapel. He used his position to help found a north-eastern outpost of Italian music, which, as Wincenty Lilius's anthology *Melodiae sacrae* (RISM 1604²) early showed, was of Roman–Venetian orientation. As a composer he was an exponent of the learned Roman style stemming from Palestrina and associated with the Counter-Reformation. In his madrigals he kept to the traditional imitative conception of the form while infusing it with elements of the rhythmic rhetoric found in the madrigals of Marenzio; but they are not at all chromatic, and they also lack the dramatic thrust of Monteverdi's madrigals. In his motets for four to six voices Pacelli modified the Roman imitative style by introducing more instrumentally conceived melodic lines with animated rhythms. His polychoral compositions display a synthesis of the principles of imitation and the Venetian concept of a choral dialogue; they testify to his mastery of polyphony and are his most interesting and representative works. His music, particularly the *Sacrae cantiones* (1608) and the posthumously published masses (1629), formed the basis of the repertory of the Warsaw chapel in the first quarter of the 17th century. It was also very popular in Germany and elsewhere in northern Europe, as is shown by the number of reprints and manuscript copies emanating from those areas.

WORKS

Edition: *Asprilio Pacelli: Opera omnia*, i, ed. M. Gliński (Rome, 1947) [P]

SACRED VOCAL

Motectorum et psalmorum, liber primus, 8vv (Rome, 1597)
Chorici psalmi et motecta, liber primus, 4vv (Rome, 1599)
Psalmi, Magnificat et motecta, 4vv (Frankfurt, 2/1608) [1st edn *c*1600, lost, see Gliński, 1941]
Sacrae cantiones, 5–10, 12, 16, 20vv (Venice, 1608); ?2nd edn of Cantiones sacrae, 5, 6, 8, 10–20vv (Frankfurt, 1604), lost, cited in *FétisB*
Bogu w Trójcy jedynemu Swiętemu Śtanisławowi Patronowi Polskiemu Tablica Obiecana [Song in honour of St Stanislaus] (S. Grochowski) (Kraków, 1611); ed. J. Reiss, *Muzyka i śpiew* (Kraków, 1929)
Missae, 8, 10, 12, 16, 18vv (Venice, 1629) (inc.) [elaborated version of Missa 'Ave Maris Stella' in *PL-Kk*]

20 motets, some 5, 7, 8vv, 1604², 1604⁸, 1609¹⁵, 1612³, 1613², 1614³, 1617¹, 1621¹, 1621²
4 canzonette spirituali, 3vv, 1591¹³, 1592⁵

Missa de Passione Domini, 4vv, *PL-Kk* (attrib. 'A.P.',? by A. Paszkiewicz)
25 motets, 4, 5, 8vv, other works, *A-Wn*, *D-As*, *PL-GD*, *Kk*, *PE*, *Wn*
17 motets, 8vv, other works: lost, formerly *D-Bst*; Biblioteca Rudolfina, Liegnitz; Wrocław City Library

SECULAR VOCAL

Madrigali libro primo, 4vv (Venice, 1601); P, 4 ed. in Florilegium musicae antiquae, xxii (Kraków, 1967)
Madrigali libro secondo, 5vv (Frankfurt, n.d.); lost, cited in *FétisB*, see also Gliński, 1941, p.45

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G. Vecchi: 'La "Docta schola" di Asprilio Pacelli', *Incontro con la musica italiana in Polonia dal Rinascimento al Barocco I: Parma and Bydgoszcz 1969*, 153–62
T.D. Culley: *Jesuits and Music*, i: *A Study of the Musicians Connected with the German College in Rome during the 17th Century and of their Activities in Northern Europe* (Rome, 1970)
Z.M. Szweykowski: 'Unikalne druki utworów Asprilia Pacellego: z muzycznych poszukiwań w Szwecji, ii' [Unique prints of works by Asprilio Pacelli: musical research in Sweden, ii], *Muzyka*, xvii/1 (1972), 74–93
Z.M. Szweykowski, ed.: *Musicalia vetera: katalog tematyczny rękopiśmiennych zabytków dawnej muzyki w Polsce* [Thematic catalogue of manuscript treasures of early Polish music], i/2 (Kraków, 1972); i/6 (Kraków, 1983)
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MIROSŁAW PERZ

Paceri, Giuseppe. *See* PACIERI, GIUSEPPE.

Pacetti, Iva (*b* Prato, 13 Dec 1898; *d* Rome, 19 Jan 1981). Italian soprano. After study in Florence she made her début at Prato as Aida. She arrived at La Scala, Milan, in 1922, and sang Helen of Troy in *Mefistofele* under Toscanini, with whom she also worked in Dukas' *Ariane et Barbe-bleue*. She was the first Rome Turandot (1926) and gave her farewell performance there in the same role 21 years later. Abroad her greatest success was in South America, though she also sang at Chicago and throughout Europe. At Covent Garden she appeared in 1930, 1931 and 1938, as Desdemona, Leonora in *La forza del destino* and, most frequently, Tosca. Her pianissimo singing was admired, but *The Times* observed in 1930 that she lacked the ringing quality required, and the *Liverpool Post* nominated her 'wobbler of the season'. Her large repertory included such varied parts as the Dyer's Wife in *Die Frau ohne Schatten*, Norma and Leonore in *Fidelio*. Her best-known recording is of *Pagliacci* made in 1934 with Beniamino Gigli, though the role of Nedda is one she never sang on stage.

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J.B. STEANE

Pacheco de Céspedes, Luis (*b* Lima, 25 Nov 1895; *d* Lima, 16 Feb 1982). Peruvian composer and conductor. He studied with Claudio Rebagliati and Villalba Muñoz in Lima, and from 1910 in Paris with Duvernois and Thibaud (violin) and Fauré and Hahn (composition). His professional career was centred on the theatre. In 1923, his ballet, *L'horloge de porcelaine* was first performed in Paris, and 1925 saw the first performance in Rouen of his *opéra comique La masque et la rose*. He worked for the publisher Salabert writing orchestral arrangements, and later dedicated himself to composing and conducting for radio (PTT) and cinema (Paramount). In 1935 he founded the Guelma Academy. Due to the outbreak of World War II, he returned to Peru where he became musical director of National Radio in 1941, and acted as guest director of the National SO. From this period on, he began to employ native folk material, attempting to evoke historical events and geographical locations. He was awarded the Duncker Lavalle national prize in 1946 for *Siclla* for string quartet. Most of his output after 1940 was also linked to his collaboration with his wife, the American choreographer Kaye MacKinnon.

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Stage: L'Horloge de pocelaine, ballet, Paris, Olympia, 1923; Le masque et la rose (opéra comique, J. Severac), Rouen, 1925; La mariscala (operetta, 3, C. Miró), Lima, 1942
Orch: Danzas sobre un tema indio, 1940; Elpaseo de aguas, suite, 1941; La reja, 1942; La proseción del Señor de los Milagros, 1942; La selva, 1942; 3 momentos de ballet, 1942; Himno al Sol, 1943; Gloria y ocaso del Inca, 1946; Amankay, 1946; 2 syms.
Songs: Lieder (P. Fort), 1922; Canciones sudamericanas, no.1, 1922; Canciones sudamericanas no.2, 1930; Melodías, 1930; Canciones sudamericanas, no.3, 1934; Melodías españolas, 1934
Chbr and solo inst: 9 piezas breves, pf, 1920; Siclla, str qt, 1946, arr. str orch 1947; 3 sonatas, vn, pf

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J. CARLOS ESTENSSORO

Pacheco y Basanta, José (*b* Mondoñedo, 15 Dec 1784; *d* Mondoñedo, 23 March 1865). Spanish composer. He joined the choir of Mondoñedo Cathedral in 1795, and, after his voice broke became organist there while studying composition. His first public appearance took place at Christmas 1804, when he directed some *villancicos* he had composed himself for the festivities; from that time onwards, he was put in charge of the care and education of the choirboys, and in 1806 he was formally appointed *maestro de capilla*. Most of Pacheco's professional activities took place at the heart of Mondoñedo Cathedral. He received offers to transfer to Lugo, in 1817, and to Oviedo, in 1833, and also competed, unsuccessfully, for the directorship of Santiago de Compostela.

Pacheco inherited from his predecessor A.C. Santavalla the best-endowed *capilla* in the history of Mondoñedo Cathedral, although from 1820 economic problems led to a deterioration in the practice of music in the cathedral and the loss of many of the ablest musicians. In spite of this, he continued to compose for the main festivities and sought to maintain the quality of music in the *capilla*. From about 1850 he replaced oboes with clarinets, eliminated bassoons and began to introduce novel wind instruments such as the ophicleide, the saxophone and the tuba.

His early compositions bear a close relation to those of his teacher Melchor López. However, his later works are characterized by a florid, rhapsodic style and make much use of popular material. In the utilization of popular Galician themes in his *villancicos* he anticipated Galician nationalist composers of the later 19th century. A few of Pacheco's works are kept at the cathedrals of Santiago, León, Lugo, Oviedo, Seville and Tui. However, the bulk of his output, including liturgical works and many *villancicos* in Spanish and Galician, is preserved in the archives of Mondoñedo Cathedral.

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CARLOS VILLANUEVA

Pachel, Leonard (*b* Ingolstadt, *c*1451; *d* Milan, 7 March 1511). German printer, active in Italy. His name first appears in 1473 as witness to a contract of the first music printer in Milan, Christoph Valdarfer. There, in 1477, his own first book was issued in association with Ulrich Scinzenzeller, with whom he printed until 1490. They issued about 400 works, only 60 with their imprint, however. Pachel printed about 11 editions with either printed music or space for it, four with music printed from three Ambrosian and roman plainchant types (three missals, one psalter) and two theory books, one with space for manuscript music, one with music printed from woodblocks. He was responsible for printing the first edition of the Ambrosian psalter (1486) and probably the first Ambrosian ritual (*c*1487).

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M.K. DUGGAN

Pachelbel. German family of musicians.

(1) Johann Pachelbel [Bachelbel] (*b* Nuremberg, bap. 1 Sept 1653; *d* Nuremberg, bur. 9 March 1706). Composer and organist. He was one of the leading progressive German composers of his time. Formerly admired chiefly for his organ and other keyboard music, he is now recognized as a leading composer of church and chamber music. His vocal works, in particular, belie his reputation as a somewhat staid composer of organ chorales. They show a thorough familiarity with the rhetorical and pictorial arsenal of 17th-century German texted music and exhibit close attention to detail, which is evident throughout Pachelbel's output.

1. Life. 2. Works: general introduction. 3. Liturgical organ music: (i) Chorales (ii) Magnificat fugues (iii) General characteristics. 4. Non-liturgical organ music: (i) Intorduction (ii) Toccatas (iii) Ricercares (iv) Fantasias (v) Fugues (vi) *Ciaccone*. 5. Other keyboard music. 6. Chamber music. 7. Vocal music: (i) Arias (ii) Motets (iii) Sacred concertos (iv) Liturgical works. 8. Posthumous reputation.

1. Life. Early in life Pachelbel manifested a keen interest in intellectual pursuits coupled with a special aptitude in music. His parents enrolled him in St Lorenz High School, but he received his early musical training from the two leading local instructors, Heinrich Schwemmer, who taught him the rudiments of music, and G.C. Wecker, who taught him composition and instrumental performance. To enhance his general education he attended the Auditorium Aegidianum, where sons of the city's cultured families listened to learned lectures. On 29 June 1669 he entered the university at Altdorf, where he also served as organist of St Lorenz. Because his father could not afford to support him, he was forced to leave the university after less than a year. Probably in spring 1670 he enrolled in the Gymnasium Poeticum at Regensburg, where, because of his exceptional academic qualifications, he received special consideration and was selected as a scholarship student over and above the school's normal quota. Because of his advanced standing in music, the school authorities permitted him to study music outside the Gymnasium under Kaspar Prentz, a protégé of J.C. Kerll. It may have been Prentz who directed his attention to the music of leading Italian composers.

Though Prentz left Regensburg in 1672, it was most likely owing to his influence that Pachelbel, who was a Lutheran, went to Vienna in 1673 to become deputy organist of the Stephansdom, where he would certainly have been exposed to the works of Catholic composers of southern Germany and Italy. There is still no convincing documentary evidence that he was actually a pupil of Kerll, who also moved to Vienna in 1673. His music, however, reveals that he learnt much from Kerll's style. On 4 May 1677 Pachelbel became court organist at Eisenach, under the Kapellmeister Daniel Eberlin, in the employ of Prince Johann Georg, Duke of Saxe-Eisenach. After about a year, Prince Bernhard, Duke of Saxe-Jena, the brother of Pachelbel's patron, died, and it is quite likely that during the ensuing period of mourning the activities of the court musicians were greatly curtailed. Though Pachelbel had no offer of employment elsewhere, he requested and received from Eberlin a gracious testimonial addressed to any interested Kapellmeister, prominent patron or musician. With this document (printed in Mattheson, 1740, p.245), in which Eberlin described him as a 'perfect and rare virtuoso', he left Eisenach on 18 May 1678.

It was not long before Pachelbel found employment, for his contract as organist of the Protestant Predigerkirche at Erfurt is dated 19 June 1678. This remarkable document (printed in Botstiber, 1901) clearly prescribed, among other details, the organist's role. He was to precede the singing of a chorale by the congregation with a thematic prelude based on its melody, and he was to accompany the singing throughout all the stanzas. The wording makes it clear that he was not to improvise the prelude but should diligently prepare it beforehand. It was also specified that every year on St John the Baptist's Day, 24 June, he was to observe the anniversary of his employment: on that day he was obliged not only to submit to a re-examination, but also to demonstrate his vocational progress during the past year in a half-hour recital at the end of the afternoon service, using the entire resources of the organ in 'delightful and euphonious harmony'. The stipulations of this contract were perhaps responsible for the fact that during his 12 years at the Predigerkirche he surged into the front rank of composers for the organ.

Three years after arriving at Erfurt, on 25 October 1681, Pachelbel married his first wife, Barbara Gabler, but she and their baby son died in September 1683 during a devastating plague. It is generally assumed that this personal crisis may have caused him to publish his *Musicalische Sterbens-Gedancken* in that year. On 24 August 1684 he married Judith Drommer (Trummert), who bore him five sons and two daughters. During his years in Thuringia at Eisenach and Erfurt he was drawn to the Bach family. Ambrosius, Johann Sebastian's father, asked him to be godfather to his daughter Johanna Juditha and to teach music to his son Johann Christoph (later known as the Ohrdruf Bach, and J.S. Bach's teacher.

Pachelbel was outstandingly successful as organist, composer and teacher at Erfurt, but he eventually asked

for permission to leave and was formally released on 15 August 1690. From 1 September he was musician and organist at the Württemberg court at Stuttgart under the patronage of Duchess Magdalena Sibylla. His new position was in many respects an improvement for him, but in autumn 1692 he was forced to flee before a French invasion. He went to Nuremberg but within a few weeks returned to Thuringia, where on 8 November he became town organist at Gotha. According to Mattheson (1740) he was invited on 2 December 1692 by a distinguished gentleman to fill an organist's post at Oxford but declined the offer. He also refused a request to return to Stuttgart.

Following the death on 20 April 1695 of Wecker, organist of St Sebaldus, Nuremberg, the authorities were anxious to appoint Pachelbel, a celebrated native of the city. Contrary to the usual practice, therefore, the position at St Sebaldus, the most important of its kind in Nuremberg, was not filled by examination, nor were the organists of the city's lesser churches invited to apply. After Pachelbel had officially received an invitation from St Sebaldus, he addressed a gracious letter to the authorities at Gotha asking them to release him (fig.1). He presumably arrived at Nuremberg during the summer, for on 26 July 1695 the city council ordered that he be paid 30 gulden towards his travelling expenses. He remained at St Sebaldus until his death. If his organ chorales are the most characteristic products of his period at Erfurt, his *Magnificat* fugues for organ and his vocal music best sum up his years at Nuremberg. As at Erfurt, he was soon surrounded by many pupils who eventually assumed positions of importance.

Four of Pachelbel's children became well known in their own right. The eldest son of his second marriage, (2) Wilhelm Hieronymus Pachelbel, was perhaps his most accomplished pupil; (3) Charles Theodore transmitted his father's influence to the British American colonies; Johann [John] Michael (*b* Nuremberg, 15 Oct 1692) established himself at Nuremberg as an instrument maker and performed in Kingston, Jamaica, in 1728; and a daughter, Amalia, was noted for her paintings and etchings and, like her father, earned a place in Doppelmayr.

Joh. Pachelbel.

1. Autograph letter (postmarked 11 June 1695, old style) from Pachelbel to the authorities at Gotha asking to be released from his duties as organist (Staatsarchiv Weimar, Oberkonsistorium Gotha, Stadt Gotha no.434, f.14r)

2. Works: general introduction. Though a busy organist throughout his working life, Pachelbel was a remarkably prolific composer. He wrote for the organ, harpsichord, chamber ensembles and various vocal media. He composed his liturgical organ music for the Lutheran ritual. The organ chorales met specified requirements in his contract with the Predigerkirche, Erfurt, and the *Magnificat* fugues served to enhance Vespers at St Sebaldus, Nuremberg. In his organ music he also cultivated the non-liturgical genres of toccata, prelude, ricercare, fantasia, fugue and *ciaccona* (chaconne). His other keyboard music consists of fugues, suites and sets of variations. His chamber music is excellently crafted and has benefited greatly from performances in the late 17th-century German style with its subtle combination of vigour and lyricism. Pachelbel's vocal music shows his mastery of the styles and devices of the Schütz generation and its followers. It has a much wider range of dramatic expression than his organ music, and the vocal lines can be quite demanding. His earliest datable works are two arias of 1679. The works with Latin text probably date from the last decade of his life, when he was at Nuremberg.

His pupil, Johann Heinrich Buttstett (*Ut mi sol*, Erfurt, 1716, p.58), claimed that Pachelbel taught him to write in a cantabile style. While it is not immediately obvious what cantabile could mean to a German composer in the latter half of the 17th century, it does seem an apt description of Pachelbel's lyrical style, particularly that of the variation and ostinato works. Kube (1992) has related the term more specifically to technical features such as evenness of motion, smoothness of part-writing, motivic consistency and simple but sonorous harmonic structures.

Pachelbel lived in an age when composers geared their output to the needs of their environment; originality was not at a premium, but nor was it entirely precluded. Composer-performers frequently adapted pieces by one another and Pachelbel's pupils formed a school whose music was not always readily distinguishable from that of the master. Thus, with the organ works in particular, there are tremendous problems of attribution and authentication, problems which did not necessarily exist for Pachelbel and his contemporaries. Furthermore, some sources spell Pachelbel's name with a 'B' or abbreviate it to 'J. Bach', so that, given his close association with the Bach family (most of whom had 'J.' as their first initial), there is enormous potential for confusion. Some editors, particularly Gurgel, have included more poorly authenticated works in their editions than their predecessors, resulting in a longer list of works, which, despite its violation of the purity of the Pachelbel 'canon', at least provides a wider picture of his school. The so-called Weimar tablature (ed. S. Schwenkedel, Arras, 1993), a

manuscript of 1704 attributed to Pachelbel on its title-page, comprises 160 chorale melodies with figured bass, roughly half of which are accompanied by short introductory fugues based on the opening of the chorale. The tablature is clearly pedagogic, acquainting the organist with the art of harmonization and improvisation. As such, it is an extremely valuable document and the authorship of each fugue – given its simplicity – is largely irrelevant. Eggebrecht (1965), who was loth to attribute the whole collection to Pachelbel, on account of its uneven quality, noted that 16 of the pieces are reductions of known works by the master and six can be identified as works by his pupils. Suzy Schwenkedels, in her edition and commentary, is surely correct in attributing them to 'Johann Pachelbel and his school'.

Several important sources of Pachelbel's organ and keyboard music were discovered during the 1980s. The Winterthur collection of microfilms that Matthaei (1897–1960) used for his edition gives us partial access to several manuscripts lost before or during World War II (Joelson-Strohbach, *AMw*, 1987). Pachelbel's only known music autograph has turned up as the first part of J.V. Eckelt's tablature of 1692 (now at the Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Kraków; see Wolff, 1986). This tablature, owned and completed by Pachelbel's pupil, Eckelt, confirms the attribution of many of the free organ works included in Seiffert's edition which are to be found in no other source. Christoph Wolff's discovery of the so-called Neumeister collection of chorale preludes (*US-NH* LM 4708) has greatly increased our knowledge of the works of the Bach circle: five pieces previously attributed to Pachelbel are ascribed to Johann Michael Bach and one Pachelbel work (*Christe, der du bist Tag und Licht*) appears in expanded form as a work by J.S. Bach (BWV1096). None of these reattributions can be taken as certain (Hartmann, 1986, has disputed the attribution of BWV1096 to Bach), particularly as the Neumeister manuscript was copied late in the 18th century.

3. Liturgical organ music.

(i) Chorales. Pachelbel made one of the greatest contributions of any composer to this genre. His chorales manifest his knowledge of old techniques as well as familiarity with the music of his own century. In his *Acht Choräle zum Praeambulieren* (Nuremberg, 1693; but possibly first printed before he left Erfurt in 1690) antiquity is represented by three 16th-century prototypes: the bicinium (*Jesus Christus, unser Heiland, der von uns*), melodic ornamentation (*Wir glauben all' an einen Gott*) and the German polyphonic song with its white notation and the cantus firmus in the tenor (*Nun lob, mein' Seel', den Herren*). There are no other instances of the last two types among his organ chorales, and only two other fully authenticated bicinia. Three other types represented in the *Acht Choräle* also had old antecedents, although they were still much cultivated later in the 17th century. One of these types is designated 'Fuga' (*Dies sind die heil'gen zehn Gebot*). The opening phrase of the melody is the subject of a compact fugue. (In a few other instances the second phrase is also stated.) The chorale fugue or *Vorspielfuga* (preludial fugue) is particularly well suited to precede the singing of a chorale by a worshipping assembly. A fifth type employs three parts. Either the soprano (*Ich ruf' zu dir*) or the bass (*Vom Himmel hoch* and *Wie schön leuchtet der Morgenstern*) presents the entire melody in relatively long note values. The other two voices have the twofold responsibility of anticipating, in reduced values, each phrase of the cantus firmus and of accompanying it.

The sixth type (used for *Vater unser im Himmelreich*) is technically similar to the previous type but is in four parts, of which the soprano, never the bass, presents the cantus firmus in augmented note values. This type may well represent Pachelbel's highest attainments in the composition of organ chorales. Two other types, not found in *Acht Choräle*, are represented among his other organ chorales. One is in the cantional style, in which the three lower parts provide harmonic support devoid of any thematic involvement with the soprano melody. It occurs only in the two settings of *Allein zu dir, Herr Jesu Christ*, both of which are in the old white notation and are reminiscent of Scheidt's *Görlitzer Tabulatur-Buch* (1650). All the types so far mentioned are found among Pachelbel's predecessors and contemporaries, but the eighth and last type is distinctly his own. It is a hybrid 'combination-form' consisting of a short chorale fugue of the fourth type followed by a three- or four-part cantus firmus setting of the fifth or sixth type (*Auf meinen lieben Gott* and *Wenn mein Stündlein vorhanden ist*) in which the accompanying voices may or may not anticipate the phrases of the chorale. Pachelbel apparently had a predilection for chorales in this form; he may well have used them in the annual half-hour recital he was expected to give at Erfurt on 24 June. Except for *Nun lob, mein' Seel', den Herren*, all the chorales have the cantus firmus in one of the outer voices.

(ii) Magnificat fugues. When Pachelbel became organist of St Sebaldus, Nuremberg, in 1695, he enhanced his fame with his *Magnificat* fugues. Historically, the use of the organ in relation to the *Magnificat* at Vespers followed one of two directions: the organist could play alternate verses of the chant, or he could play an intonation or prelude of modest dimensions to establish the pitch for the singers. Pachelbel adopted the second method and chose to follow the harmonic and contrapuntal styles of the *Intonatio* found in the *Harmonia organica* (1648) by J.E. Kindermann, one of his Nuremberg predecessors. Intonations may be thematically related to the chant formula, as in Kindermann's example, or they may use free themes, as in the majority of Pachelbel's *Magnificat* fugues. The dimensions, form, fugal and contrapuntal techniques, motifs and harmonic resources of these fugues are essentially the same as those found in his fugues based on chorales; however, they were clearly excellent compositional exercises for Pachelbel since they required him to establish the character, contrapuntal methods and motivic consistency of each fugue within such a short frame. In all, they constitute the largest and most varied collection of fugues in the generation directly preceding J.S. Bach.

(iii) General characteristics. While the *Magnificat* fugues display a wealth of mood and idiom, Pachelbel does not seem to have been concerned with responding directly to the texts of chorales (*Vom Himmel hoch* being a rare exception). Clearly this was a conscious decision, as Pachelbel was perfectly capable of expressive text-setting in his vocal music. He readily adapted his harmonic vocabulary to all melodies and themes regardless of mode or key; it is fresh, buoyant and purposeful. His resort to chromaticism in the first part of *Warum betrübst du dich* is exceptional. His contrapuntal writing, always compatible with the clearly directed harmonic progressions, is

informed by a subtle use of such standard devices as diminution, augmentation, stretto and inversion.

4. NON-LITURGICAL ORGAN MUSIC.

(i) Introduction. Composers of keyboard music in the 17th century often left to the performer the choice as to whether it be played on the organ or some other instrument; a composer might indeed publicly state that he had written a certain collection with the specific intention of giving the individual performer an option, as Pachelbel did in his *Hexachordum Apollinis* (Nuremberg, 1699). Many of the pieces referred to in this section (though not the pedal toccatas) have been somewhat arbitrarily classified as organ music even though most can be performed on an instrument without pedal.

(ii) Toccatas. Pachelbel's toccatas illustrate various stages in the development of the form from Andrea Gabrieli's modest intonations onwards. Some of Pachelbel's pieces too are merely short intonations. His output nevertheless displays characteristic features of the form such as passage-work in one hand against sustained chords in the other, a relatively slow harmonic rhythm, broken chords, and elements of the *toccata di durezze e ligature*. His large-scale works align themselves with the pedal toccata, whose most obvious distinguishing feature combines long sustained notes in the pedal part with fast passage-work in both hands. In this genre he acknowledged his antecedents in Frescobaldi, Froberger and Kerll, but whereas their toccatas are usually sectionalized, with clear changes of motif, metre and style, he tended to think of the form in an unbroken span (an exception is a toccata in F which consists of two sections with different metres). He moved away, in fact, from the complexities of earlier toccatas towards a unified style and a simplified form. His normal practice was to plant a melodic germ or motif at the very beginning and to develop from it an inner momentum. By subjecting the motif to subtle changes he made the work evolve as an expanding dynamic structure generating a centrifugal force which he controlled by the imposition of occasional cadences. In this way a high degree of unification is achieved without the return to a fixed theme. Instead of accentuating diverse ingredients, these toccatas manifest a blending of the contrasting elements to a degree never before attained. He usually reduced the linear writing to two voices above the sustained pedal notes, and when they are not involved in motivic interaction they often move in consecutive 3rds, 6ths and 10ths.

(iii) Ricercares. Pachelbel composed three polythematic ricercares; the one in C lacks the conviction of a mature work, but the other two are worthy late additions to the genre. For his ricercares Pachelbel adopted the old white notation and *alla breve* time signature and devised principal themes in white notes and counter-themes in crotchets and quavers. Typically a main theme is first presented in both its regular and inverted forms, the contrasting counter-theme is exposed next and the work closes with both themes appearing simultaneously in their regular and inverted forms.

(iv) Fantasias. Pachelbel designated six pieces as fantasias, representing three different styles. Three of them (in D Dorian, A minor and C) are obvious efforts to simulate an archaic non-thematic style. Written in old-fashioned white notation in 3/2 they begin with an obvious sequence of triads and 7th chords. Each succeeding section exploits a different harmonic pattern and displays its own characteristic feature in crotchet and quaver figuration. These three fantasias betray their structural relationship to the motet in being composed section by section, with no attempt to return to previous musical material; they seem pedantic shadows of an old style and contain nothing that breathes new life into it. Two fantasias (in E♭ and G Dorian) demonstrate Pachelbel's knowledge of early 17th-century Italian *toccate di durezze e ligature*, with their many accidentals and suspensions, resulting in *consonanze stravaganti*. They are worthy successors to such pieces by Macque, Trabaci and Frescobaldi, as well as by Kerll and Froberger. Since the accidentals and suspensions tend to encourage a slow harmonic rhythm, it is not surprising that they employ the sustained bass tones of the pedal toccata. An idea of their 'extravagant harmonies' can be obtained from the fact that in the G Dorian fantasia Pachelbel used a D♭ 7th chord, modulated to A♭ and introduced E♭ minor with surprising ease. The third type of fantasia is represented by a single example in D Dorian. It is in common time but starts with exactly the same harmonic progression as the 3/2 fantasia in the same mode. But after the three-bar opening Pachelbel composed a tightly woven work in which the principal theme is invariably accompanied by two simple countersubjects, a structure closely akin to that of the *Magnificat* fugues.

(v) Fugues. Pachelbel wrote a number of fugues in addition to the liturgical ones discussed above (see §3). Some, especially those including fast repeated notes and broken-chord figuration, are more suitable to the harpsichord or clavichord. Perhaps more than any other composer Pachelbel clarified the formal and technical concepts of the fugue and established its artistic principles for those who followed him. For him the fugue was a single entity without contrasting sections, and it generated a highly concentrated form of centripetal energy. His sense of clarity dictated that a fugue have but one principal obligation: to state and restate a pleasing subject, which should demand equally pleasing countersubjects and harmonies. He seems to have been one of the first composers to pair a fugue with a preludial movement; the most familiar examples of this type are the Prelude and Fugue in E minor and the Toccata and Fugue in B♭. Both pairs demonstrate his tendency to separate the homophonically orientated improvisational style from the imitative style and to make of each half a self-contained composition that could be performed on its own.

(vi) Ciaccone. Pachelbel's fondness for variation form (see §5, ii below) is demonstrated in his six *ciaccone*. The experimental nature of the one in C suggests that it may be an early work, but the other five are masterly. Together with those by Buxtehude, these represent the most notable organ *ciaccone* before J.S. Bach. In the D Dorian ciaccona the bass remains unaltered throughout; in the others it is occasionally ornamented, and here and there it is not visually present. The tonality and harmonic progressions tend to remain unchanged through all the variations, though in the F minor *ciaccona* – one of his finest works – there is a digression to the relative major. In some of these works the melodic lines are subjected to various kinds of ornamentation. One cannot, however, refer to those in D Dorian, F major and F minor as melodic variations; instead the harmonies are dissected through an amazing – though controlled – profusion of devices.

5. OTHER KEYBOARD MUSIC.

(i) Suites. Most of Pachelbel's 21 suites appeared only in a manuscript (now destroyed) in which they were unattributed, but Seiffert and Sandberger confidently ascribed them to him; since the source was dated 1683 they must be early works. They reflect traces of French influence that may have derived from a study of the keyboard works of Froberger. Except for two arias all the movements are in binary form. Most of the suites are based on the established sequence allemande–courante–sarabande–gigue; an optional gavotte, ballett, air or bourrée often occurs at the mid-point between the courante and sarabande. The four main movements are usually quite fully developed, but most of the optional ones tend to be sketchy. A delightful feature of many movements is the echo effect (possibly designed for performance on the clavichord), and in some cases there are traces of the variation suite. In these suites Pachelbel experimented with tempered tuning by incorporating remote keys and unusual enharmonic notes; he used 17 keys altogether.

(ii) Variations. Pachelbel and other Protestant composers in central Germany distinguished between liturgical chorale variations, in which they retained weightier contrapuntal ingredients, and variations intended for diversion, in which they preferred lighter motifs and figuration regardless of whether the melody was sacred or secular. Seven or eight sets of chorale variations by Pachelbel survive, of which four constituted his *Musicalische Sterbens-Gedancken* (Erfurt, 1683). Although this collection is lost, attempts have been made to reconstruct it from the existing variation sets. All authorities have agreed that the collection included *Alle Menschen müssen sterben*, *Christus, der ist mein Leben* and *Herzlich tut mich verlangen*, and all existing editions include *Was Gott tut, das ist wohlgetan* as the fourth set. However, Hartmann (1987) disputed the status of *Was Gott tut* and proposed that it be replaced with a newly discovered set of 12 variations on *Freu dich sehr, o meine Sele* (*US-SPma*), which is apparently in the hand of Bach's pupil H.N. Gerber, dated 1716. Nevertheless, *Was Gott tut* does have close affinities with the other three sets. The variations range in number from seven to 12. Two of the melodies, *Christus, der ist mein Leben* and *Herzlich tut mich verlangen*, date from the first decade of the 17th century, the other two, *Alle Menschen müssen sterben* and *Was Gott tut, das ist wohlgetan*, from Pachelbel's own time. A mild touch of tender grief is found in the chromaticism of one variation in each of the four sets, but Pachelbel's generally lighthearted style here is compatible with the general feeling of optimism found in the original texts; however, he made no effort to relate any variation to a specific stanza. His choice of modes or keys was perhaps determined by architectural considerations: the first and the last set provide a G Mixolydian frame, the second set is in D (the dominant), the third in the Ionian mode or C (the subdominant). (The melody of the third set was originally in E Phrygian, but composers often used an Ionian harmonization when they wished to avoid the mood characteristic of the Phrygian mode.)

Pachelbel's crowning achievement as a composer of variations is *Hexachordum Apollinis* (Nuremberg, 1699), a group of six arias with variations which, according to the title-page, may be performed on the organ or the harpsichord, both of which are depicted. The volume has a long dedicatory preface inscribed to two of Pachelbel's celebrated contemporaries, F.T. Richter of Vienna, representing the south, and Buxtehude of Lübeck, representing the north. He may have thought of himself, in a central position in Nuremberg, as a composer in whose work an amalgamation of the southern and northern styles might have occurred. Yet he must by now have felt that this was not to be, for while his training had given him southern qualities his professional experience had taken him no farther north than Thuringia. Perhaps he held out this hope for his 13-year-old son Wilhelm Hieronymus, since his preface specifically expressed the desire that the boy be given the opportunity to study with the dedicatees (it is not known if this hope was realized).

The first five works in *Hexachordum Apollinis* are arranged so that their modes or keys encompass a perfect 5th. The one at the centre of the scheme, in F, is flanked on either side by a Dorian and a minor work, so the series is as follows: D Dorian, E minor, F major, G Dorian, A minor. Each aria is followed by six variations, except the second, which has five. According to the old hexachordal concept one expects *Aria sexta* to be in B♭. This work, however, is apparently something distinctive. It has a special subtitle, *Aria Sebaldina* (obviously referring to St Sebaldus, Nuremberg), and has eight variations. It is in 3/4 time instead of common time. Pachelbel used two flats in the key signature, as expected, but for his tonal centre he returned to the mid-point of the aforementioned scheme and wrote in F minor. Having necessarily used four flattened notes he finally, in the sixth bar of the last variation, used G♭. Some suspect that, with its title and preface as well as its 'Kabbala' (Johannes Pachelbelius Organista Noriberghensium = 1699), *Hexachordum Apollinis* has obscure cabalistic connotations waiting to be uncovered. Pachelbel also composed five sets of keyboard variations on original themes.

6. CHAMBER MUSIC. Pachelbel may well have composed many works in this medium. Of those that survive, the most important are the six suites for two violins and continuo constituting his *Musicalische Ergötzung*, published at some unspecified date after he had moved to Nuremberg in 1695. He applied to the violin parts the technique of scordatura, not, as was customary at this period, to produce special effects or to facilitate unusual multiple stoppings but to give the amateurs for whom the publication was intended an elementary experience with scordatura involving only the tonic and dominant and occasionally the subdominant notes (regular tuning has been adopted in the edition of these works in HM).

Each of the suites consists of a sonata followed by a succession of dances. Two types of sonata are found, one marked Allegro, the other Adagio, whether so marked or not. The two Allegro movements (in nos.1 and 3) are fughettas in which all three parts share equally in the statements of themes and in strettos. The four Adagio movements, which are not unlike French overtures, consist of two sections; the first tends to use dotted crotchet and quaver patterns in a non-imitative manner, and in the second the two violins, independent of the bass, have both imitative and occasionally homophonic writing in shorter values. The dance movements reveal Pachelbel's inclination towards freedom of choice and away from the late 17th-century tendency towards standardization. The German allemande appears only twice, and the Italian style is evident in two of the four gigues. Otherwise the

French idiom predominates throughout, not least in the grandiose *ciaccone* that conclude nos.4 and 5, probably suggested by the chaconnes at the close of French stage works.

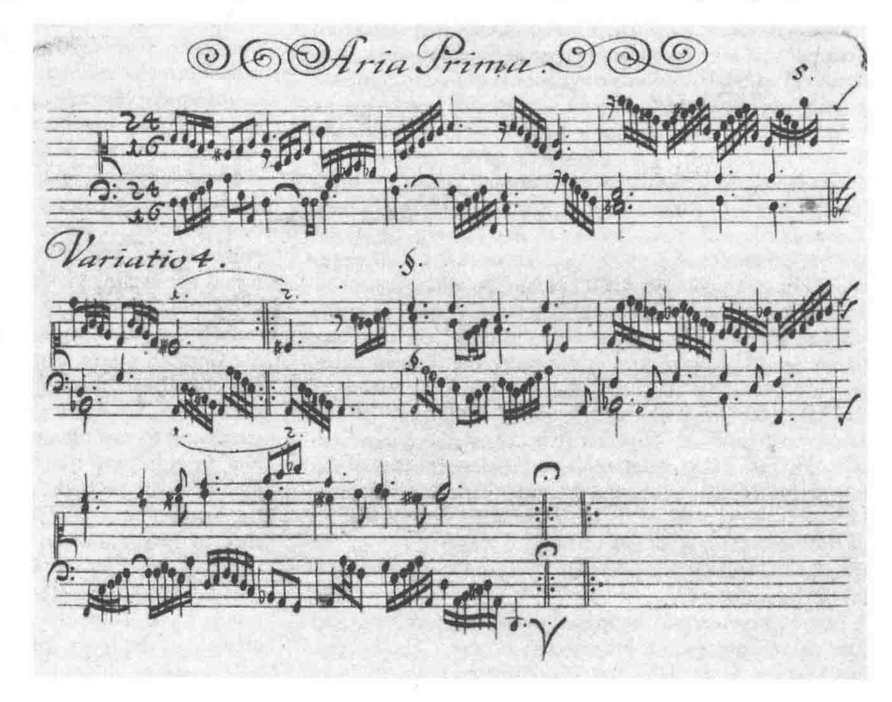
Pachelbel's G major partita for five-part strings consists of a sequence of six movements that gives it the identity of a German 17th-century orchestral suite, though the placing of an aria between the sarabande and the gigue looks forward to the early 18th century. The work is, moreover, a variation suite in which all the subsequent movements begin with a motif related to the first five notes of the first violin part of the opening sonatina. In general the first violin is given preferential treatment, but the gigue is of the fugal French type with all five parts sharing in the thematic statements. The three-part canon over a bass is one of Pachelbel's most admired works. In it he combined two of the strictest contrapuntal techniques in a fine display of technical mastery: the bass, a two-bar ostinato, is the foundation of 28 variations, while above this the three violins proceed in two-bar sections in a relentless canon. From a technical point of view, his music for strings makes no virtuoso demands and never exceeds the third position.

7. VOCAL MUSIC.

(i) Arias. Pachelbel composed both simple strophic arias and more developed ones in two main sections. The latter include the use of da capo form. Most of his arias are for a solo voice with several instruments. A few also include sections for chorus. His earliest datable works are two arias that he wrote for a ceremony at Erfurt on 30 January 1679 at which the citizenry publicly vowed allegiance to the emissaries of the Elector Karl Heinrich of Mainz. In the first, after a brilliant instrumental ritornello the soloist sings 'So ist denn dies der Tag', after which the chorus closes with a 'Vivat'. The other was probably sung at the departure of the dignitaries; after a ritornello two sopranos sing a continuo duet, 'So ist denn nun die Treu', which is followed by a concluding homophonic chorus whose style suggests that Pachelbel was aware of characteristic features of the Italian villanella. Most of his other arias seem, from their texts, to have been written for such occasions as weddings, birthdays, baptisms, funerals and New Year.

(ii) Motets. All but one of Pachelbel's 11 extant motets are scored for two four-part choruses; the music seems to demand that these be balanced ensembles, with only an occasional use of solo voices. Although a few of these motets appear in modern editions as *a cappella* works, they were probably performed with continuo, like those whose sources provide an instrumental bass. The textures are predominantly homophonic; polyphonic passages tend to coincide with a reduction in the number of parts. Two of these works, *Gott ist unser Zuversicht* and *Nun danket alle Gott*, end with a four-part chorale setting for a single choir in which the sopranos sing the chorale melody in long note values while the three lower parts provide support mainly in quaver movement. These two motets are obvious vocal counterparts to the hybrid 'combination-form' organ chorale discussed above (see §3, i). All Pachelbel's motets are mature masterpieces with – however conservative the genre – a modern, progressive sound and clearcut, uncomplicated harmony and tonality; whenever melismas occur they are subservient to the triadic aspects of the music.

(iii) Sacred concertos. Pachelbel's reputation as a composer of vocal music will probably rest most securely on his sacred concertos and *Magnificat* settings (see §7, iv below), where he demonstrated a firm grasp of the rich diversity inherent in the concertato style. Except for one short work, *Der Name des Herren sei gelobet*, for three voices, two violins and continuo, which is virtually a concerted motet, his concertos are large-scale multi-movement works in which all the current types and techniques of Lutheran and Catholic concerted church music are represented. Three are settings of psalm texts, *Gott ist unser Zuversicht*, *Gott sei uns gnädig* and *Lobet*



2. Fourth variation on the 'Aria Prima' from Pachelbel's 'Hexachordum Apollinis' (Nuremberg: C.N. Schurtz, 1699)

den Herrn in seinem Heiligtum, the last two of which are scored for a rich array of instruments, including five trumpets and timpani. Two other works, *Was Gott tut, das ist wohlgetan* and *Christ lag in Todesbanden*, are chorale concertos, each based on the music and text of a chorale. The former seems to be the earlier of the two: as has been mentioned (see §5, ii above), Pachelbel used the same melody for a set of chorale variations possibly included in his *Musicalische Sterbens-Gedancken* (1683), and it is possible that he wrote the concerto at about the same time. It is a series of six variations, each related, whether closely or somewhat remotely, to the melody. In *Christ lag in Todesbanden*, Pachelbel used all seven stanzas of the chorale, but it is not a set of variations, for the chorale melody is used only in the first, third and fifth movements. The second and sixth, which share the same music, are small-scale concertato sections. The text at the beginning of the fourth verse (set for a solo tenor), with its reference to a battle, prompted Pachelbel to write two instrumental ritornellos in the *stile concitato*. The brilliant setting of the last verse juxtaposes homophonic declamation and imitative polyphony. Three of Pachelbel's four other authenticated sacred concertos are settings of a combination of biblical, chorale and poetic texts. The most ambitious work of this type is *Jauchzet dem Herrn, alle Welt*, for five-part chorus, soloists, two oboes, two violins, three violas, violone and continuo. It comprises an opening orchestral sonata anticipating the first chorus, followed by concertato sections, continuo arias, a chorale motet on *Nun danket alle Gott* in which the instruments double the vocal lines, a strophic aria and a grand concluding section. It shows Pachelbel's complete mastery of problems of large-scale formal design and includes much idiomatic writing for both voices and instruments. In *Kommt her zu mir* he came closest to the later form of the church cantata.

(iv) Liturgical works. Most of Pachelbel's liturgical works are in the concerted style. Of the three exceptions, which are in the motet style, one is a *missa brevis*. He composed one other mass, a rather indifferent concerted mass, which may be an early or experimental work. It is doubtful whether he would have been required to compose a complete concerted mass in any of the posts that he held, and he seems for some reason to have intentionally broken off his setting of the Credo after the words 'et homo factus est'. His music for Vespers, which accounts for all his other liturgical works, is much more important. Towards the end of his career, in Nuremberg, he seized the opportunity to adorn this service with the concertato style. His compositions for it fall into two categories: 11 concerted settings of the ingressus, which consists of the versicle 'Deus in adjutorium meum intende', the response 'Domine, ad adjuvandum me festina', the 'Gloria Patri' and a concluding 'Alleluia' (there is a further setting of the last three sections only); and 13 settings of the *Magnificat* with its 'Gloria Patri', 11 in the concertato style and two in the motet style. In dividing the text of the ingressus he followed the traditional procedure. This gave him six subdivisions of the text, inviting the application of the concertato style in a variety of ways; in five of the settings the ingressus is preceded by a compact instrumental introduction.

In the 11 concertato settings of the *Magnificat* Pachelbel reached the summit of his creative powers. The rubrics for Vespers at St Sebaldus, Nuremberg, seem to have provided him with the motivation to compose figural music in the concertato style for the *Magnificat*. His Protestant predecessors in Nuremberg established no tradition for him to follow in this genre. He therefore harked back to his days at the Stephansdom, Vienna, and imported into Protestant Nuremberg the Viennese–Italian Catholic musical idiom to which he had been exposed in the 1670s. No two of his concerted *Magnificat* settings resemble each other in formal design. He broke away from the stereotyped method of permitting the verses of the text to dictate the musical form. Once he treated the canticle as though it were a single movement, on other occasions he subdivided the setting into 12 or more movements. In six of these works he preferred the homogeneous opulence of the five-part chorus, and in another he even used a five-part double chorus. In most of the five-part settings he employed wind or brass instruments in addition to the strings. His standard string ensemble is a typical late 17th-century one in that it usually retained a central core of three viols (inherited from the late Renaissance), with two violins superimposed on them. In most cases the viols assume one of two basic roles: in purely instrumental sections they provide the inner harmonic core, and in tutti passages with the chorus they normally double the vocal parts. The two violins, on the other hand, are exploited for their idiomatic potentialities as ornamental melodic instruments in orchestral introductions and ritornellos, and during imitative choral passages they often have their own independent points of imitation above those of the chorus. They are also the instruments most often allotted obbligato parts during vocal solos. The bassoon has its own part; it is not as relentlessly present as the continuo but is occasionally given an obbligato part in a vocal solo.

Pachelbel's choral writing in his concerted *Magnificat* settings displays his total command of both imitative and homophonic idioms, and within a single movement he moved from one to the other with remarkable ease. He was particularly adept at writing 'permutation' fugues, in which two or three contrasting themes, sounding simultaneously, revolve around each other, without episodic interruptions, according to the dictates of invertible counterpoint. In only one concerted *Magnificat* – the one in E♭ – does a manuscript source indicate solo and tutti sections. The lack of such directions in Baroque sources is not uncommon, and, as with these works by Pachelbel, the nature of the music generally suggests how it should be performed. A feature of his vocal scoring is his use of paired voices, and in his antiphonal writing he frequently pitted the entire chorus against the orchestra. The vocal solos and duets, which are of modest dimensions, steer a middle course between the artless, folklike character of the German sacred strophic song and the more assertive, self-contained operatic aria; this impression derives in part from his making many of the arias transitional structures by not returning to their initial keys. Nevertheless, he employed most types of aria current at the time, including the monodic continuo aria, the motto aria and the bravura aria. His respect for older traditions can be seen in his occasional use of plainchant cantus firmus technique and in a limited reference to the *stile antico*. Generally, however, these works are conspicuously modern in style. They are unequivocally tonal, and tonality articulates the form. They are also admirably balanced, a feature which shows that Pachelbel never forgot that they

had to function within the framework of the service of Vespers.

8. Posthumous reputation. Pachelbel was one of the few 17th-century composers whose name was never entirely forgotten. He enjoyed more than local fame as a teacher in both Erfurt and Nuremberg, and though he never left Germany he was revered far beyond it. In the first half of the 19th century Franz Commer published much of his organ music in Musica sacra, i (1839), and Winterfeld stressed his activity as a composer of sacred vocal music. German scholars later in the century sought to determine his place in music history. Spitta (1873–80) was the first to deal in depth with his part in the process of musical development culminating in Bach, while both Ritter (1884) and Seiffert (1899) assigned him a high place in the history of keyboard music. The 20th century opened auspiciously with the scholarly editions of some of his music in the Denkmäler series. Every decade since then has seen the appearance of studies dealing with the stylistic evaluation of his music or with the discovery of unfamiliar works. The overwhelming popularity of his canon for three violins and continuo has given him a name more familiar than that of any of his German contemporaries, which should at least ensure that publications and performances of works surviving only in manuscript will engender public interest. All the accumulated evidence indicates beyond doubt that he was one of the greatest and most productive composers of his time and that he left a musical legacy whose value increases with the ages.

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ORGAN CHORALES

Acht Choräle zum Praeambulieren (Nuremberg, 1693) [1693]

fugues

Ach Gott, vom Himmel sieh darein; P iii; O, 1
Ach Herr, mich armen Sünder; P iii, *5a*; O, 3
Christe, der du bist Tag und Licht; O; longer version, *Us-Yb*, ? by J.S. Bach (BWV 1096)
Der Herr ist mein getreuer Hirt (2 versions); P iii, O
Dies sind die heil'gen zehn Gebot, 1693; O
Es woll uns Gott genädig sein (2 versions); P iii, O
In dich hab' ich gehoffet, Herr; P iii
Wo Gott zum Haus nicht gibt sein Gunst; P iii, *11a*; O, 70

3-part cantus firmus

Christ unser Herr zum Jordan kam; P iii, O
Durch Adams Fall; O, 21
Erbarm dich mein, o Herre Gott; O
Gelobet seist du, Jesu Christ; P ii, O
Gott der Vater, wohn' uns bei; Pii, O
Herr Gott, dich loben alle wir; O
Ich hab' mein' Sach' Gott heimgestellt; P iii, O
Ich ruf zu dir, 1693; P iii; O, 37
Jesus Christus, unser Heiland, der den Tod (2 versions); P ii; O, 40–41
Kommt her zu mir, spricht Gottes Sohn; O
Lob sei Gott in des Himmels Thron; O
Meine Seele erhebt den Herren (tonus peregrinus) (2 versions); P ii, O
O Mensch bewein dein Sünde gross; P ii, O
Vom Himmel hoch da komm ich her, 1693; P ii, *5a*; O, 57
Warum betrübst du dich, mein Herz; P iii, *20a*; O, 59
Was mein Gott will, das g'scheh allzeit; P iii; O, 62
Wenn wir in höchsten Nöten sein; P iii, *16a*
Wie schön leuchtet der Morgenstern, 1693; P iii, O
Wo Gott der Herr nicht bei uns hält (2 versions); P iii; O, 67–8
Wo Gott zum Haus nicht gibt sein Gunst; P iii, *11b*; O, 71

4-part cantus firmus

Gott Vater, der du deine Sonn'; P iii, O
Komm, Gott Schöpfer, heiliger Geist; P ii, O
Vater unser im Himmelreich, 1693; P iii; O, 55

combination-form

Ach Gott, vom Himmel sieh darein; O, 2
Ach Herr, mich armen Sünder; P iii, *5b*; O, 4
Ach wie elend ist unsre Zeit; P iii, O
An Wasserflüssen Babylon (2 versions); P iii, O
Auf meinen lieben Gott; P iii, O; longer version, ? by J.M. Bach
Christ lag in Todesbanden; P ii, O
Der Tag der ist so freudenreich; P ii, O
Durch Adams Fall; P iii; O, 22
Ein feste Burg; P iii, O
Es spricht der Unweisen Mund wohl; P iii; O, 27
Herr Christ, der einig Gott's Sohn; P ii, O
Herr Jesu Christ, ich weiss gar wohl; P iii
Ich ruf zu dir; O, 38
Nun komm der Heiden Heiland; P ii, O
O Lamm Gottes unschuldig; P ii, O
Vater unser im Himmelreich; O, 56
Vom Himmel hoch da komm ich her; P ii, *5b*; O, 58
Warum betrübst du dich, mein Herz; P iii, *20b*; O, 60
Wenn mein Stündlein vorhanden ist; P iii, O
Wenn wir in höchsten Nöten sein; P iii, *16b*; O
Wo Gott der Herr nicht bei uns hält, O, 69

bicinia

Durch Adams Fall; O, 20
Jesus Christus, unser Heiland, der von uns, 1693; P iii; O, 42
Was mein Gott will, das g'scheh allzeit; O, 61

other types

Allein zu dir, Herr Jesu Christ (2 versions); P iii, O
Nun lob, mein' Seel', den Herren, 1693; P iii, O
Wir glauben all' an einen Gott, 1693; P iii, O

MAGNIFICAT FUGUES

98 Magnificat fugues: 23 in tone 1; 10 in tone 2; 11 in tone 3; 8 in tone 4; 12 in tone 5; 10 in tone 6; 8 in tone 7; 13 in tone 8; ed. A.M. Gurgel (Leipzig, 1985); 95 in P vii–viii; 94 ed. in DTÖ, xvii, Jg.viii/2 (1901/*R*)

NON-LITURGICAL ORGAN

15 toccatas: 5 in C, c, D, d, e, 2 in F, 4 in g; G, 12 in P i, v, vi, ix, 14 in O, 1 ed. in Organum, iv/12 (Leipzig, ? after 1920)
7 preludes: 2 in d, E♭, G, g, A, a; 6 in G, O, 1 in P i
3 ricercares: C, c, f♯; G, P i, v, vi, O
6 fantasias: C, 2 in d, E♭, g, a; G, 4 in P i, vi, ix, 4 in K, 2 in O
29 fugues: 12 in C, c, 3 in D, d, 2 in e, F, 3 in G, g, 2 in A, 2 in a, b; G, 19 in P i, v, vi, ix, 19 in O, 7 in K
6 ciaccone: C, 2 in D, d, F, f; G, 4 in P i, v, vi, ix, 3 in O
5 preludes and fugues: C, c, d, 2 in e; G, 1 in P v, 1 in O
2 toccatas and fugues: d, B♭; G, Pv, vi, 1 in O
Fugen und Praeambuln über die gewöhnlichsten Tonos figuratos, announced 1704, possibly never composed (see *GöhlerV*, ii, 347)

OTHER KEYBOARD

suites

17 suites, c, C, c♯, d, D, E♭, e, E, F, f♯, g, G, A♭, a, A, B♭, b; lost, formerly *D-Bsb* 40076, dated 1683, anon., attrib. Pachelbel by Seiffert and Sandberger; K
2 suites, e, F, lost, formerly owned by Sandberger; K
Suite, G, *DS*
Suite, g, attrib. Pachelbel, copied 1692; K

chorale variations

Musicalische Sterbens-Gedancken (Erfurt, 1683) [1683]
Ach was soll ich Sünder machen; P iv, K
Alle Menschen müssen sterben, 1683; P iv, K
Christus, der ist mein Leben, 1683; P iv
Freu dich sehr, o meine Seele (Treuer Gott, ich muss dir klagen) (4 variations); P iv, O

Freue dich sehr, o meine Seele (12 variations), ?1683, *US-SPma*
Herzlich tut mich verlangen, 1683; P iv
Was Gott tut, das ist wohlgetan, ?1683; P iv
Werde munter, mein Gemüte; P iv, K
(*arias with variations*)
Hexachordum Apollinis, sex arias exhibens … quam singulis suae sunt subjectae variationes (Nuremberg, 1699): arias in d, e, F, g, a, Aria Sebaldina in f; K
Arias in D, A, a (July, 1689), Arietta, F; P ix, K

CHAMBER

Musicalische Ergötzung bestehend in 6 verstimten Partien, 2 vn, bc (Nuremberg, 1695); ed. in HM, liv–lvi (1950–66)
Partie, G, 2 vn, 2 va, vc, bc; ed. in Organum, iii/22 (Leipzig, ? after 1920)
Canon and gigue, D, 3 vn, bc; ed. in Organum, iii/24 (Leipzig, ? after 1920); ed. H. May (Mainz, 1969)

ARIAS

Auf, werte Gäst, 1v, 2 vn, bc, *D-Bsb*; ed. in Winterfeld (1845/*R*), ex.222
Augen, streuet Perlen-Tränen, 2vv, 4 va, va pro basso, org, *Bsb*
Das angenehmste Wetter, 1v, 2 vn, bc, *Bsb* (inc.)
Das Gewitter, 1v, 2 vn, bc, *Bsb*
Das Jahr fängt an, 1v, 2 vn, 2 va, bc, *Bsb* (inc.)
Der Widder Abrahams, 2vv, 2 vn, bc, *Bsb*
Die freuderfüllten Abendstunden, 1v, 2 vn, 2 va, bc, *Bsb*
Es muss die Sinne ja erfreuen, 1v, 2 vn, bc, *Bsb*
Geliebtes Vaterherz, 1v, 2 vn, 2 va, bc/vle, *Bsb*
Guter Walter unsers Rats, 1v, 2 vn, 2 va, bc, *Bsb*
Hör, grosser Mäcenat, 1v, 2 vn, 2 va, bc, *Bsb*
Mäcenas lebet noch, 1v, 2 vn, 2 va, tpt, bc, *Bsb*
Mein Leben, dessen Kreuz, 1v, 4 va, va pro basso, org, *Bsb*
O grosses Musenlicht, 1v, 2 vn, 2 va da gamba, bc, *Bsb*
So ist denn dies der Tag, 1v, chorus 4vv, 2 vn, 3 va, 4 tpt, timp, bc, 1679, *WÜsa*
So ist denn nun die Treu, 2vv, chorus 5vv, 2 fl, 2 vn, 3 va, bc, 1679, *WÜsa*
Voller Wonder, voller Kunst, 4vv, bc, *Bsb* (inc.); ed. F. Commer, *Geistliche und weltliche Lieder des 16.–17. Jahrhunderts*, i (Berlin, 1870); ed. in Winterfeld, ex.220
Wie nichtig, ach, 1v, 3 va, bc, *Bsb*
Wohl euch, die ihr in Gott verliebt, 4vv, *Bsb* (inc.); ed. in Winterfeld, ex.221

MOTETS

for double chorus and continuo unless otherwise stated

German

Der Herr ist König, darum toben die Völker, *D-Bsb*
Der Herr ist König und herrlich geschmückt, *Bsb*
Der Herr ist König und herrlich geschmückt, with Halleluja, 5vv, bc, *Bsb* (inc.)
Gott ist unser Zuversicht, *Bsb*; ed. D. Kruger (Stuttgart, *c*1992)
Jauchzet dem Herrn, *Bsb*
Jauchzet Gott, alle Lande, *Bsb*
Nun danket alle Gott (M. Rinckart), 1705, *Bsb*
Singet dem Herrn, *Bsb*; ed. F. Commer, Musica sacra, iii (Berlin, 1843)
Tröste uns Gott, *Bsb*; ed. in DTB, x, Jg.vi/1 (1905); ed. F. Commer, Musica sacra, iii (Berlin, 1843)

Latin

Exsurgat Deus, *Bsb*
Paratum cor meum, *Bsb*

SACRED CONCERTOS

Christ lag in Todesbanden, 4vv, 2 vn, 3 va, bn, bc, *Bsb*; ed. H.H. Eggebrecht (Miami, 1988)
Der Name des Herren sei gelobet, 3vv, 2 vn, bc, *Bsb*
Gott ist unser Zuversicht, 4vv, 2 vn, 2 va, bn, bc, *GB-Ob*
Gott sei uns gnädig, 5vv, 5 tpt, timp, 2 vn, 4 va, bn, bc, org, *Ob*; ed. in Woodward (1952)
Jauchzet dem Herrn, alle Welt (Rinckart), G, 5vv, 2 ob, 2 vn, 3 va, vle, bc, *D-Bsb*; ed. D. Krüger (Stuttgart, 1963)
Jauchzet dem Herrn, alle Welt (Rinckart), C, 5vv, 4 tpt, timp, 2 vn, 3 va, bn, bc, *GB-Ob*
Kommt her zu mir (J.M. Dilher and J. Franck), 4vv, 2 vn, 2 ?cornetts, bc, *Ob*; ed. in Woodward
Lobet den Herrn in seinem Heiligtum, 5vv, 2 fl, bn, 5 tpt, trbn, timp, cymbal, harp, 2 vn, 3 va, bc, org, *Ob*
Meine Sünde betrüben mich, 1v, chorus 4vv, 4 va da gamba, bn/vle, bc, *D-Bsb* (fragmentary copy of lost MS, formerly *F-Sm*, see *EitnerQ*), *D-Dl*
Mein Herr Jesu, dir leb ich, 4vv, 3 va, bc, *Bsb*, parody of Meine Sünde betrüben mich, by unknown arranger
Was Gott tut, das ist wohlgetan, 4vv, 2 vn, 2 va, bn, bc, *Bsb* (title-page only; also fragmentary copy of MSS formerly in *F-Sm*, now ?*F-Ssp*); ed. in DTB, x, Jg.vi/1 (1905); partial edn in Winterfeld (1845/*R*), ex.219

MUSIC FOR VESPERS

Ingressus, C, 4vv, 2 vn, va, bc, *D-Bsb*
Ingressus, C, 4vv, 2 vn, 3 va, bn, bc, *GB-Ob*; ed. in Woodward (1952)
Ingressus, C, 5vv, 4 tpt, timp, 2 vn, 3 va, bn, bc, org, *Ob*
Ingressus, D, 4vv, 2 vn, va, bc, *D-Bsb*
Ingressus, D, 4vv, 2 vn, 3 va, bn, bc, *GB-Ob*
Ingressus, d, 5vv, 2 vn, 3 va, bn, bc, *Ob*
Ingressus, F, 5vv, 2 vn, 4 va, bn, bc, *Ob*; ed. in Woodward
Ingressus, G, 4vv, 2 vn, 3 va (ad lib), bn (ad lib), bc, *D-Bsb*, *GB-Ob*
Ingressus, g, 4vv, 2 vn, bn, bc, *Ob*
Ingressus, g, 5vv, 2 vn, va, 2 va da gamba, bn, bc, *Ob*
Ingressus, A, 5vv, 2 vn, 3 va, bn, bc, *Ob*
Ingressus, a, 5vv, 2 vn, 3 va, bn, bc, *Ob*
Magnificat, C, 5vv, 2 ob, 2 vn, 3 va, bn, bc, *Ob*
Magnificat, C, 5vv, 4 tpt, timp, 2 vn, va, 2 va da gamba, bn, bc, org, *Ob*; ed. in Woodward
Magnificat, C, 4vv, 2 ?tpt, 2 vn, 2 va, bc, *Ob*
Magnificat, C, 5vv, 4 tpt, timp, 2 vn, va, 2 va da gamba, bn, bc, *Ob*
Magnificat, D, 5vv, 2 vn, 2 cornett/ob, 3 va, bn, bc, *Ob*
Magnificat, D, double chorus, each 5vv, double orch, each 2 vn, 3 va, bn, bc, *Ob*
Magnificat, D, 4vv, 4 va (ad lib), *D-Bsb*
Magnificat, E♭, 4vv, 2 vn, 3 va, bn, bc, org, *GB-Ob*; ed. in Woodward
Magnificat, F, 4vv, 2 vn, bn, bc, *Ob*; same as Canticum BVM à 4 voix et instruments cited by A. Pirro in *EMDC*, I/ii (1921)
Magnificat, F, 5vv, 2 vn, bc, *Ob*
Magnificat, G, 4vv, 2 vn, bc, *Ob*
Magnificat, g, 4vv, 1705, *D-Bsb*
Magnificat, B♭, 5vv, 2 ob, 2 vn, 3 va, bn, bc, org, *GB-Ob*

MASSES

Missa, C, 4vv, 2 vn, clarino, bc, *GB-Ob*
Missa brevis, D, 4vv, 1704, *D-Bsb*

DOUBTFUL WORKS

10 chorales, org: Allein Gott in der Höh sei Ehr, P ii, 6*a*, O, 6, ? by Buttstett; Allein Gott in der Höh sei Ehr, P ii, 6*b*, O, 7, ? by Buttstett; Da Jesus am dem Kreuze stund, P ii, O; Erhalt uns Herr, bei deinem Wort, O, ? by Böhm or Buxtehude; Es spricht der Unweisen Mund, O, 26; Gott hat das Evangelium, P iii, O, ? by J.M. Bach; Gott Vater, der du deine Sonn', P iii, O, ? by J.M. Bach; Mag ich Unglück nicht widerstahr, P iii, O, ? by J.M. Bach; Nun freut euch, lieben Christen g'mein', P ii, O, ? by J.M. Bach; Nun lasst uns Gott dem Herren, P iii, O, ? by J.M. Bach
*c*80 org works, *D-WRtl*, attrib. Pachelbel in T. Fedtke: *J. Pachelbel: Orgelwerke*, i: *Chorfugen und Choräle aus dem Weimarer Tabulaturbuch 1704* (Frankfurt, 1972); according to Eggebrecht (1965) *c*16 are reductions of known authentic org works and can be attrib. to Pachelbel's pupils
Christ ist erstanden, 1v, vn, bc, ? *c*1700, *Bsb* 30094 attrib. 'di Achilles'
Gott du Gott Israel, 5vv, 4 ?vn, bc, *Bsb* 30282, attrib. 'Pachelbel?' by Poelchau, collector of MS; cited incorrectly in *EitnerQ* as Deinem Namen sey ewig Ehr, i.e. 2nd phrase of text
In nomine Jesu, incorrectly cited in *EitnerQ* as separate work, actually superscription to another work

LOST WORKS

organ; formerly in Plauener Orgelbuch, 1708

Der Herr ist mein getreuer Hirt; Erbarm dich mein, o Herre Gott; O Lamm Gottes unschuldig; O Mensch bewein dein Sünde gross; Wir danken dir, Herr Jesu Christ: see Seiffert (1920)

other keyboard; formerly in Mylauer Tabulaturbuch, 1750

Aria and 3 variations, c; Aria and 7 variations, G; Aria and 6 variations, a; Chromatic fugue, e; Fugue, D; Prelude and fugue, c; Prelude and fugue, d: see Seiffert (1918–19)

chamber; cited in Beckmann, extant in 1938, see Doflein

Aria con variazione, C, vn, 2 va da gamba; Partie, D, 2 vn, bc, transposed version of Partie, no.1, F, from Musicalische Ergötzung; Partie, f♯, vn, 2 va, hpd; Partie, G; Sonata, G, vn, hpd (authenticity questioned, see Doflein, 1938); Zwillingspartie, D, 2 vn, incipit in Beckmann

vocal

Ach Herr, straff mich nicht, 1v, 3 insts; Ich fahr dahin mit Freuden, 1v, 5 insts; Ich kan nicht mehr, 2vv, 4 insts; attrib. Bachhelbel, formerly *F-Sm*

Dixit Dominus, 4vv, 5 insts, cited in Musikalien Verzeichniss Ansbacher Hof, entry dated 1686, Nuremberg, Staatsarchiv

Christ ist erstanden, 1v, insts; Deus in adjutorium, 5vv, 6 insts; Herr, wenn deine Wort nicht wäre, a 5; Jauchzet dem Herren alle Welt, a 13; Ich bin die Aufferstehung, a 13; Kommet her zu mir, 4vv, 5 insts; Magnificat, a 13; Magnificat, ex D dur, a 13; cited in inventory of Landesarchiv Rudolstadt *c*1710–15, Rudolstadt, Schlossarchiv

Was Gott thut, das ist wohlgetan; Was Gott tut, das ist wohlgetan, a 9: attrib. M. Bachelbel, cited in inventory of organist Adam Meissner's legacy, Halle (see Krummacher, 1967)

Herr hebe an zu segnen, 5vv, 5 va, bn; Wenn wir in höchsten Nöthen seyn, 4vv, 4 va, 2 other insts; cited in music catalogue of Michaelisschule, Lüneburg, 1695, *D-Lm*

Festo Johann Baptistae: Ich will den Herrn loben allezeit, in Dialog, 9vv, 5 insts; attrib. Bachelbel, owned by Martin Music, Kantor at Stettin *c*1702

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(2) Wilhelm Hieronymus Pachelbel (*b* Erfurt, bap. 29 Aug 1686; *d* Nuremberg, 1764). Composer, organist and harpsichordist, eldest son of (1) Johann Pachelbel. As a small boy in Erfurt he was the playmate of the somewhat older J.G. Walther. He lived with his father during his sojourns at Stuttgart (1690–92) and Gotha (1692–5) and moved with him to Nuremberg in 1695. His father taught him both composition and keyboard playing, and in the preface to his *Hexachordum Apollinis* (1699) expressed his confidence that the training he had given him would recommend him as a pupil to Buxtehude at Lübeck and to F.T. Richter in Vienna, but it is doubtful whether his ambitious hopes were realized. On 2 September 1700 the Nuremberg town council honoured Wilhelm Hieronymus for his keyboard skill with a present of ten gulden. He seems to have started his professional career as organist at Fürth, just outside Nuremberg, and it was probably from there that he went to Erfurt as organist of the Predigerkirche. On 2 March 1706, just before his father's death, he left Erfurt and returned to Nuremberg as organist of the Jakobskirche. Later that year, when J.S. Richter succeeded Johann Pachelbel at St Sebaldus, Wilhelm Hieronymus succeeded Richter at the Egidienkirche, and in 1719, when Richter died, he once again succeeded him. He remained at St Sebaldus for the rest of his life.

Only a small amount of music by Pachelbel survives, all of it for keyboard. His set of three easy variations on the chorale *O Lamm Gottes unschuldig* strongly reflects his father's *Musicalische Sterbens-Gedancken* (1683) as non-liturgical music for domestic use. The *Fantasia super 'Meine Seele, lass es gehen'* reveals two distinct styles: the first 29 bars are a chorale fughetta in the image of his father, while in the remaining 24 bars he seems to have tried to adapt the improvisational style of Buxtehude. The popular Toccata in G resembles similar works by his father. In 1725 he himself published an edition of his Praeludium and Fuga in C major, which shortly afterwards appeared in a different edition. This music shows no traces of his father's and Buxtehude's styles; instead it is characterized by a loose succession of various figurations doubtlessly inspired by modern italianate concerto writing. The rapid successions of tempo changes and sudden expressive gestures share something with Kuhnau's more experimental keyboard writing, although they point just as well towards the *Empfindsamkeit* of the mid-18th century. After an uncomplicated 39-bar prelude, a free-voiced, non-contrapuntal fugue of 231 bars is presented. The lengthy episodes between statements of the theme consist of a succession of obvious, metrically controlled sequential patterns following the simplest of harmonic progressions. *Musicalisches Vergnügen* was published at about the same time. It consists of a 13-bar prelude and 162-bar fugue, followed by an independent, unambitious fantasia of 139 bars. The subtitle, suggesting that the work is for either organ or clavier, harks back to the option that Pachelbel's father presented in his *Hexachordum Apollinis*, but his father's influence and style are absent from the music itself. The style of these last two works is very different from that of Bach, who was only a year older than Pachelbel. They avoid all harmonic and contrapuntal complexities, and have a slow-moving harmonic rhythm to allow room for the *brisé* figuration and the motivic exploration of triads and 7th chords. Although the music is hardly periodic, the repetitiveness of the gestures suggests that Pachelbel consciously aimed for a modern, if not progressive, style.

WORKS

all for organ/other keyboard

Edition: *Wilhelm Hieronymus Pachelbel: Gesamtausgabe der erhaltenen Werke für Orgel und Clavier*, ed. H.J. Moser and T. Fedtke (Kassel, 1957/*R*) [P]

Musicalisches Vergnügen bestehend in einem Praeludio, Fuga und Fantasia, sowohl auf die Orgel als auch auf das Clavier ... vorgestellt und componiert, D (?Nuremberg, ?1725); P, ed. in DTB, ii, Jg.ii/1 (1901)

Praeludium und Fuga, C (Nuremberg, 1725, 2/?1725 as Neu componiertes Praeludium und Fuga ... zum andern Mal übersehen und viel verbessert); P, ed. in DTB, ii, Jg.ii/1 (1901)

O Lamm Gottes unschuldig (3 variations), clavier, *D-Bsb*; P

Fantasia super 'Meine Seele, lass es gehen', *Bsb*; P, ed. in DTB, vi, Jg.iv/1 (1903)

Fantasia, B♭, *DS*

Suite, *DS*, attrib. 'Pachelbel', probably by W.H. Pachelbel, see Riedel (1959)

Toccata, G, *GB-Lbl*; P, ed. in DTB, vi, Jg.iv/1 (1903)

Fugue, F, lost, see Walther

Fugue, G, lost, see Ritter

Prelude, b, BWV923, once attrib. W.H. Pachelbel, actually by Bach

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FrotscherG; GerberL; Mattheson GEP; WaltherML

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M. Seiffert: *Geschichte der Klaviermusik* (Leipzig, 1899/*R*)

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F.W. Riedel: *Quellenkundliche Beiträge zur Geschichte der Musik für Tasteninstrumente in der zweiten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Kassel, 1960, 2/1990)

(3) Charles Theodore [Carl Theodorus] **Pachelbel** [Perchival, Patchable, Bachelbel] (*b* Stuttgart, bap. 24 Nov 1690; *d* Charleston, SC, bur. 15 Sept 1750). Organist, harpsichordist, composer and teacher, son of (1) Johann Pachelbel. He settled in Boston some time before 1734 (perhaps after a stay in England). In 1734 he was hired by Trinity Church in Newport, Rhode Island, to assemble an organ given to the church by the eminent philosopher George Berkeley; he served as organist there for a year. From 1734 to 1743 he taught the organist and composer Peter Pelham. He performed harpsichord and chamber music in a private benefit concert in New York in 1736, and later that year he moved to Charleston, South Carolina, where in November 1737 he gave a St Cecilia's Day concert. In February 1740 he succeeded John Salter as organist of St Philip's Church. On 29 March 1749 he advertised that he would be opening a singing school, but his health failed soon after this notice (according to the vestry of St Philip's he was 'afflicted with a lameness in his hands', 18 September).

Three pieces composed by Pachelbel survive. While still in Germany, probably under his father's instruction, he composed a *Magnificat* in C for eight voices and continuo (*D-Bsb*, ed. H.T. David, New York, 1959). This early work makes effective use of double chorus, but adheres somewhat naively to the tonic. A keyboard Minuet 'from Mr. Bachelbel' survives in an anonymous American copybook of 1739 (*US-PHff*). His most important work is the da capo aria *God of sleep, for whom I languish* (in Pelham's manuscript copybook, 1744, M. Myers's private collection, Bloomington, IL), the opening ritornello of which demonstrates Pachelbel's knowledge of Baroque instrumental idioms; the lyrical vocal line is suggestive of *bel canto*.

As the son of Johann Pachelbel and mentor of Peter Pelham, Charles Pachelbel served as a vital musical and cultural link between Europe and the New World.

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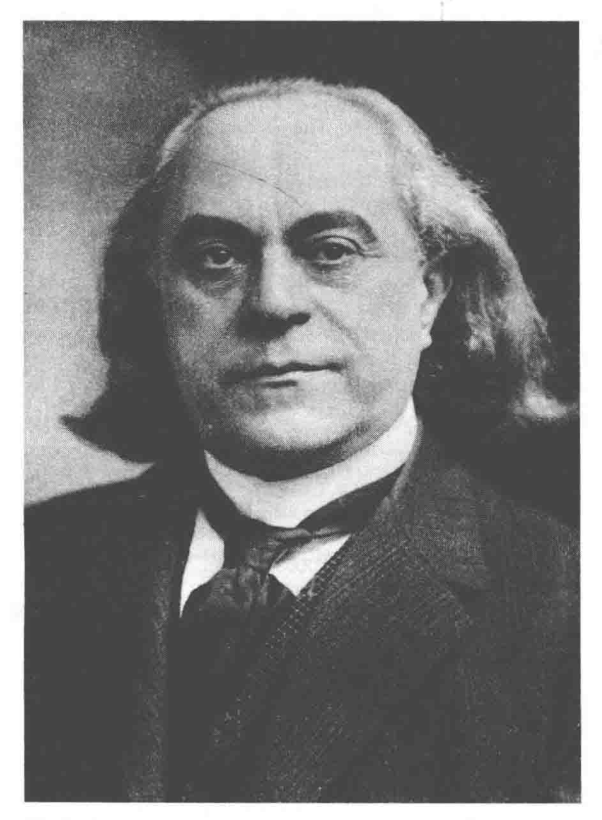
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EWALD V. NOLTE/JOHN BUTT (1, 2), H. JOSEPH BUTLER (3)

Pachmann, Vladimir de (*b* Odessa, 27 July 1848; *d* Rome, 6 Jan 1933). Ukrainian pianist. His father was a noted Austrian amateur violinist, his mother Turkish. He studied first with his father, then at the Vienna Conservatory with Joseph Dachs, receiving the gold medal in 1869. He began giving concerts but was so impressed on hearing Tausig in Odessa in 1870 that he retired for eight years' further study alone. After several more concerts and another two years' study, he established a career as a supreme Chopin player and became a celebrity throughout Europe and America. He made his début in London in 1882 and in America in 1890. He married his Australian pupil Maggie Oakey in 1884 (they divorced in 1892). After farewells in New York in 1925 and London in 1928 he retired to Italy.



Vladimir de Pachmann

Pachmann's widely publicized eccentricities, especially the whimsical talking to the audience before, after and even during a performance, have tended to distract attention from his playing; the talking, he claimed, was natural to him, and as audiences grew to demand it, so it became ever more exaggerated. But many, including K.S. Sorabji, agreed that Pachmann at his best and within his chosen repertory was unrivalled as a player:

> the almost unlimited range of his gradations of tone within a *mezzo forte* and an unbelievable *quasi niente*, the amazing fluidity and limpid liquidity of his fingerwork, his delicious dainty staccato, the marvellous cantilena, the exquisite phrasing and the wonderful delicate fantasy of the whole, all made his playing [of the smaller works of Chopin] an enchantment and a delight.

Pachmann's style was equally effective in miniatures of Mendelssohn, Schumann and others, but he was not suited to the great Classical works. At the age of 70 he developed what he called his new 'Méthode', which involved keeping the arm and hand in a straight line and the use of special fingerings (these are preserved in several Augener editions of Chopin, 1933–7, edited by M. de Pachmann-Labori). Pachmann's near-complete recorded legacy is held at the Gustafson Piano Library, Lennoxville, Quebec; a number of the recordings have been reissued on disc.

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K.S. Sorabji: 'Pachmann and Chopin', *Around Music* (London, 1932/*R*)

N. Nettheim: 'De Pachmann's Piano Fingerings', *Clavier*, xxxi/3 (1992), 14–16

NIGEL NETTHEIM

Pachschmidt, Carolomannus (*b* Eisenstadt, 28 Aug 1700; *d* Vienna, 8 March 1734). Austrian composer. He entered the Benedictine Schottenkloster in Vienna in 1721 and was ordained priest in 1723. He composed an introit for Easter Sunday soon after his arrival at the monastery, which suggests that he had some earlier musical training. After his ordination he was appointed organist and choirmaster, the post which Fux had held a generation earlier. He had a great regard for Fux, several of whose masses he copied out, either for study or to perform in the monastery. During his last 11 years he produced a considerable quantity of church music, particularly after 1728. In addition he composed a serenade for the abbot's birthday celebrations in 1729, and music for the Lateinschule plays of 1730 and 1733.

Pachschmidt's output includes examples of all the types of church music current at the time, including a Compline setting (comparatively rare, as Compline was not one of the usual sung services). He used both the contemporary church styles with equal facility; six of his 12 masses are in the modern manner, for four voices and orchestra, while the other six are in the polyphonic style he had absorbed from Fux. His masses and motets in the modern idiom display an unusually personal style and depth of feeling, along with a gift for writing simple folklike

melody which is also seen to advantage in his sacred arias. References to Pachschmidt in the archives of the Schottenkloster show that he had a high reputation as composer and choirmaster, and that his early death was much regretted.

WORKS

4vv, orch, unless otherwise stated; all A-Ws

6 masses, 4–6vv, orch: 'Quovis non vulneror ictu', 1725, Carolomanni, 1726, 'Quoniam tu solus Dominus', 1728, Caroli Borromaei [= Missa Thomistica], 1733, Joannis Evangelistae, 'Filii in honorem patris'
6 masses, 4–6vv a cappella
5 int
1 Compline, 1732, 1 lit, 1733
2 Alma Redemptoris mater, 2 Regina coeli, 1733, 4 Ave regina (incl. 1 for S, orch)
1 Stabat mater, 1 Veni Sancte Spiritus, 1 Dixit Dominus, 1734
6 Advent arias (Ger), 1v, insts
Several other motets
Serenata; music for 2 Lateinschule plays

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G. Reichert: 'Mozarts "Credo-Messen" und ihre Vorläufer', *MJb 1955*, 117–20

ELIZABETH ROCHE

Pachulski, Henryk (*b* Łazy, nr Siedlce, 4 Oct 1859; *d* Moscow, Dec 1921). Polish pianist, composer and teacher. His date of birth has been given incorrectly in other sources. He was the son of Albert Pachulski, a forester who had been an overseer on Nadezhda von Meck's estate. He studied the piano with Strobl and harmony and counterpoint with Moniuszko and Żeleński at the Warsaw Institute of Music. From 1880 to 1885 he also studied at the Moscow Conservatory, taking piano lessons with Pavel Pabst and Nikolay Rubinstein and counterpoint with Arensky. As a young man he was given encouragement and engagements by Nadezhda von Meck. He was appointed professor of piano at the Moscow Conservatory in 1886. Pachulski's works are chiefly for piano. Distinguished by sound craftsmanship, they are somewhat eclectic in character: he was much influenced by Liszt's virtuoso compositions and the works of Arensky and Anton Rubinstein, among others. He made a number of excellent arrangements of Tchaikovsky's works for piano duet.

Pachulski's brother Władysław (*d* 1919) was a violinist who acted as Nadezhda von Meck's house musician and secretary, marrying her daughter Julia in 1889. Tchaikovsky gave him much detailed advice over his compositions, and he acted as a go-between in the attempts to patch up the rift between Tchaikovsky and Nadezhda von Meck.

WORKS

Inst: 3 Pieces, vc, pf, op.4; Fantasia, pf, orch, op.17
For pf: Polonaise, op.5; Concert Etude, op.7; 2 sonatas, op.10, op.27; preludes, études, waltzes, mazurkas, impromptus; pf transcrs. of works by Tchaikovsky, Żeleński, Arensky and Moniuszko

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J. Skarbowski: *Sylwetki pianistów polskich*, i: *Od Wincentego Lessla do Henryka Pachulskiego* [Figures of Polish pianists, i: From Wincenty Lessel to Henryk Pachulski] (Rzeszów, 1996)

ZOFIA CHECHLIŃSKA

Pachymeres, Georgios (*b* Nicaea, 1241; *d* Constantinople, *c*1310). Byzantine scholar and music theorist. He was influential at Constantinople where he held high political and ecclesiastical office and where he taught at the university. Evidence concerning Pachymeres' life is contained in his historical work, in a poetical autobiography and in an obituary poem by his pupil Manuel Philes. Pachymeres wrote a history of his times, a number of works on rhetoric and philosophy, and a treatise on the Quadrivium (*c*1300), *Syntagma tōn tessarōn mathēmatōn, arithmētikēs, mousikēs, geōmetrias kai astronomias*. Although an earlier Byzantine account of the Quadrivium survives (dating from 1008 and attributed to MICHAEL PSELLUS, but more probably written by the monk Gregorius), Pachymeres' work is the more comprehensive and anticipated the revival of interest in mathematics and mathematical harmonics at the beginning of the Palaeologan renaissance; it is the first large-scale example of Byzantine encyclopedic musical scholarship. However, Pachymeres' contemporaries seem to have ignored it; it was not translated into Latin, and comparatively few manuscript copies, most of which date from the 16th century, survive. This neglect may be attributed to the three books on *Harmonics* by MANUEL BRYENNIUS (*fl* 1300) that appeared not long after Pachymeres' treatise; although the *Harmonics* was indebted to the earlier work, in many ways it overshadowed it.

Pachymeres based his discussion on music on the writings of ancient theorists and only briefly touched on contemporary practice. In this repect his work resembles that of Bryennius and differs from contemporary Western treatises. His greatest debt was to the neo-Pythagorean authors Nicomachus of Gerasa, Ptolemy and Porphyry, whose works he often quoted. In his description of harmonics (chaps. 1–20), which lacks strict systematization, he deals mainly with the calculation of intervallic ratios, the structure of the Greater Perfect System and the divisions of tetrachords. The second part of the work is concerned almost exclusively with a comparison of Ptolemy's eight *chroai* ('shades of colour') of the genera, a subject that is treated in a purely academic manner. In chapter 18, however, contemporary music is brought into the discussion when Pachymeres relates the registers of the ancient transposition scales (*tonoi*) to the eight church modes (*ēchoi*) of Byzantine chant (*see* OKTŌECHOS). This passage forms the earliest reference in Byzantine theory to an association between ancient and medieval modal doctrine, and its conclusions were further developed by Bryennius in his *Harmonics*.

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LUKAS RICHTER

Paci, Francesco Maria (*b* ?Rome, ?1716; *fl* 1743–6). Italian composer. Early scholars did not mention him and he is known only through a few works. He wrote two comic pieces for the stage: an intermezzo, *La Scuffiara* (Florence, Teatro degl'Intrepidi, 1743), and *La schiava per amore* (text, T. Mariani; Rome, Sala Latina al Vicolo dei Lautari, Carnival 1746). He also wrote some sacred music, including a *Stabat mater* for three voices and strings (*D-Bsb*) and several other works for the church (*I-Pca*), and an overture (*D-Bsb*).

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JAMES L. JACKMAN

Paci, Pietro. *See* PACE, PIETRO.

Pacieri [Paceri], **Giuseppe** (*b* Trevi, nr Perugia; *d* ?Rome, 1700 or later). Italian composer and organist. He appears to have taken holy orders before succeeding Francesco Cardarelli as organist of the Santa Casa, Loreto, on 1 February 1670; he continued in this post until 6 November 1679. Berardi listed him, along with such eminent composers as Carissimi and Luigi Rossi, as a leading exponent of *cantate concertanti*. It is not known precisely when Pacieri went to Rome and entered the service of Cardinal Alderamo Cibo, secretary of state during the pontificate of Innocent XI and later deacon of the Sacro Collegio, but in 1679 his chamber oratorio *Il peccatore al presepio* was performed for the papal court on Christmas Eve in the prestigious Palazzo Apostolico. The tradition of presenting Christmas Eve oratorios had begun with the reign of Innocent XI in 1676 and lasted for 65 years. Cardinal Cibo himself seems to have initiated the tradition, and Pacieri's relationship with the cardinal probably accounts for the fact that he composed no fewer than eight such oratorios between 1679 and 1688. He is referred to as a prior for the first time in the libretto of *I pastori di Bettelemme*. *Atalia*, one of at least three Roman oratorios of the same title based on Racine, was performed by the boarding students of the Seminario Romano. His oratorios are written for four or five solo voices with concerted instrumental accompaniment, usually strings and continuo. His string writing includes contrasts between concertino and ripieno as well as the use of a solo viola as a supporting bass line.

WORKS

ORATORIOS

Il peccatore al presepio (componimento per musica, O. Malvezzi), Rome, Palazzo Apostolico, Christmas Eve, 1679, music lost, lib *I-Rc*, *Rvat*
Il mondo in pace (componimento per musica), Rome, Palazzo Apostolico, Christmas Eve, 1682, music lost, lib *Rig*, *US-CA*
I pastori tributarii alla cuna del Redentore (componimento per musica, P. Giubilei), Rome, Palazzo Apostolico, Christmas Eve, 1683, music lost, lib *I-Rc*, *Rvat*
La pace degli elementi in ossequio al Natale del Redentore (componimento per musica, Giubilei), Rome, Palazzo Apostolico, Christmas Eve, 1684, *Nf*, lib *Rc*, *Rvat*
I principi cristiani chiamati al presepe (componimento per musica, C. Amadio), Rome, Palazzo Apostolico, Christmas Eve, 1685, music lost, lib *Rn*
L'adorazione de' Magi (componimento per musica, Amadio), Rome, Palazzo Apostolico, Christmas Eve, 1686, music lost, lib *Rc*
Il trionfo dell'amor divino (componimento per musica, P.F. Carli), Rome, Palazzo Apostolico, Christmas Eve, 1687, *A-Wn*, lib *B-Bc*, *I-Rc*, *Vgc*
I pastori di Bettelemme annunziati dall'angelo (concerto musicale, G.D. de Tortis), Rome, Palazzo Apostolico, Christmas Eve, 1688 and 1691, music lost, lib *Rc* (1688), *Rli* (1691)
La vittoria innocente (G. della Rosa), Rome, Palazzo Borghese, 24 March 1690, music lost, lib *Rc*, *Rig*
Atalia (?A. Polioni, after Racine), Rome, Seminario Romano, 1700, music lost, lib *I-Bc*, *Bl*, *MAc*, *Rn*, *Rvat*, *Vgc*
La cetra piangente de Davide nella morte de Gionata, *Nf*
L'huomo moribondo, *Nf*

OTHER WORKS

Confitebor, 5vv, str, *Nf*
Surge anima mea, motet, 1v, bc, *Nf*
Cant. 'per la Passione e Resurrezione', 1v, bc, *Nf*
Secular cants., *GB-Lam*,*Lbl*, *I-Bc*, *Mc*, *MOe*, *Nc*

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LAWRENCE E. BENNETT

Pacific Arts, Festival of [Pacific Festival of Arts]. The pre-eminent event for the performing arts in the Pacific. Organized to respond to the South Pacific Commission's concern about the rapid erosion of the region's indigenous arts, the first South Pacific Festival of Arts was held in Fiji in 1972. It brought together more indigenous people from Australia and the islands south of the equator than had ever before gathered in one place. In 1976 Micronesians and Hawaiians were invited to participate, and after 1980 the geographical designation 'south' was dropped from the name. Festivals have been held in a four-year cycle: in Rotorua, New Zealand, in 1976, Papua New Guinea in 1980, Tahiti in 1985 (rescheduled from New Caledonia in 1984), Townsville, Australia, in 1988, Rarotonga, Cook Islands, in 1992, and Apia, Western Samoa, in 1996. New Caledonia hosted the festival in the year 2000. The number of participants has grown in successive festivals: the official visiting delegations to recent festivals, most of whose members participated as musicians and dancers, have totalled approximately 2500 persons. In addition, host countries have presented a wide range of their own performing arts through the participation of large numbers of its citizens: in 1996 more than 2000 children participated in the music and dance at the opening and closing ceremonies.

The festival has stimulated a renaissance in traditional heritage, creative developments in modern idioms (e.g. popular musics and dance dramas incorporating traditional elements) and intercultural borrowing. For peoples of the Pacific, it has engendered esteem for their own local, national and ethnic identity, recognition of the cultural diversity of others and a sense of belonging to a

Pacific-wide community. The audio-visual materials from the festival, which is the most extensively recorded artistic event in the Pacific, are a major resource for studying and enjoying the music and dance of the Pacific.

BARBARA B. SMITH

Pacini, Andrea ['Il Lucchesino'] (*b* Lucca, *c*1690; *d* Lucca, March 1764). Italian alto castrato and composer. He sang in Venice (12 operas: 1708, début in Albinoni's *Astarto*, 1714–16, 1726), Florence (1709–10, 1720, 1725–6, 1731–2), Genoa (1710–11, 1720, 1728), Rome (1711, 1721–2), Lucca (1711, 1714–15, 1724, 1730), Ferrara (1713, 1731), Naples (ten operas at the S Bartolomeo and the royal palace, 1713–14, 1722–3), Livorno (1717–18), Bologna (1719–20, 1722), Turin (1719), Milan (1719–20) and Parma (1724, 1729). He appeared in operas by all leading composers from Alessandro Scarlatti, Albinoni and Vivaldi to Porpora, Hasse and Vinci. He was elected a member of the Accademia Filarmonica at Bologna in 1721. From 1720 to 1730 he had the title of virtuoso to Prince Antonio of Parma. He was engaged by the Royal Academy in London as second man to Senesino for 1724–5, making his début in the title role of Handel's *Tamerlano* and scoring a success: Lady Bristol told her husband that 'the new man takes extremely'. He sang Ptolemy in Handel's *Giulio Cesare* (Handel composed a new aria for him) and Unulfo in *Rodelinda*, and in Ariosti's *Artaserse* and *Dario* and the Vinci-Orlandini *Elpidia*. The parts Handel wrote for him demand a good technique but limited range (compass *a* to *e″*).

In later life Pacini became a priest, and often took part in the annual celebration of S Croce at his native town. He composed a mass for its St Cecilia Festival in 1744. There are two caricatures of him by A.M. Zanetti in the Cini collection (*I-Vgc*). He appears with other singers in a Watteau drawing in the Louvre, executed on a visit to Paris in 1721.

WINTON DEAN

Pacini, Antonio Francesco Gaetano Saverio (*b* Naples, 7 July 1778; *d* Paris, 10 March 1866). Italian composer and music publisher, active in France. After studying harmony and counterpoint under Fenaroli at the Conservatorio della Pietà dei Turchini, Naples, he directed an orchestra and taught there before moving to Nîmes, where he became leader of the theatre orchestra. According to Pougin (*FétisBS*) *Isabelle et Gertrude*, his first *opéra comique*, was given at the opening of the rebuilt theatre there (in 1801). In 1804 he moved to Paris where, at least until 1822, he was active as a singing teacher. Between 1805 and 1808 *Isabelle* and three further *opéras comiques* were produced, all but one being published in orchestral score. These (his only works for the stage) and a large number of songs make up the bulk of his creative output.

Pacini's career as a publisher began in 1808 when, in partnership with Momigny, he began to issue the *Journal des troubadours* (*c*1808–15); this was put out from Momigny's address, 20 boulevard Poissonnière. After a brief publishing association with Jean-Baptiste Lélu and Charles Bochsa, Pacini set up on his own at 12 rue Favart, in 1810–11. By 1819 he had moved to 11 boulevard des Italiens (he is known also to have advertised from 12 rue Favart, his residence, at least until 1829). In January 1846 Bonoldi Frères purchased the business, but in 1851 Pacini had made a new start, at 59 rue Neuve-St-Augustin. In April 1853 he was established at 21 rue Louis-le-Grand, where he remained until his death.

Particularly in the period 1820 to 1835, Pacini was one of the most active music publishers in Paris. He was known mainly for his editions of Italian operas, of which he published at least 46 vocal scores in folio format, including several operas by Mercadante, Bellini and Donizetti, and, between 1821 and 1827, 18 by Rossini. Among the Rossini works was *Ivanhoé*, a pasticcio arranged by Pacini himself (on Rossini's authority) from earlier operas, and first performed at the Odéon on 15 September 1826. Pacini also published collections of vocal exercises by Aprile, Bordogni and Rossini, and some hundreds of single numbers drawn mainly from contemporary Italian operas. None of the half-dozen operas of which he published orchestral scores between 1815 and 1834 had lasting success. In addition to the *Journal des troubadours* (a monthly collection of songs with, and solo pieces for, guitar and lyre), he published two other monthly periodical collections of vocal music: *Le troubadour ambulant* (early 1817 to 1828), of which each number contained four unpublished *romances* and a guitar piece; and *L'écho lyrique* (March 1827 to summer 1830), each number containing two French *romances* and an Italian aria or duet. His output of instrumental music was relatively slight; but he issued the earliest Paris editions of Field's first six piano concertos by about 1824 and by 1828 he had published 24 caprices and 12 sonatas by Paganini. In 1823 he turned down Beethoven's offer of the Diabelli variations and four other works.

In mid-January 1838 Pacini suffered near ruin when the fire that destroyed the Salle Favart also wrecked his shop; much of what was not burnt was pillaged, and several valuable manuscripts are said to have been stolen. Pacini was well liked, however, and eminent Parisian composers came to his rescue, offering him manuscripts for a series of piano works to be entitled *Livre musical des cent-et-un*. He published the first number in February 1838 and, although it did not run its full course, the series was still in progress when Chopin's Waltz op.42 made its first appearance in print, as no.68, in June 1840.

Pacini was a friend to all Italian musicians and had especially close links with Rossini and Paganini. For the latter he sometimes acted as concert agent, and he accompanied him on his first journey to England in April 1831. All Pacini's publications were engraved; his series of plate numbers are generally unreliable for dating purposes.

WORKS

all opéras comiques

Isabelle et Gertrude (1, C.S. Favart), ?Nîmes, ?1801 (Paris, ?1806)

Point d'adversaire (1, J.M. Pain), Paris, Montansier, 8 April 1805 (Paris, ?1805)

Le voyage impromptu (1, M. Aubertin and T. Dumersan), Paris, Montansier, 5 April/Aug 1806 (Paris, ?1806)

Amour et mauvaise tête (3, S. Arnoult), Paris, Feydeau, 17 May 1808, *F-Pc*

BIBLIOGRAPHY

DEMF [incl. list of plate nos.]; *FétisBS; HopkinsonD; MGG1* (B. Bardet)

C. Hopkinson: *A Bibliographical Thematic Catalogue of the Works of John Field* (London, 1961), 167–8

P. Gossett: *The Operas of Rossini: Problems of Textual Criticism in Nineteenth-Century Opera* (diss., Princeton U., 1970), 601

RICHARD MACNUTT

Pacini, Giovanni (*b* Catania, 17 Feb 1796; *d* Pescia, 6 Dec 1867). Italian composer. He was one of the leading

composers of Italian operas from the late 1820s to the 1840s.

1. Life. 2. Style

1. LIFE. Pacini began his musical studies with his father, a well-known tenor (later a *buffo* bass), who intended him to have a career in church music and sent him at the age of 12 to Bologna to study singing with Luigi Marchesi. Manifesting an interest in composition at an early age, Pacini studied counterpoint for a short time while in Bologna and composition in Venice, 1809–12. He composed his first opera, *Don Pomponio* (not performed), in 1813. Later that year he had his first work staged, the *farsa Annetta e Lucindo*, in Milan. His earliest success, the *melodramma semiseria Adelaide e Comingio* (1817, also Milan), followed productions of many other light works. The next year his *Il barone di Dolsheim*, which marked his début at La Scala and ran for 47 nights, brought him to the forefront of the Italian operatic scene.

In 1821 Pacini established himself in Lucca with an appointment as *maestro di cappella* to the Duchess Marie-Louise de Bourbon, and in 1822 he had a house built in Viareggio, where he resided throughout most of his operatic career. The tremendous success of two serious operas – *Alessandro nelle Indie* (1824) and *L'ultimo giorno di Pompei* (1825) – at the Teatro S Carlo in Naples, as well as *Gli arabi nelle Gallie* at La Scala, gained him a position as the leading Italian composer of the late 1820s and began a productive relationship with the impresario Domenico Barbaia, who gave him a nine-year contract as musical director of the Neapolitan theatres, a post vacated by Rossini in 1822. Pacini's contract required him to compose two operas each year, which were eventually divided between Naples and Milan when Barbaia became director of La Scala in 1826. Barbaia also took Pacini to Vienna in 1827 to oversee productions of four of his operas at the Kärntnertortheater.

Pacini's popularity declined in the early 1830s, partly because of competition from Bellini, Donizetti and, to a lesser extent, Mercadante. The failure of three successive operas in Naples in 1833, which Pacini himself described in deprecating terms, followed by the disastrous première of *Carlo di Borgogna* in Venice (1835), led him to retire from the operatic scene for almost five years. During this period he devoted his time to the Liceo Musicale which he had established in Viareggio in 1834, and he had a substantial opera theatre built there for performances by his students. His appointment as *maestro di cappella* to the archducal court of Lucca in 1837 also spurred his production of liturgical works, an interest left dormant from his student years. Pacini's status as a teacher was affirmed in 1842 through his appointment as director of a new music school in Parma, which united all the music schools in the duchy and which bore his name from his death until 1924.



Closing scene (the eruption of Vesuvius) from Pacini's 'L'ultimo giorno di Pompei', in the production at La Scala, Milan, 1827: aquatint by Carlo Sanquirico after the stage design by Alessandro Sanquirico (British Museum, London)

After considerable soul-searching – and with Bellini gone, Donizetti's Italian career in decline and Mercadante left as his principal rival – Pacini returned to the operatic stage in 1839, determined to write in a more innovative, thoughtful and overtly dramatic style. In his memoirs (cited by Gossett 1986, *Saffo*) he recalled that during his period of retirement he

> had meditated on new developments, on the changing taste of the audience, and on what should be the path to follow ... If my compositions were to have any hope for long life, I had to develop that aesthetic sense that I had previously sought but rarely achieved. I set to work, with the firm intention of putting aside the procedures that I had followed in my earlier career, and I looked for characteristic ideas from the diverse melodies of different peoples, drawing them from traditional sources, so that I could inform my works with that truth so difficult to achieve in our art.

After experimenting with his new approach in *Furio Camillo* (1839, Rome), he achieved enormous success with *Saffo* (1840, Naples), which to the present day has been regarded as his masterpiece. Over the next few years he continued to produce forward-looking works, most notably *La fidanzata corsa* (1842, Naples) and *Maria, regina d'Inghilterra* and *Medea* (both 1843, Palermo), and maintained his popularity throughout the 1840s, despite the rivalry of the ascending Verdi. However, Pacini himself noted that as early as 1846, in *La regina di Cipro*, he began to retreat from the more modern style seen in *Saffo* and fell back on earlier habits. After moving to Pescia in 1855, he increasingly focussed his activities on teaching and on writing instrumental music. His last major success was *Il saltimbanco* (1858, Rome).

Pacini married three times, outliving Adelaide Castelli (*d* 1828) and the singer Marietta Albini (*d* 1849) and spending his final years with Marianna Scoti. He was survived by five of his nine children. He had ill-disguised liaisons with Napoleon's sister, the Princess Pauline Borghese (begun during his year in Rome, 1821), from which a hasty marriage to his first wife eventually provided the only escape, and with the notorious Russian countess Giulia Samoylov (in Milan, apparently from about 1828 to 1831). Both women played important roles in nurturing his social and professional status in those musical centres.

2. STYLE. An extraordinarily prolific composer even by the standards of his own time, Pacini composed over 80 operas, in addition to many instrumental compositions and sacred vocal works, and authored numerous historical, theoretical and didactic writings. His operatic career mirrored the contemporary trend from comedy to tragedy that reached a turning-point about 1820: before 1817 he composed only comic operas; during the years 1817–20 he produced an even mix of serious, semi-serious and comic types; and from 1821 on he wrote primarily serious works.

Pacini's comic operas, particularly his early ones, show clearly the influence of their forebears, displaying such elements as 'Rossinian' instrumental crescendos, fast vocal parlandos and driving, often repetitive rhythms in fast movements. Such *opere semiserie* as *Il barone di Dolsheim* are also typical of the period in mixing complex, virtuoso music for the hero and heroine that in some cases verges on the style of *opera seria* with simpler, folklike melodies or comic parlando for other characters. In these operas more than in his *opere serie* Pacini often curtailed the standard forms of lyric numbers and wrote shorter individual movements, in particular the reflective movements in ensembles.

Pacini's serious operas provide the best opportunity, however, to examine the development of his style across his career. He set a cross-section of 19th-century libretto types, from operas with antique settings derived from 18th-century *opera seria* (*Alessandro nelle Indie*), to horror stories rooted in turn-of-the-century French opera (*Medea*) and Bellinian Romantic *melodrammi* (*Saffo*). In their treatments of these subjects his librettos display a number of shifts of focus that characterized the first part of the 19th century: from ancient settings and noble heroes to more modern settings populated by non-traditional types of characters (pirates, outlaws and gypsies), from cities and metropolitan palaces to small provincial towns or castles of petty princes, from intrigues and moral issues to painful amorous entanglements which result in murder, suicide or insanity, and from general, idealized characterizations to more personal ones.

Although Pacini admired many of his Italian predecessors – among them Paisiello, Cimarosa, Mayr, Paer, Generali and Pavesi – as well as such foreigners as Gluck, Haydn and Mozart, the works of his first period (before his temporary retirement in 1835) were influenced most clearly by the operas of Rossini, a debt that he readily acknowledged. Like Rossini, Pacini maintained the traditional separation of recitative and lyrical styles. Although in some cases he decorated the vocal lines of his obbligato recitatives with florid ornamentation, he rarely incorporated aria-like sections, and his lyric numbers seldom include the impulsive melodic phrases or emotionally frank declamatory interpolations of Bellini's. The music of Pacini's first period, much like Rossini's, remains largely within the tradition of ideal expressiveness and avoids direct representation of the actions or emotions of his characters.

Early in his career Pacini was known to contemporary audiences primarily as a fecund melodist who, in his own words, carefully 'tailored' his vocal lines to the strengths of individual singers. Reflecting Rossini's influence, his arias incorporate a broad range of melodic types. Although he claimed to have set aside the earlier composer's florid style, his early slow movements often display a proliferation of embellishments and adopt the relatively free, additive phrase structures usually associated with Rossini's melodies. At the other end of the spectrum, the themes of his fast cabalettas normally come closer to the mid-century lyric form *AA′BA′*, although the ends of phrases are still normally punctuated with *gruppetti*. These lively tunes, marked by disjunct contours, abrupt rhythmic motifs, frequent syncopation and a sometimes martial, sometimes playful or even trivial quality, made the composer famous in his day as the 'maestro delle cabalette'. Between these two extremes, Pacini also began to develop simpler, more fluid cantabile melodies like those that were to be the hallmark of Bellini's style.

In his memoirs Pacini later disparaged his orchestral writing during this period:

> My instrumentation was never careful enough, and if it was sometimes beautiful or brilliant, this resulted not from reflection but rather from that natural taste God granted me. I frequently slighted the string section, nor did I take pains about the effects that might be drawn from other instrumental families.

While interesting exceptions to this self-deprecating evaluation do exist – the exotically flavoured overtures to *Il barone di Dolsheim* and *Gli arabi nelle Gallie* are two

numbers in which he exploited instrumentation to convey a special atmosphere – during his first period Pacini mostly provided his melodies with minimal accompaniments that have little dramatic impact. And although he claimed to have tried to create new forms for his set pieces – notably in *L'ultimo giorno di Pompei* – and often expanded their designs from within by writing longer solos, or truncated traditional forms by eliminating unnecessary movements (a technique also seen in Donizetti's operas), he normally adhered to the conventional practices of Rossini and his other contemporaries. Most of his arias follow the common two- or three-movement formats that had become popular by the end of Rossini's career. His most complex duets, like Rossini's, contain four movements: an opening active movement, a contemplative slow one, an interactive *tempo di mezzo* and a reflective cabaletta (usually of the Bellinian type, which presents the main theme three times, the last with the voices together). Similarly, his larger ensembles and finales habitually have the Rossinian duet-like core of four long sections.

The innovations seen in the operas of Pacini's second period – beginning with *Furio Camillo* and especially *Saffo* – parallel many of those pioneered by Bellini and Donizetti as those composers also broke from norms established by Rossini. In his lyric melodies, Pacini virtually abandoned Rossinian *fioriture* (at least in his earliest works from this period) and adopted an almost exaggerated version of Bellini's frankly expressive style. He moved closer to the typical mid-century lyric form in his slow melodies, although he treated its phrase structure even more freely than Bellini and Donizetti had, normally separating the opening thematic block *AA′* from the remainder of the melody with a decisive articulation and providing a more extensive central section of short, quasi-declamatory phrases before returning to the opening ideas. He also smoothed out the melodic and rhythmic contours of his cabaletta themes – sometimes introducing Bellinian triplet rhythms – and, like Donizetti, occasionally cast them in a slow tempo.

Beginning with *Saffo*, Pacini began more consistently to obscure traditional distinctions between recitatives and lyric numbers, skilfully matching different styles of text-setting to individual events or reactions. His efforts at coaxing new expressive and atmospheric effects from the orchestra are apparent throughout his scores from this period. He also diverged from the relatively diatonic harmonic language of his first period by experimenting with sudden modulations and non-tonic openings to heighten the expressive impact of his lyrical melodies, with juxtapositions of distantly related keys in active sections to underscore shocking events, and (like his contemporaries) with open-ended tonal plans for his lyric numbers, reflecting the mobility of his characters' situations and relationships.

In his memoirs Pacini stated flatly that operatic design was the province of his librettists. Perhaps as a consequence of this attitude, the operas of his second period do not display the same degree of innovation in the sectional forms of their individual scenes as that which characterizes Mercadante's operas. Even in *Saffo*, all the lyric numbers – except for the Part 1 duet for Sappho and Faone, which omits the traditional slow movement – conform to the standard three- and four-movement models for arias and ensembles. Yet unconventional structures do appear occasionally in his latest works (see, for example, the introductions to Acts 1 and 2 of *Il saltimbanco*), and individual movements may incorporate such mid-century variations as the replacement of the matched solo statements characteristic of Rossini and Bellini with free dialogue or contrasting solos in the first movements of duets. The active movements of lyric numbers of Pacini's second period are noteworthy for their great length and complexity (as in Sappho's aria finale in Part 3 or the trio of the same part). Many of his operas are forward-looking in the decisive dominance of ensembles over solo numbers and in a consistent inclusion of secondary characters in arias. For example, *Saffo* allots only one aria to each of its principals – neither Sappho nor Faone has a cavatina, and both characters must wait until Part 3 for their arias – and incorporates chorus or other soloists in all of them.

Along with his operas, Pacini produced numerous religious works throughout his career. Many of his student efforts apparently involved sacred music and several of his 19 cantatas are among his earliest professional compositions; the Requiem Masses for Michele Puccini and for the proposed transference of Bellini's remains (both 1864) and the oratorio *Il carcere Mamertino* are among his latest. Although Pacini's output of instrumental music was limited – most of it came from his last five years – it includes the noteworthy programmatic *Sinfonia Dante*, a lovely octet, and six string quartets, with which Pacini joined the Italian instrumental revival during the second half of the 19th century.

Unlike Bellini and Donizetti, and despite his self-conscious attempt to correct the defects that he perceived in his early style and to find a more up-to-date approach, Pacini never gained a significant following outside Italy in such important centres as London, Paris and New York, although he was popular in Spain, Portugal and South America. His operas met with mixed reviews in Vienna in the late 1820s, Fétis wrote a scathing criticism of his music in 1830, and Berlioz and Mendelssohn were completely unsympathetic. Yet his failure to gain pervasive international renown hardly diminishes his importance as a principal player in the Italian scene from 1820 to 1850. And while his role in the development of opera after Rossini was secondary to those of Bellini and Donizetti, both his operas and his memoirs provide a fascinating glimpse into the efforts of Italian composers to adapt Rossini's approach to the new musico-dramatic climate of the 1830s and 40s.

WORKS

STAGE

FP – *Florence, Teatro della Pergola*
MR – *Milan, Teatro Re*
MSC – *Milan, Teatro alla Scala*
NC – *Naples, Teatro S Carlo*
VF – *Venice, Teatro La Fenice*
fa – *farsa*
dg – *dramma giocoso*
dm – *dramma per musica*
mel – *melodramma*
mels – *melodramma serio*
melss – *melodramma semiserio*
ob – *opera buffa*
os – *opera seria*
oss – *opera semiseria*
tl – *tragedia lirica*

Don Pomponio, 1813 (ob, G. Paganini), unperf.

Annetta e Lucindo (fa, 2, F. Marconi), Milan, S Radegonda, 17 Oct 1813, *I-Bc*, *Fc*, *Mr*

L'ambizione delusa (dramma buffo, 2, Palomba), FP, spr. 1814, *Mr**, *PEA*

L'escavazione del tesoro (fa, 1, Marconi), Pisa, Costanti, 18 Dec 1814, *PEA*; ? rev. as La ballerina raggiratrice (ob, 2, G. Palomba), unperf.
Gli sponsali de' silfi (commedia, 1, Marconi), Milan, Filodrammatici, carn. 1814–15, *Mr*, *PEA**
Bettina vedova (Il seguito di Ser Mercantonio) (dg, 2, A. Anelli), Venice, S Moisè, spr. 1815
La Rosina (fa, 1, Palomba), FP, sum. ?1815, *PEA**
L'ingenua (fa, 1, Marconi), Venice, S Benedetto, 4 May 1816, *PEA**
Il matrimonio per procura (dg, 1, G. Scannamusa [Anelli]), MR, 2 Jan 1817, *Mr**
Dalla beffa il disinganno, ossia La poetessa (dramma buffo, 1, G. Scopabirba [Anelli]), MR, 11 Jan 1817, *Mr** [suppressed after 3 perf.]; rev. with new text as Il carnevale di Milano (dramma buffo, 1, P. Lattanza), MR, 23 Feb 1817, *Mr*
Piglia il mondo come viene (dg, 2, Anelli), MR, 28 May 1817, *Mr*
Adelaide e Comingio (melss, 2, G. Rossi), MR, 30 Dec 1817, *Fc*, *Mr**, *OS*, excerpts (Milan, 1818); also as Isabella e Florange, Il comingio, Comingio pittore
Atala (azione drammatica, 3, A. Peracchi), Padua, Nuovo, June 1818
Gl'illinesi, 1818 (os, F. Romani), unperf.
Il barone di Dolsheim (mel, 2, Romani), MSC, 23 Sept 1818, *Mc*, *Mr*, *Nc*, *Vt*, Catania (Biblioteca Chisari), vs (Milan, 1831); also as Federico II re di Prussia, Il barone di Felcheim, La colpa emendata dal valore
La sposa fedele (mel, 2, Rossi), Venice, S Benedetto, 14 Jan 1819; rev. version, MSC, 1 Aug 1819; *Bc*, *Fc*, *Mc*, *Mr**, *Nc*, *US-Bp*, excerpts (Milan, 1820–22)
Il falegname di Livonia (mel, 2, Romani), MSC, 12 April 1819; rev. version, FP, 28 Feb 1823; *I-Mr*, *Nc**, *Rsc*, duet (Milan, n.d.), trio (Milan, 1819)
Vallace, o sia L'eroe scozzese (mels, 2, Romani), MSC, 14 Feb 1820, *Mc*, *Mr*, excerpts (Milan, 1820); also as Odoardo I re d'Inghilterra, *PEA*
La sacerdotessa d'Irminsul (melodramma eroico, 2, Romani), Trieste, Grande, 11 May 1820, *Fc* [not the same text as Bellini's Norma], *PEA**
La schiava in Bagdad (mel, 2, V. Pezzi), Turin, Carignano, 20 Oct 1820, *Mt*, *Nc*, *PEA*, *Vt*, cavatina (Milan, 1827)
La gioventù di Enrico V (melodramma giocoso, 2, G. Tarducci or J. Ferretti, partly after W. Shakespeare), Rome, Valle, 26 Dec 1820, *Fc*, *Mr*, *Nc*, *PEA**, *Rsc*; also as La bella tavernara, ossia Le avventure d'una notte
Cesare in Egitto (melodramma eroico, 2, Ferretti), Rome, Argentina, 26 Dec 1821, *PEA**
La vestale (os, 2, L. Romanelli), MSC, 6 Feb 1823, *Mc*, *Mr**, *Vt*, vs (Milan, 1830 or 1831)
Temistocle (dm, 2, P. Angillesi, after P. Metastasio), Lucca, Giglio, 28 Aug 1823, *B-Bc*, *I-Mr*, *PEA*, *Rsc*, excerpts (Milan, 1824)
Isabella ed Enrico (melss, 2, Romanelli), MSC, 12 June 1824, *Mr**, excerpts (Milan, 1824)
Alessandro nelle Indie (dm, 2, G. Schmidt, after Metastasio), NC, 30 Sept 1824, *Mr*, *Nc*, *PEA*, excerpts (Milan, 1825–7)
Amazilia (mel, 1, Schmidt), NC, 6 July 1825; rev. version (2), Kärntnertor, Vienna, 20 Feb 1827; *Fc*, *Mc*, *Mr*, *Nc*, *PEA**, *Rsc*, vs (Milan, 1830 or 1831)
L'ultimo giorno di Pompei (dramma serio, 2, A.L. Tottola [not after Bulwer-Lytton]), NC, 19 Nov 1825, *Mr*, *Nc**, *Vt*, vs (Milan, 1830 or 1831)
La gelosia corretta (melss, 3, Romanelli), MSC, 27 March 1826, *Mc*, *Mr**, excerpts (Milan, 1826)
Niobe (dramma eroico-mitologico, 2, Tottola), NC, 19 Nov 1826, *Mr*, *Nc**, *PEA*, excerpts (Milan, 1827)
Gli arabi nelle Gallie (mels, 2, Romanelli, after C.V.P. d'Arlincourt: *Le renégat*), MSC, 8 March 1827, *Bc*, *Mr*, *PEA**, vs (Milan, 1828); rev. with 7 new nos., Paris, Italien, 30 Jan 1855
Margherita regina d'Inghilterra (mels, 2, Tottola), NC, 19 Nov 1827, *Mr*, excerpts (Milan, 1828); also as Margherita d'Anjou
I cavalieri da Valenza (melodramma tragico, 2, Rossi), MSC, 11 June 1828, *Mc**, *Mr*, vs (Milan, ?1833)
I crociati in Tolemaide, ovv. Malek-Adel (mels, 2, C. Bassi), Trieste, Grande, 13 Nov 1828, *Mr**, *PEA*, excerpts (Milan, 1830); rev. as La morte di Malek-Adel, Rome, Apollo, 6 Feb 1832
Il talismano, o sia La terza crociata in Palestina (melodramma storica, 3, G. Barbieri, after W. Scott), MSC, 10 June 1829, *Mc**, *Mr*, *PEA*, vs (Milan, 1830 or 1831)
I fidanzati, ossia Il contestabile di Chester (mel, 3, D. Gilardoni, after Scott), NC, 19 Nov 1829, *Mc*, *Mr*, *Nc**, *Vt*, vs (Milan, ?1830)
Giovanna d'Arco (azione drammtica musicale, 2, Barbieri, after F. von Schiller), MSC, 14 March 1830, *Mc**, *Mr*, *PEA*, excerpts (Milan, 1830)
Il corsaro (melodramma romantico, 3, Ferretti, after Byron), Rome, Apollo, 15 Jan 1831, *Mc**, *Mr*, vs (Milan, 1831); rev. MSC, 10 Jan 1832
Il rinnegato portoghese (Gusmano d'Almeida), 1831 (os, Romanelli), supposedly for VF, unperf. [replaced by Ivanhoe]
Ivanhoe (mel, 2, Rossi, after Scott), VF, 19 March 1832, *Mc*, *Mr**, *Nc*, *PEA*, *Vt*, vs (Milan, 1832) [no connection with Rossini pasticcio, arr. A. Pacini]
Don Giovanni Tenorio, o Il convitato di pietra (fa, 2, G. Bertati), Viareggio, Casa Belluomo [private theatre], spr. 1832
Gli elvezi, ovvero Corrado di Tochemburgo (mel, 2, Rossi), NC, 12 Jan 1833, *Mr**, *Nc*, excerpts (Milan, n.d.)
Fernando duca di Valenza (mel, 1, P. Pola), NC, 30 May 1833, *Mr**
Irene, o L'assedio di Messina (mels, 3, 'Cirino da Palermo' [Rossi]), NC, 30 Nov 1833, *Mr*, *Nc**, excerpts (Milan, 1834)
Carlo di Borgogna (melodramma romantico, 3, Rossi), VF, 21 Feb 1835, *PEA*, *Vt*
Bellezza e cuor di ferro (dg, 2), Viareggio, Casa Belluomo, carn. 1835–6 [? revival of Rossini's Matilde Shabran, ossia Bellezza e cuor di ferro, for which Pacini wrote 3 nos.]
La foresta d'Hermanstadt (ob), private perf., Viareggio, 1839 [existence uncertain]
Furio Camillo (melodramma tragico, 3, Ferretti), Rome, Apollo, 26 Dec 1839, *Nc*, excerpts (Milan, 1841)
Saffo (tl, 3, S. Cammarano, after P. Beltrame), NC, 29 Nov 1840, *CATc*, *Mc*, *Mr*, *Nc**, vs (Milan, 1841)
L'uomo del mistero (melss, 2, D. Andreotti, after Scott), Naples, Nuovo, 9 Nov 1841, *Mr*, *Nc**, vs (Naples, n.d.), excerpts (Milan, n.d.)
Il duca d'Alba (tl, prologue and 2, G. Peruzzini and F.M. Piave), VF, 26 Feb 1842, *Mr**, *Nc*, *Vt*, vs (Milan, 1842); ?rev. as Adolfo di Werbel, NC, 4 Nov 1842
La fidanzata corsa (melodramma tragico, 3, Cammarano, after P. Mérimée: *Colomba*), NC, 10 Dec 1842, *Mc*, *Mr*, *Nc**, vs (Milan, ?1843)
Maria, regina d'Inghilterra (tl, 3, L. Tarantini, after V. Hugo: *Marie Tudor*), Palermo, Carolino, 11 Feb 1843, *Mc*, *Mr*, *Nc**, vs (Milan, ?1843)
Medea (tl, 3, B. Castiglia), Palermo, Carolino, 28 Nov 1843; rev. version, Vicenza, 1845, *Mr**, *Nc*, vs (Milan, n.d.)
Luisetta, o La cantatrice del molo [di Napoli] (melodramma giocoso, 2, Tarantini), Naples, Nuovo, 13 Dec 1843, *Mr*, *Nc*, *PEA*, excerpts (Milan, n.d.), vs (Naples, 1844) also as Luisella
L'ebrea (dramma lirico, 3, G. Sacchèro), MSC, 27 Feb 1844, *Mc*, *Mr**, *PEA*, vs (Naples, 1844), excerpts (Milan, 1844)
Lorenzino de' Medici (tl, 2 [4 pts], Piave), VF, 4 March 1845, *Nc*, *Vt*, vs (Naples, 1865); rev. as Elisa Valasco, Rome, Apollo, 3 Jan 1854; also rev. as Rolandino di Torresmondo, NC, 20 March 1858
Bondelmonte (tl, 3, Cammarano, after Voltaire), FP, 18 June 1845, *Mc*, *PEA*, vs (Milan, n.d.); also perf. as Buondelmonte
Stella di Napoli (dramma lirico, 3, Cammarano), NC, 11 Dec 1845, *Bc*, *Mr**, *Nc*, vs (Milan, 1846)
La regina di Cipro (dramma lirico, 4, F. Guidi), Turin, Regio, 7 Feb 1846, *Mr**, vs (Milan, 1846)
Merope (tl, 3, Cammarano, after Voltaire), NC, 25 Nov 1847, *Mr**, *Nc*, vs (Naples, 1848), excerpts (Milan, 1848)
Ester d'Engaddi (dramma tragico, 3, Guidi), Turin, Regio, 1 Feb 1848
Allan Cameron (mel, 4, Piave), VF, 21 March 1848, *Mr**, *Vt*, excerpts (Milan, n.d.)
Zaffira, o La riconciliazione (melodramma lirico, 3, A. de Leone), Naples, Nuovo, 14 Nov 1851, *Nc*
Malvina di Scozia (tl, 3, Cammarano), NC, 27 Dec 1851, *Mr*, *Nc*, vs (Naples, 1852)
L'assedio di Leida [Elnava] ?1852, (os, Piave), unperf.
Rodrigo di Valenza (os), for Palermo, Carolino, carn. 1852–3, unperf.; working title for Lidia di Brabante
Il Cid (tl, 3, A. de Lauzières), MSC, 12 March 1853, *Mc**
Lidia di Brabante (os, Gaetano [surname illegible]), unperf. [listed by Pacini in an MS list, 1859, as Palermo, Carolino, spr. 1853]; eventually given as La punizione
Romilda di Provenza (tl, 3, G. Micc), NC, 8 Dec 1853, *Nc**, *PEA*
La donna delle isole (os, Piave), for VF, carn. 1853–4, unperf. [replaced by La punizione]
La punizione (mel, 3, C. Perini), VF, 8 March 1854, *Vt*

Margherita Pusterla (mel, 2, D. Bolognese), NC, 25 Feb 1856 [possibly unperf.] *Nc*, *PEA*, excerpts (Rome, n.d.)
Niccolò de' Lapi (melodramma tragico, 3, C. Perini, after Cencetti: *La punizione*, 1854), announced in Rio de Janeiro, 1855, not perf. there, *BR-Rn*; 1st known perf. Florence, Pagliano, 29 Oct 1873; Act 1 *I-PLcon** (with orig. title, Lidia di Brusselle, deleted), complete copy *Fc*; much of its music probably taken from La punizione
Il saltimbanco (dramma lirico, 3, G. Checchetelli), Rome, Argentina, 24 May 1858, *Mr**, *Nc*, *PEA*, *Rsc*, vs (Milan, n.d.), vs (Naples, 1859)
Gianni di Nisida (dramma lirico, 4, Checchetelli), Rome, Apollo, 29 Oct 1860, *PEA**
Il mulattiere di Toledo (commedia lirica, 5, Cencetti), Rome, Apollo, 25 May 1861
Belfegor (melodramma fantastico, prologue and 4 pts, A. Lanari, after N. Machiavelli), FP, 1 Dec 1861, *PEA** [probably comp. 1851]
Carmelita, 1863 (os, Piave, after A. Dumas *père*: *Don Juan de Marana*), for MSC, unperf.; score identical to Don Diego di Mendoza except for names of characters
Don Diego di Mendoza (opera fantastica, 3, Piave), VF, 12 Jan 1867, *PEA*, *Vt**, excerpts (Milan, n.d.)
Berta di Varnol (dramma lirico, prologue and 3, Piave), NC, 6 April 1867 [partly comp. 1859]

Doubtful: La chiarina (fa, 1, Anelli), Venice, S Moisè, carn. 1815–16 [? a confusion with G. Farinelli's setting]; I virtuosi di teatro (fa, 1, Rossi), MR, 1817 [? by S. Mayr]; La bottega di caffè (ob, G. Foppa, after C. Goldoni), MR, 1817 [? F. Gardi]; Rinnegato portoghese, 1831; Belezza e cuor, 1835; Valeria, 1838 [by Sarmiento]; La foresta, 1839; L'orfana svizzera, 1848; Alfrida, *c*1850; I portoghesi nel Brasile, 1856

CANTATAS

La felicità del Lario (A. Anelli), Pavia, 1816
L'omaggio più grato (Anelli), Pavia, 1819
La reggia d'Astrea, Trieste, ?1821 [possibly same as Il puro omaggio]
Il puro omaggio, Trieste, for name day of Francis I of Austria, 4 Oct 1822
Il felice ritorno, Naples, S Carlo, for Francis I of Naples, July 1825
Cantata, Naples, S Carlo, for king's name day, 4 Oct 1825
Partenope, Naples, S Carlo, ?1826
L'annunzio felice, Naples, S Carlo, for the betrothal of Maria Cristina of Naples and Ferdinand VII of Spain, 9 Sept 1829
Cantata for the marriage of Prince Ferdinand of Austria and Anna Maria of Saxony
Cantata, Naples, S Carlo, for the accession of Ferdinand II, 8 Nov 1830
Il felice imeneo (G. Rossi), Naples, S Carlo, 3 Dec 1832 [with ballet by Pacini]
Cantata, Viareggio, in presence of Duke of Lucca and Queen Isabella of Spain, 1837
Cantata (dall'Olio), Rome, Campidoglio, in honour of Pius IX, 1847 or 1848
La ronde della Guardia civica (F. Schmidt), Venice, La Fenice, 1848
Cantata (A. de Lauzières), Rio de Janeiro, for the emperor's name day, 1851
Cantata, for the assumption of the throne by Napoleon III, Dec 1852 or 1853
Cantata, Bologna, in honour of Pius IX, 1857
Rossini e la patria (Mercantini), Pesaro, 22 Aug 1864
L'Italia cattolica (V. de Cesari), not perf.
1 section in In morte di Maria Malibran (A. Piazza), Milan, La Scala, 17 March 1837, collab. Donizetti, Coppola, Mercadante, Vaccai; autograph *I-Mr*, vs (Milan, 1837)

SACRED

Orats: Il trionfo della religione, Longiano, 1838; Il trionfo di Giuditta (G.R. Abate), composed 1852 [perf. posth., Catania 1869]; Sant'Agnese (Prinzivalli), 1857 as Il trionfo della fede, Lucca, 1858; La distruzione di Gerusalemme (S. Fioretti), Florence, 27 June 1858; Il carcere Mamertino (F. Massi), Rome, sum. 1867
Masses: for the Madonna del Castello, Milan, 1822; 8vv, 1827; for Pacini's pupils, Viareggio, 1835; 1 unacc., many for 3vv, 4vv, 8vv, orch, some with org, db, all after 1837; 1 with str, harp, org, 1865
Requiems: c, 4vv, orch, org (Milan, 1843); for Michele Puccini, 1864; for the proposed transference of Bellini's remains, 1864
Others: Vespers, for Pacini's pupils, Viareggio, ?1835; many vespers, 4vv, 8vv, orch, after 1837; Miserere, 4vv, unacc., for the papal choir (Milan, n.d.); Miserere, vv, va, vc, Bologna, 1857; De profundis, motets, hymns, etc.

OTHER WORKS

Vocal: Ov., choruses for Sophocles: Oedipus, Vicenza, 15 Sept 1847, vs (Milan, 1848); Inno pel vicerè d'Egitto (C.F. de' Pellegrini), 1864; Inno a Guido d'Arezzo, vv, orch, Florence, Pergola, 1865 (Florence, *c*1865); Canto del prigionero (Montanelli), Fucecchio, 1866; L'amante alla tomba, serenata, ?1816 (Milan, *c*1820); Album of songs, Rome, 1822; 6 romanze; 2 other song albums; many separate songs, arias, etc.
Inst: Sinfonia Dante, orch, pf, 1863), perf. Florence, Pergola, 1865 (Florence, ?1864): 1 Inferno, 2 Purgatorio, 3 Paradiso, 4 Il ritorno trionfale di Dante sulla terra; 6 str qts, *c*1860–63, incl. no.2 (Turin, n.d.), no.4 (Florence, 1863); Octet, 3 vn, ob, bn, hn, vc, db, *c*1860–63; 3 Trios, pf, vn, vc, 1864–5; trios, qts for pf, fl, ob, bn, Milan, ?1815; other chbr works, incl. many duets

WRITINGS

Cenni storici sulla musica e trattato di contrappunto (Lucca, 1834)
Sulla originalità della musica melodrammatica italiana del sec. XVIII: ragionamento (Lucca, 1841)
Corso teorico-pratico di lezioni di armonia (Milan, 1845)
Principi elementari col metodo del Meloplasto (Lucca, 1849)
Memoria sul migliore indirizzo degli studii musicali (Florence, 1863)
Lettera ai municipi italiani per una scuola musicale (n.p., 1863)
Progetto pei giovani compositori (n.p., 1863)
Vita di Guido d'Arezzo (?1865)
Le mie memorie artistiche (Florence, 1865); ed. F. Magnani (Florence, 1875/*R* in BMB, section3, lix) [incl. posth. new material and work-list]
Discourses on various occasions (1862, 1865 [in morte di Michele Puccini], 1867)
Articles in *Boccherini*, *Gazzetta musicale di Firenze*, *Gazzetta musicale di Napoli*, *GMM*, *Il Pirata*, *L'arpa*, *La scena*

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L. Lianovosani [G. Salvioli]: 'Serie cronologica delle opere teatrali, cantate ed oratori del maestro Giovanni Comm. Pacini', *GMM*, xxxi (1876), 215, 223, 253, 300, 337, 351, 377, 393, 410, 418
A. Ghislanzoni: 'Giovanni Pacini', *Libro serio* (Milan, 1879), 49–76
O. Chilesotti: *I nostri maestri del passato: note biografiche sui più grandi musicisti italiani da Palestrina a Bellini* (Milan, 1882), 422–31
J. Carlez: *Pacini et l'opéra italien* (Caen, 1888)
Giovanni Pacini (Pescia, 1896)
R. Barbiera: 'Giovanni Pacini e un suo carteggio inedito, 131–43', *Immortali e dimenticati* (Milan, 1901)
M. Davini: *Il maestro Giovanni Pacini* (Palermo, 1927)
R. Barbiera: ' Paolina Bonaparte e la sua passione per il Maestro Pacini',*Vite ardenti nel teatro (1700–1900)* (Milan, 1931), 78–107
A. Cametti: *La musica teatrale a Roma cento anni fa: 'Il corsaro' di Pacini* (Rome, 1931) [orig. pubd in *R. Accademia di Santa Cecilia: annuario 1930–31*]
F. Lippmann: 'Giovanni Pacini: Bemerkungen zum Stil seiner Opern',*Chigiana*, new ser., iv (1967), 111–24
R. Profeta: 'Giovanni Pacini e la *Saffo*', *L'opera*, no.6 (1967), 31–5
G. Ugolini: ' Pacini alle origini del melodramma ottocentesco', *L'opera*, no.6 (1967), 22–9
G. Kessler: ' Giovanni Pacini "Sappho"', *OW*, ix (July 1968), 40–41
F. Lippmann: 'Vincenzo Bellini und die italienische Opera seria seiner Zeit', *AnMc*, no.6 (1969), 317–28
M. Rose: 'A Note on Giovanni Pacini', *MT*, cxxiv (1983), 163–4
P. Gossett: Introduction to G. Pacini: *Saffo* and excerpts from *Furio Camillo*, IOG, xxxvi (1986)
P. Gossett: Introduction to G. Pacini: *L'ultimo giorno di Pompei* and excerpts from *Niobe*, IOG, xxxii (1986)
G. Carli Ballola: 'Gli esercizi spirituali del "maestro delle cabalette"', *Chigiana*, xxxviii (1987), 101–11
M. Cervelló: 'Giovanni Pacini: los años de formacion', *Monsalvat*, cxlix (1987), 20–22
J. Commons: 'Giovanni Pacini and "Maria Tudor"', *Donizetti Society Journal*, vi (1988), 57–92

J. Black: 'The Eruption of Vesuvius in Pacini's *L'ultimo giorno di Pompei*', *Donizetti Society Journal*, vi (1988), 93–104
T.G. Kaufman: 'Giovanni Pacini', *Verdi and his Major Contemporaries* (New York and London, 1990), 117–54
D. Gallo: *Giovanni Pacini's 'Giuditta': the Dramatic Possibilities of the Oratoria* (diss., Catholic U. of America, 1997)
T.G. Kaufman: 'Giovanni Pacini: an Old Composer for the New Millennium?', *OQ*, xvi (2000), forthcoming

S.L. BALTHAZAR (text, bibliography), MICHAEL ROSE/ S.L. BALTHAZAR (work-list, with THOMAS G. KAUFMAN)

Pacini, Regina (*b* Lisbon, 6 Jan 1871; *d* Buenos Aires, 18 Sept 1965). Portuguese soprano. She came from a family of musicians, her father, José Pacini (who was also her first teacher), being a well-known baritone and director of the S Carlos at Lisbon, where Regina made her début in 1888 as the heroine of *La sonnambula*. The following year she appeared in Milan and Palermo and in James Mapleson's last season at Her Majesty's in London. She quickly became a favourite in Spain, singing also in the 1890s in Russia, Poland and South America. In 1902 she reappeared in London, singing at Covent Garden with Caruso in *L'elisir d'amore* and *Lucia*, and was praised by the *Musical Times* for 'vocal agility such as this generation seldom hears'. She was again Caruso's partner at Monte Carlo in 1904, and in 1905 sang there in *I puritani* and *Il barbiere* with Bonci. At the height of her career in 1907 she retired and married Marcelo de Alvear (later president of Argentina), which enabled her to exercise an influence on the musical life of the country. Her recordings are rarely without some flaw of voice or style but she is impressively fluent; the upper part of her voice is particularly lovely. (*GV*, R. Celletti)

J.B. STEANE

Paciorkiewicz, Tadeusz (*b* Sierpc, 17 Oct 1916; *d* Warsaw, 21 Nov, 1998). Polish composer, organist and teacher. He studied the organ with Rutkowski in Warsaw (1936–43) and after the war he was a composition pupil of Sikorski at the Łódź State College of Music. Teaching appointments followed at the conservatories of Łódź (1949–59) and Warsaw (from 1959). He was also active as an organist and choral conductor. His compositions maintain an ambience of lyrical melodiousness and harmonic simplicity; the best of them have a late Romantic rhapsodic expansiveness.

WORKS
(*selective list*)

Dramatic: Legenda warszawska (ballet, 2, I. Turska), 1959; Ushiko (radio op, Z. Kopalko, after ancient Jap.), 1962; Ligea (radio op, 1, Kopalko, after Herodotus and Archilochus), 1964; Romans z gdańsk (op, 4, W. Brégy, after J. Deotyma), 1966; incid music, film scores

Orch: Suita kurpiowska [Kurpie Suite], small orch, 1948; Pf Conc. no.1, 1952; Syms. no.1, 1953; Pf Conc. no.2, 1954; Vn Conc., 1955; Sym. no.2, 1957; Adagio and Allegro, str, 1966; Org Conc., 1967; Trbn Conc., 1971; Va Conc., 1976; Conc. alla barocco, hpd, bhbr orch, 1978; Conc., hp, fl, str, 1979; Ob Conc., 1982; Double Vn Conc., 1984; Tpt Conc., 1986; Org Conc., str, 1988; Conc., va, org, orch, 1989; Sym. no.3, 1989; Sym. no.4, 1992

Vocal: Weight of the Earth, 5 songs, S, orch, 1965; Music for S and Str Orch, 1966–7; De revolutionibus (orat, S. Połom), 4 solo vv, spkr, boys' chorus, chorus, org, orch, 1973; Śpiewy o Warszawie, chorus, orch, 1980; Litania polska, chorus, 1984; 5 pieśni [5 songs] (K.I. Gałczyński), high v, pf, 1990; other songs; choral songs

Chbr and solo inst: Org Sonata, 1947; Wind Qnt, 1951; Sonatina, bn, pf, 1953; Sonata, vn, pf, 1954; Sonatina, 2 vn, 1955; Phantasy, vn, pf, 1957; 4 Capriccios, cl, pf, 1960; Str Qt no.1, 1960; Duo concertante, org, pf, 1962; Music for Hp, Wind, 1963; Ww Trio, 1963; Trio, fl, va, hp, 1966; 2 Improvisations, org, 1968; Suite, 4 hn, 1971; Pf Qnt, 1972; 6 Miniatures, 4 trbn, 1972; Sonata, vc, pf, 1975; Triptychon, org, 1976; Muzyka kameralna, 2 brass qts, 1978; Preludium, wind qnt ,1980; Andante, vn, org, 1982; Str Qt no.2, 1982; Decet, wind, str, 1987; Refleksje, tpt, org, 1987; Sonata, va, pf, 1988; Dialogi, org, hp, 1990; other org pieces

Principal publisher: PWM

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MIECZYSŁAWA HANUSZEWSKA/R

Paciotto [Paciotti], **Pietro Paolo** (*b* Tivoli, *c*1550; *d* Rome or Tivoli, after 1614). Italian composer. He was in Melfi in 1582. In 1585 he was *maestro di cappella* of the Collegio Inglese in Rome, and shortly before 1591, probably in June 1589, he became *maestro di cappella* of the Seminario Romano. He probably still held this appointment in 1591, but definitely left it before 1601. From August 1611 to 1614 he was *vicemaestro di cappella* of Tivoli Cathedral.

His *Missarum liber primus*, the first edition of which is lost, is dedicated to Cardinal Rusticuccio, papal vicar and patron of the Seminario. His sacred music is written in the classical polyphonic style of the period; his *Missa 'Si bona suscepimus'*, based on a motet by Lassus, uses the opening subject of the motet at the beginning of each section, but borrows no other material from the model.

WORKS

Il primo libro de madrigali, 6vv (Venice, 1582)
Missarum liber primus, 4, 5vv (Rome, 2/1591)
Motecta festorum totius anni ... liber primus, 5vv (Rome, 1601)

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T. Culley: 'Musical Activity in some Sixteenth Century Jesuit Colleges, with Special Reference to the Venerable English College in Rome from 1579 to 1589', *AnMc*, no.19 (1979), 1–29

RUTH I. DEFORD

Pacius, Fredrik [Friedrich] (*b* Hamburg, 19 March 1809; *d* Helsinki, 8 Jan 1891). Finnish composer of German birth. He studied the violin under Spohr and composition under Hauptmann at Kassel. From 1828 to 1834 he was violinist in the court orchestra in Stockholm, but in 1835 he settled in Helsinki as lecturer in music at the university, where he received an honorary doctorate in 1877.

Pacius became a central figure in Finland's musical life. He organized symphony concerts and conducted choirs, notably the Akademiska Sångföreningen. His compositions, influenced by Mendelssohn and Spohr, include vocal and stage music, an early string quartet, a violin concerto and the first movement of a symphony. His most important work is the Singspiel *Kung Karls jakt* ('The Hunt of King Charles', 1852); less successful were his incidental music for Topelius' fairy tale *Princessan af Cypern* ('The Princess of Cyprus', 1860), commissioned for and performed at the inauguration of the New Theatre in Helsinki, and the opera *Die Loreley*, with a libretto originally written for Mendelssohn. His patriotic songs include *Soldatgossen* ('Soldier Boy', 1858) and *Suomis Sång* ('Song of Finland', 1854), and his setting of J.L.

Runeberg's Swedish poem *Vårt land* ('Our Country', 1848) was adopted as Finland's national anthem (*Maamme*).

WORKS
(*selective list*)

Stage: Kung Karls jakt [The Hunt of King Charles] (op, 3, Z. Topelius), Helsinki, 24 March 1852; Veteranens jul [The Veteran's Christmas] (incid music, 1, Topelius), Helsinki, 4 Feb 1859; Princessan af Cypern [The Princess of Cyprus] (incid music, 4, Topelius), Helsinki, 28 Nov 1860; Die Loreley (op, 2, E. Geibel), Helsinki, 28 April 1887

Vocal: 6 Lieder, 1824; 6 Lieder, *c*1826; 5 Lieder, 1839; Die Weihe der Töne (melodrama, C. Pfeiffer), 1839; Tod im Tode (melodrama, W. Hocker), 1844; 7 Gesänge, 1845; 20 Kinderlieder, 1873; partsongs for male, female and mixed vv; cants. for choir, orch

Inst: Str Qt, 1826; Ov., 1826; Festmarsch, *c*1840; Variations on 'Studenter äro muntra bröder', vn, orch, 1842; Vn Conc., 1845; Sym. (1st movt), 1850; Adagio, cl, str, 1859

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J. Rosas: *Fredrik Pacius som tonsättare* [Pacius as composer] (Åbo, 1949) [incl. work-list]
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ILKKA ORAMO

Pack, Simon (*b* London, 31 Dec 1654; *d* Prestwood, Leics., 2 April 1701). English composer. He served in the army in 1678 and 1679 and again from 1685 to 1701, latterly as lieutenant-colonel. Between 1680 and 1684, when he was probably on half pay, he made quite a reputation for himself as a composer of play songs, contributing items to Dryden's *The Spanish Friar* (1680), Behn's *The Rover* (1681), D'Urfey's *The Injured Princess* (1682), Dryden and Lee's *The Duke of Guise* (1682), Otway's *The Atheist* (1683) and Southerne's *The Disappointment* (1684). In all, 18 songs (mostly in tuneful triple time) were printed in various collections from 1679 onwards; the best representation is in *Choice Ayres and Songs* (RISM 1679^{7}–1684^{3}; ed. in MLE, A5, 1989) and *The Theater of Music* (books 1 and 2, 1685^{5}–1685^{6}; ed. in MLE, A1, 1983). Manuscript sources include two in the British Library, London (Add.19759, 29397). His portrait is reproduced in W. Thorp: *Songs from the Restoration Theatre* (Princeton, 1934).

IAN SPINK

Pack [Packe, Pakke, Parke], **Thomas** (*fl* 1489–99). English composer. His music survives only in the later parts of the Ritson Manuscript (*GB-Lbl* Add.5665). In three cases the scribe gave him the title 'Syr'; without the further qualification '*miles*' or 'knight' this merely implies that its holder was in holy orders. The connection of this manuscript with the south-west of England suggests that Pack is likely to be the man of that name who, from at least 1490 to the summer of 1499, was the chantry priest of the Bitton and Kilkenny chantry in Exeter Cathedral. He was probably also a clerk of the Lady Chapel. He was ordained priest on 31 March 1487 in St Mary Redcliffe, Bristol, by Bishop John Stillington as having title to the Exeter chantry; but since he does not appear in the Exeter post for two or three years, it is possible that the name of Thomas Borneby (who does) is an alias of his (N. Orme, unpublished research). If he was ordained at the usual age of 24, Pack would have been born around 1463. Miller discovered an Inquisition post mortem of 1488–9 naming a Thomas Pakke, clerk, who since 1481 had shared in a reversionary interest in the manor of 'Malverseres', near Norfolk, and Kent found the will of a Sir Thomas Parke, curate of Filstow (Felixstowe, Suffolk), made on 15 August 1517 and proved on 29 May 1518. 'Parke' is a plausible variant of 'Packe', but his will does not mention music.

Pack's compositions show a surprising variety of style and technique. His two short masses are among the few examples of the English polyphonic Ordinary surviving from the later 15th century. Both are rather flimsy specimens of three-part writing and distantly resemble the secular songs of Walter Frye. The *Missa 'Rex summe'* takes its name from the Sarum Kyrie (sung at simple feasts without the words of the trope), though the chant is not used. Kyrie, Gloria and Credo are composed in short sections designed to alternate with others in plainchant. The title may perhaps be explained by the fact that Pack repeated the thematic material of the Kyrie in each of the later movements, which may thus be considered as parodies of the first.

The *Missa 'Gaudete in Domino'* begins each of its five movements with the same head-motif. The chant for the antiphon of the same name is not used; possibly the mass parodies a now lost motet on this text. Headed 'xii notys cumpas', the mass is for men's voices. After the alternatim Kyrie, the music is more continuous and ambitious than in the *Missa 'Rex summe'*, but Pack does not seem to have been at his happiest working on this scale and was often content to go on repeating the same clichés that he had exhausted in the former mass.

He was at his best with shorter, closed forms. The *Nunc dimittis* is based on chant and includes the antiphon *Lumen ad revelationem gentium*, which alternated with the verses of the canticle before the procession at Candlemas. The first half of each verse is left in plainchant. The elaborate five-part polyphony recalls the music of the Eton Choirbook, as does the five-voice refrain 'Te Dominum confitemur' of Pack's *Te Deum*. This is not, however, a normal Latin setting of the hymn. The text has been translated into English, with a few lines left in Latin, and arranged into four-line rhyming stanzas after the manner of a carol. The first verse, 'Te Deum ... confitemur', half in plainchant and half a setting of a common faburden, acts as a burden. The verses are often built on melodic material related to the faburden, though for the passage where the Latin hymn quotes the Sanctus Pack reverted to the original chant. At 'Cryst kinge of joy' (i.e. *Tu rex glorie*, where the hymn changes to a different chant) Pack provided alternative settings for verses 14–17, one monophonic and one for three voices, still using the same melody as before; for the remaining verses he gave the words but no music. A similar use of 'Te Deum ... confitemur' with chant and faburden as the burden of a carol may be seen in *Medieval Carols*, MB, iv, no.95.

Gaude sancta Magdalena seems much later in style than Pack's other music. The text remains unidentified, apparently a sequence. The upper parts move in clear, simple rhythms; only the rather eccentric bass reminds one of the 15th century.

WORKS

all in GB-Lbl Add.5665

2 masses [both with Kyrie]: Rex summe, 3vv; Gaudete in Domino, 3vv
Nunc dimittis [with antiphon Lumen ad revelationem gentium], 5vv
Motet: Gaude sancta Magdalena, 3vv
Macaronic carol: Te Deum: We prayse thee, 5vv

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BRIAN TROWELL

Packer, Charles (Stuart Shipley) Sandys (*b* Reading, 1810; *d* Paddington, NSW, 13 July 1883). Australian organist and composer of British birth. He graduated in 1832 from the RAM, where he studied composition and singing, and his abilities were reputedly recognized by such visiting composers as Mendelssohn, Weber, Hummel and Thalberg. His first composition, an aria from Metastasio's *La morte d'Abel*, was performed at Hanover Square in 1828, and in 1835 his opera *Sadak and Kalasrade* had some success at the Lyceum (English Opera House) as one of the new 'English Romantic operas' being produced by Arnold. He was transported to Norfolk Island for forgery, arriving in May 1840, and in 1844 he moved to Hobart, where he was permitted to teach and give piano recitals. He received a conditional pardon in 1850; in 1853 he settled in Sydney, and for the next 30 years, describing himself as a professor of music, he made frequent appearances as organist in the major Sydney music festivals. Several of his patriotic songs were published at that time. Again convicted, for bigamy, in 1863, he composed sacred music in Darlinghurst gaol until he was released in 1867, but his fortunes continued to decline. Few of his organ works and anthems were published, and his reputation as a colonial composer rests mainly on a controversial oratorio depicting Christ, *The Crown of Thorns* (composed 1863 and revived in 1879–80 at the Sydney International Exhibition), which recalls the choral style of Rossini and Mendelssohn.

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(*selective list*)

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The Crown of Thorns, or Despair, Penitence and Pardon (orat, C.S. Packer), 1863, Sydney, *c*1867, vs (London, *c*1880), MS at Mitchell Library, Sydney

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ELIZABETH WOOD

Padbrué [Patbrué, Patbru, Padt Brue, Pabbruwe], **Cornelis Thymanszoon** (*b* Haarlem, *c*1592; *d* Haarlem, bur. 18 Jan 1670). Dutch composer. He came from a musical family: Noske (1969) ascribed ten or 11 pieces in the Thysius Lutebook (*NL-Lu*) to his uncle David Janszoon Padbrué (*c*1553–1635) who worked as a lutenist at Leiden. (A fragment of a complete setting of the Dutch psalter by David also survives – see Balfoort.) In 1610 he and his brother, who both played the schalmei, became city musicians at Haarlem. He was appointed first schalmei player in 1629, receiving the title 'master'; he also taught the harpsichord to the blind of the Reformed Church parish. He seems to have quarrelled frequently, especially with other city musicians, and this led the authorities to dismiss him in 1635. There is no further record of his employment, but all save one of his known volumes of music were published after this date. No music dating from the last 24 years of his life has survived. The only collection for which all the partbooks are extant is the *Kruisbergh*; the *Kusjes* (1641 edn), some sacred songs, and parts of *De tranen* are also complete enough to allow evaluation or performance. The last-named is by far the most mature and important of Padbrué's extant volumes; it is furthermore the only surviving example of *stile rappresentativo* composed in the Dutch Republic. The *Kusjes*, to translations of the erotic Latin *Basia* by the Dutchman Janus Secundus (1511–36), are part of the meagre repertory of madrigals on Dutch texts. Padbrué's music shows an accomplished technique (the *Kruisbergh* includes a motet for eight voices, four of which are in canon), but it is stylistically old-fashioned in its frequent madrigalisms, more descriptive than expressive. He wrote the words for a few of his pieces.

WORKS

Kusjes, in 't Latijn gheschreven door Ioannes Secundus, ende in duytsche vaersen ghesteldt door Iacob Westerbaen, 3–4vv, bc (Haarlem, 1631); enlarged edn, 3–5vv, bc (Amsterdam, 1641); ed. in MMN, v (1962)
I.V. Vondels Kruisbergh, 4–5vv, bc, en Klaght over de tweedraght der Christe princen, 3vv, bc (Amsterdam, 1640); also contains four Latin motets; De Kruisbergh, ed. in UVNM, xlii (1931)
Synphonia in nuptias ... D.I. Everswyn et ... Luciae Buys celebrandas in nono calendas May 1641, Harlemi Batavorum (Amsterdam, 1641); inst music in 5 pts, inc.; ed. R. Rasch (Utrecht, 1985)
Synphonia in nuptias ... Mathaei Steyn et Mariae van Napels celebrandas Februarii IV, anno 1642, Harlemi Batavorum (Amsterdam, 1642); inst music in 5 pts, inc.; ed. R. Rasch (Utrecht, 1985)
't Lof van Jubal, eerste boeck, 4–6vv, bc, op.3 (Amsterdam, 1643); Tweede boeck, 3–6vv, bc, op.4 (Amsterdam, 1645); texts by Vondel, Westerbaen, Cats, van Baerle etc.; both vols. inc.
Eere-krans voor Constantin Sohier en Catharina Koymans, echtelijck vereenight op den lesten May 1643 in Beverwijck, 1–2vv, bc (Amsterdam, 1643), text by Padbrué; inc.
De tranen Petri ende Pauli, 2–5vv, bc (Amsterdam, 1646), based on text fragments from Vondel's play Peter en Pauwels; some 1–2vv sections complete in surviving partbooks, otherwise inc.
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RANDALL H. TOLLEFSEN/RUDOLF A. RASCH

Padbrué, David Janszoon (*b* Haarlem, *c*1553; *d* Amsterdam, bur. 19 Feb 1635). Dutch composer, singer and lutenist. He was a member of an important family of musicians in Haarlem; his father, Jan Janszoon Padbrué (Jenning de Sangher) (*c*1520–82), was a countertenor at the Bavokerk, and his brother, Thyman Janszoon (*c*1555–1627), a town piper. As a child he sang in the choir at the Bavokerk. From 1562 until 1570 he was a member of the Capilla Flamenca in Madrid. Apparently Philip II appreciated his services for he granted him several prebends at Delft, The Hague and Haarlem. From 1580 Padbrué studied literature at the University of Leiden. In his marriage certificate of 1587 he is still mentioned as a master of music and as a lute maker. A few months later he set up as a flax merchant in Amsterdam.

In the so-called Luitboek van Thysius (*NL-Lu*) there are some ten song arrangements by 'Mr David', attributed by Noske to David Padbrué; they are charming but unorthodox and amateurish compositions.

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P. ANDRIESSEN

Padding, Martijn (*b* Amsterdam, 24 April 1956). Dutch composer. He studied musicology and sonology at Utrecht University and undertook piano studies with Fania Chapiro. At The Hague Royal Conservatory he studied composition with Andriessen and instrumentation with Geert van Keulen. Before becoming a full-time composer, he was for several years a pianist for the National Academy for Ballet, and also worked with modern dancers such as Krisztina de Châtel, Beppie Blankert and Bianca van Dillen.

Padding, like Stravinsky and his teacher Andriessen, believes that music is about the music of others; he feels that the many different types of music in the post-serial years have led to an 'age of stylelessness'. His music is related to the anti-Romantic and post-minimalist aesthetics of The Hague school, but also draws inspiration from Mahler's juxtaposition of popular and art-music styles. In his large orchestral work *Scharf abreissen* (1995), part of a trilogy including *Nicht eilen, nicht schleppen* (1993) and *Jesu, erbarme Dich noch einmal* (1993), he juxtaposes two-part Renaissance-like chorales with sections of irregular, 'psychotic' rhythmical chord progressions inspired by the music of Thelonious Monk, and with sections of music of greater hysteria and bombast recalling Mahler and Brahms. He strives for an uninhibited manner of composing, which is nevertheless always dominated and guided by harmonic principles. In his trilogy, for example, a matrix of six six-part chords is the unifying harmonic framework which allows the music to modulate between diatonic and chromatic textures.

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Vocal: Nicht eilen, nicht schleppen, 1v, ens, 1993; Jesu, erbarme Dich noch einmal, chorus, orch, 1993; Nederland-Muziekland, S, pf, 1994; Ballad, 1v, ens, 1995; Man on the Mountain, 1v, 2 elec gui, kbd, db, cl/t sax, perc, 1998; Speculum inversum, S, elec gui, elec b gui, kbd, a sax, t sax, perc, 1999
Orch, ens and chbr: Ritorno, sax qt, 1988; Remote Places, wind ens, 1989; Shuffle, a fl, t sax, hp, pf, vn, va, 1990; Dramm, str qt, 1990; 20 to 21, 2 vc, 1991; In Pairs, rec qt, 1992; Öde, theatre music, fl, tpt, vn, vc, pf, perc, 1993; Harmonypricker, fl, pf, 1994; Scharf abreissen, orch, 1995; Kwintet, wind or other insts, 1996; Volkskrant contrapunt, ens/orch, 1996; Fix-us, s sax, elec gui, synth, perc, vc, db, 1997; Five Neo-Neos, t sax, pf, 1997; Manifeste simple pour un écriture linéaire, ens, 1999
Solo inst: Blend, pf, 1991, rev. 1992; Solokoraal, trbn, 1996; Laid Back, pf, 1997; Bien mesuré bien, hpd, 1998; so-Solo, pic, 1998; Give me one more night, vc, 1998

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MICHAEL H.S. VAN EEKEREN

Pade, Else Marie (*b* Århus, 2 Dec 1924). Danish composer. After participating in the resistance during World War II, she trained as a pianist at the Kongelige Danske Musikkonservatorium in Copenhagen. Her first composition teacher was Vagn Holmboe; later she had lessons in 12-note technique with Jan Maegaard. Primarily inspired by Pierre Schaeffer's *A la recherche d'une musique concrète* (1952) and taking advantage of the facilities at Danish Radio, where she was employed from 1952, she became the first Danish composer to write electronic music, beginning sound experiments in 1954. Through a series of radio lectures in 1959 she introduced listeners to electronic music and *musique concrète*. From 1958 to 1960 she was chairman of Aspect, an association for experimental arts. In the late 1970s she participated in a research project at the National Hospital in Copenhagen, where *musique concrète* was used to stimulate the imagination of mentally handicapped children. Her output, which includes ballets, other theatre works and music for films, is characterized by a diversity of delicately polished *concrète* and electronic sounds within a somewhat narrow dramatic spectrum. The fantastic character of her music is particularly evident in her musical illustration of fairy tale recitations on radio, such as her setting of Andersen's *The Little Mermaid*. In 1980 Pade's description of the history of Teresa of Avila in a 60-minute church play revealed her gift for sympathetic insight and delight in story-telling. Her children's opera *Far, mor og børn* ('Father, Mother and Children', 1974) won second prize in a competition organized by Scandinavian opera companies.

WORKS
(*selective list*)

Dramatic: Far, mor og børn [Father, Mother and Children] (children's op), 1974; see also elec works
Inst: Conc., tpt, orch, 1954; Parametre, str orch, 1962; Historien om skabelsen [The Story about Creation], toy insts, 1969; Efterklange [Echoes], perc, 1984; see also elec works
Vocal: Tullerulle Tappenstreg, children's songs, 1951; 4 Anon. Songs, A, cl, 1955; Volo spa hoc est, female chorus, 1956
Elec, el-ac: En dag på Dyrehavsbakken [A Day at Dyrehavsbakken] (TV film score), 1954–5; 6 eventyr [6 Fairy-Tales] (incid music for radio), 1955–6; Den lille Havfrue [The Little Mermaid], 1957–8; Syv Cirkler [7 Circles], 1958; Symphonie magnétophonique, 1958–9; Glasperlespil [Glass Bead Game], 1960; Afsnit I–III [Sections I–III], vn, 11 perc insts, elec, 1960; Vikingerne (film score), 1961; Faust, suite, 1962; Symphonie heroica, 1962; Graesstrået [The Blade of Grass] (TV ballet), vn, prep pf, elec, 1964; Immortella (ballet pantomime), 7 perc insts, elec, 1969–70; Mana, 1972; Teresa af Avila (incid music, church play), 1980

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INGE BRULAND

Pade, Steen (*b* Copenhagen, 24 April 1956). Danish composer. After studying piano and composition with Nørholm and others at the Royal Danish Conservatory (1974–80), he continued composition studies with Nørgård and Rasmussen at the Jutland Conservatory, Århus (1983–6). He has since occupied important administrative positions in Danish music, serving as director of the Århus NUMUS Festival (1985–6), musical director of the Århus SO (1989–93) and principal of the Royal Danish Conservatory. In his early works, such as *Handlung* (1976), Pade explored serial modernism. An encounter with the music of Gudmundsen-Holmgreen led to a reorientation towards the New Simplicity (*Ny Enkelhed*) and a fresh perspective on the classical tradition. In a number of works, including the piano work *Florilegium* (1979), the String Quartet no.1 (1980) and the orchestral work *Arcus* (1981–4), the basic elements of tonality are re-examined and integrated along with other elements into montages.

Still, Pade's awareness of tradition manifests itself less in the extensive use of quotations and collage than as a glimmer of something familiar which captures the listener's curiosity. As Pade himself asks, 'are the allusions the music itself or rather are they found objects within an abstract construction?'. The Piano Concerto (1984–5) shows a greater concern with detail than with overriding structure, while remaining within the framework of neoclassical thinking. In later works such as *Spindelvaev* (1987) for accordion and orchestra, the earlier reserve appears to have been replaced by a more insistent, almost aggressive style of composition. Pade's other important works include two symphonies, two further string quartets and chamber music.

WORKS
(*selective list*)

Orch: Handlung, chbr orch, 1976; Sym. no.1, pf, orch, 1979; Arcus, 1981, rev. 1984; Sym. no.2, 1981; Pf Conc., 1984–5; Spindelvaev [The Spider's Web], accdn, orch, 1987; Hymne og klagesang [Hymn and Elegy], 1989–90

Vocal-inst: Sonet (R.M. Rilke), S, pf, 1981; 4 arier fra 'Kongens fald' (J.V. Jensen), S, vn, gui, 1985–6; Dunkelspiel (Rilke), Mez, elec gui, perc, 1986; 4 Songs (E. Dickinson), S, pf, 1994–5; Am Abend, Bar, orch, 1995–6

Chbr: Str Qt no.1, 1980; Reconnaissance, str qt, pf, 1982, rev. 1983; Str Qt no.2, 1983, rev. 1986; Nature morte (Str Qt no.3), 1985; Lamento, vn, va, vc, pf, 1989, rev. 1994

Solo inst: Passacaglia, pf, 1978; Florilegium, 5 movts, pf, 1979; 6 Gothic Pieces, org, 1981; Udflugt med omveje [Excursion with Detours], accdn, 1984; Pf Sonata no.2, 1988, rev. 1994; Sørgemarch [Funeral March], org, 1992

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ERIK H.A. JAKOBSEN

Paderewski, Ignacy Jan (*b* Kursk, Podolia, 6/18 Nov 1860; *d* New York, 29 June 1941). Polish pianist, composer and statesman.

1. LIFE. He was born to Jan Paderewski, a land agent of modest means but noble extraction, and Poliksena Nowicka, who died shortly after he was born. His earliest years were spent with his father and sister in a small manor house near Zhitomir in Podolia, but following the arrest of his father (suspected of participation in the 1863 uprising) he moved to the home of an aunt and from there to Sudyłkow near Szepetowska (now Shepetovka), where his father, now released and remarried, had secured employment. At an early age he took lessons with Piotr Sowiński, but in most essentials he was self-taught, and he quickly gained a reputation as a gifted pianist and outstanding improviser. In the summer of 1872, in his 12th year, he was taken to Warsaw where he was admitted to the Music Institute (Conservatory). He graduated in 1878. For some years Paderewski earned a meagre income in Warsaw from teaching and composing. They were difficult years. He married in 1880, but his wife died in childbirth and their son Alfred was born disabled. Moreover his career showed little sign of taking off, until, in Berlin, he made the acquaintance of Richard Strauss and Anton Rubinstein among others. Rubinstein gave him badly needed encouragement to pursue a career as a pianist and composer, and by the mid-1880s Paderewski was beginning to net a tolerable income from the sale of published salon pieces of admittedly mediocre quality.

The breakthrough in Paderewski's early development was a visit to Vienna, where he took lessons from Leschetizky. This proved the passport to a teaching post at the Strasbourg Conservatoire (1885–6), and from there



1. *Ignacy Jan Paderewski*

to Paris in 1888. He was an immediate success in Paris, and concert tours throughout Europe and America quickly followed. From this point Paderewski rapidly became something of a cult figure, but he drove himself without respite, and the cost to his health was considerable, especially as he suffered badly from nerves and endured a gruelling regime of daily practice when preparing a concert. His appeal to audiences was undoubtedly partly due to his striking appearance and hypnotic stage presence, but it is clear from the testimony of musicians and critics that he was an outstandingly imaginative performer, albeit one whose freedom with text and tempo was extreme even by the standards of his own time. 'It is not a question of what is written', he once remarked, 'it is a question of musical effect'. Without doubt surviving discs and piano rolls do him less than justice. He came to recording in his fifties, and was never comfortable with its culture nor indeed with the very concept of producing a 'document for all time'.

In 1899 Paderewski married for the second time. Helena Gorska had taken him under her wing during his early years in Warsaw, and she later brought up his son Alfred as part of her own family. Following her divorce from the violinist Władysław Gorski, the couple married and settled in the Villa Riond-Bosson at Morges near Lausanne (Alfred died shortly after their marriage). By this time Paderewski was a wealthy man. He had bought an estate in Poland, and he lived extravagantly and entertained lavishly at Riond-Bosson. Increasingly he behaved like, and was perceived as, a high-profile public figure, surrounded by a 'court' of servants and admirers. However, his expensive life style and philanthropy – especially towards Polish causes – made huge inroads to his funds, and to compensate he was obliged to undertake punishing schedules of concerts, at the expense of both his health and his creative work. His opera *Manru* had been a considerable success when it was performed all over Europe and America in 1901–2, but the round of concerts prevented him from consolidating this. A break from performing in 1907–8, due to nervous exhaustion, enabled him to complete his Symphony, but he returned to the platform again in 1909, only to suffer yet another crisis of confidence, saying 'I no longer wanted to play … It was a kind of torture'.

It was from this point that Paderewski began to play a more prominent part in the political life of Poland, involving himself increasingly in the public discontents of a nation without political status. During the war years he was active in fund-raising and lobbying in the Allied countries, and especially in America. There his charismatic oratory proved an effective political tool, and it eventually secured him an audience with Woodrow Wilson, who was to become a powerful ally to the Polish cause in return for Polish-American electoral support. When the United States entered the war in 1917, Polish independence was one of its stated aims. In the end Poland achieved its independence almost inadvertently, as the three partitioning powers disintegrated. At this point Paderewski was perceived by the Allies as an invaluable mediator between the National Committee (effectively a 'government in exile', and trusted by the Allies) and the new Polish head of state, Józef Piłsudski, about whom little was known. The postwar politics were labyrinthine, but in the end Piłsudski appointed Paderewski as Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs, in which capacity he represented Poland at the Peace Conference in Paris.

His career as a statesman was relatively short-lived. The Peace Treaty was far from favourable to Poland, and the task of reconstruction proved arduous – fraught with political hazards which were beyond the grasp and sympathy of an idealist such as Paderewski. He resigned in December 1919, only to return the following summer when the Red Army advanced on Warsaw, this time as Polish delegate to the Conference of Ambassadors, effectively the continuation of the Peace Conference. Again Paderewski found himself disillusioned with the treatment meted out to Poland by the Allies, and in December 1920 he resigned from this post too, retreating to Riond-Bosson, where he could successfully play the role to which he was most suited, that of a respected elder statesman. He continued to involve himself with politics in his later years, especially following the death of Piłsudski in 1935, but the inter-war period was devoted mainly to concerts (he resumed his performing career in 1922, but gave up composing altogether). His regime of practice was every bit as demanding as before, and he continued to tour, and to record, right up to the outbreak of World War II, news of which reached him while he was in America. He died in New York on 29 June 1941. Helena had predeceased him by seven years.

2. WORKS. Among the salon ephemera of Paderewski's juvenilia, there are sporadic works, such as the Violin Sonata op.13 (1879) and several of the *Chants du voyageur* op.8, where a tentative individuality of style seems to lurk beneath the fairly conventional late Romantic surface. But it was the bravura Piano Concerto, first performed in 1889, that really launched his career as a composer, and its success was consolidated by that of the *Fantaisie polonaise* op.19 for piano and orchestra of 1893. Both are occasional pieces, and their grandiloquent gestures and crude harmonic palette are likely to gain them few advocates today. The concerto was associated largely with Paderewski's concerts, but the *Fantaisie polonaise* sustained a place in other pianists' repertories and was included in programmes up until the 1930s. Following these somewhat early works, Paderewski's creative activities were necessarily compressed into short periods, when he managed to gain some respite from the 'slavery' (his word) of the concert platform. One such period was the year 1903, when he composed the E♭ minor Sonata op.21, the *Douze mélodies* op.22 to poetry by Catulle Mendès, and the *Variations et fugue* op.23. This latter has some claim to be considered Paderewski's most successful piano composition, its stylistically contrasted variations working together to create a real sense of cumulative progression to the fugal finale.

Paderewski also began his Symphony in 1903, but completed it only when ill-health dictated a break from touring in 1907–8. While it is undoubtedly his most ambitious instrumental work, it would have to rank as one of his least successful. The aesthetic orientation is towards a Romantic nationalism which was by this time something of an anachronism in European music. In the course of its 70-minute progress, the work presents a series of images of Poland's history over two centuries, and in a stylistic idiom of at times alarming inconsistencies. The total effect is directionless and verbose, though Paderewski's reputation was enough to ensure numerous performances and a smattering of favourable reviews.



2. Paderewski: caricature from 'The New York Herald', early 1890s

When it was performed in Vienna, the audience included the young Szymanowski, whose early Etude op.4 no.3 had been performed by Paderewski. Szymanowski's reaction pulled no punches: he described the work as 'an unbelievable abomination for which no words are insulting enough'.

Paderewski always regarded his supreme compositional achievement as the opera *Manru*. He began work on it in 1893 and completed it in January 1901, with the successful première taking place that year in Dresden on 29 May. The work is based on a libretto by Alfred Nossig after J.I. Kraszewski's novel *A Cabin outside the Village*, and is set in the Tatra mountains of southern Poland in the 19th century. The hero, Manru, is a young gypsy who marries a Polish peasant girl but resists assimilation by her world and in the end returns to his own people. For all the promise of this story, dealing overtly with themes of racial and cultural alienation which resonate in the 20th century's political and social histories, the libretto lacks dramatic coherence and the music is indebted variously and uncomfortably to Italian composers, to Wagner and to Bizet. After initial success (18 premières in different countries) it has seldom been revived. Like most of Paderewski's music, *Manru* emerges today as overstated and under-realized. It is rich in ideas and skilled in orchestral treatment, but it relies to an embarrassing degree on the easy pickings of the operatic repertory. Paderewski the composer may say little to modern audiences. It is the legendary pianist, the charismatic statesman and the truly remarkable personality that stake their claims on our attention today.

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Op: Manru (lyric drama, 3, A. Nossig, after J.I. Kraszewski: *Chata za wsią* [A Cabin outside the Village]), 1901, Dresden, 29 May 1901

Pf: Valse mignonne, 1876; Valse, F, ?1878, CW x; Mazurka, F, ?1876, CW iv; Impromptu, F, 1878, CW iv; Suite, E♭, op.1, 1879, unpubd: 1, Prelude, E♭, 2, Menuetto, g [rev. 1886, no.2 of pubd op.1; see 2 Klavierstücke], 3, Romance, A♭, 4, Burlesque, E♭, 1879; 2 Klavierstücke, op.1 (1886): 1, Praelude à capriccio, E♭, 1885, 2, Minuetto, g, 1879, 1886; 3 morceaux, op.2, 1880: 1, Gavotte, e, 2, Mélodie, C, 3, Valse mélancolique, A; Stara suita (na trzy glosy) [An Old Suite (for 3 Voices)], op.3, 1880, 1881: 1, Prelude, d, 2, Intermezzo, B♭, 3, Aria, F, 4, Fugue, d; Elegy, b♭, op.4, 1880; 3 danses polonaises [Polish Dances], op.5, 1881: Krakowiak, E, 2, Mazurka, e, 3, Krakowiak, B♭, 1881; Introduction et toccata, op.6, 1882; Chants du voyager, op.8, 1881–2

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Other inst: Piesn [Song], F, vn, pf, 1878, unpubd; Romance, A, op.7, vn, pf, *c*1882, unpubd; Variations and fugue, str qt, 1882, unpubd, 5 pieces, wind insts, 1884, unpubd; Ov., E♭, orch, 1884, CW x; Suite, G, str orch, 1884, CW x; Sonata, a, op.13, vn, pf, 1885; Pf Conc., a, op.17, 1882–8; Vn Conc., 1886–8, inc., reconstructed and perf. 1991; Fantaisie polonaise sur des thèmes originaux, g, op.19, 1893; Sym., b, op.24, 1903, 1907–8

Vocal: Dola [Destiny] (W. Syrokomia), 1878; 4 Lieder (A. Asnyk), op.7, 1882–5; Konwalijka [Lily of the Valley] (Asnyk), op.7 no.5, 1882, unpubd; 6 Lieder (A. Mickiewicz), op.18, 1886–93; Dans la forêt (T. Gautier), male v, pf, *c*1895–6; 12 mélodies (C. Mendès), op.22, 1903; Cant. (K. Przerwa-Tetmajer), 1897, inc.; Hej orle bialy! [Hey, White Eagle], male chorus, military band, 1917; sketches for vocal works to texts by Z. Krasinski, A. de Musset, Asnyk, Mickiewicz; sketches for choral works (2–4vv)

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JIM SAMSON

Padiglione (It.). *See* BELL (ii).

Padilla, José (*b* Almería, 28 May 1889; *d* Madrid, 25 Oct 1960). Spanish composer. He studied at the Madrid Conservatory with Rivera and Ramón Nicolás Fontanilla, and then in Italy with Pacini. At the age of 17 he started to conduct for zarzuela companies in Spain and Argentina. He began composing for the popular theatre, making his mark less with complete scores than through individual songs. Among the most popular of these are *Princesita* (1917; popularized by Tito Schipa), the paso doble *El relicario* (1918), which remains one of the most widely known Spanish melodies, *La violetera* (1918), and *Valencia* which was adapted from a chorus in the zarzuela *La bien amada* (1916). Padilla spent some time in Paris, composing songs for such music-hall artists as Josephine Baker, Maurice Chevalier and above all Mistinguett who successfully introduced his *Ça … c'est Paris*. From 1930 to 1934 Padilla lived in Italy, composing many songs to Italian texts. He then returned to Spain, but in 1947 again moved to Paris, where his *Symphonie portugaise* (Gaîté-Lyrique, 9 October 1949) was successfully produced. Padilla's output totals some 400 songs and about 60 zarzuelas.

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ANDREW LAMB

Padilla, Juan de (*b* Gibraltar, bap. 1 Dec 1605; *d* Toledo, 16 Dec 1673). Spanish ecclesiastic and composer. After seminary studies at Cádiz he served successively as *maestro de capilla* of Coria Cathedral (1624–9), of the monastery of S Pablo, Zamora (from no later than 1651), and of the cathedrals of Cuenca, Palencia (from 26 April 1652 to 6 February 1654), Zamora (from 7 May 1661 to 27 January 1663) and Toledo (officially from 19 January 1664, but serving from 7 September 1663 until his death). His music has been catalogued in any quantity only at Valladolid Cathedral (see *AnM*, iii, 1948, pp.81, 89). It consists mainly of short motets and villancicos but also includes an eight-part polychoral *Magnificat* (MS 14, incomplete), which is an adroit and technically fluent example of a very popular genre.

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ROBERT STEVENSON

Padilla, Juan Gutiérrez de (*b* Málaga, *c*1590; *d* Puebla, Mexico, between 18 March and 22 April 1664). Mexican composer of Spanish birth. He was the son of Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla and Catalina de los Ríos and received his musical education from Francisco Vásquez, *maestro de capilla* at Málaga cathedral. He succeeded Bartolomé Méndez de la Carrera as *maestro de capilla* at the collegiate church in Jerez de la Frontera on 13 August 1612, and his services were so valued that the *cabildo* raised his salary by 6000 reales in December 1612. Nevertheless, in February 1613, after the death of his teacher Vásquez, Padilla entered the competition for the post of *maestro de capilla* at Málaga, coming second to Estêvão de Brito (previously music director at Badajoz). Still in Jerez two years later, he ran into difficulties with the *cabildo*, who lowered his salary on 13 August 1615, ostensibly for not having fulfilled his obligation to teach the boy choristers. After leaving Jerez the following year, Padilla was appointed *maestro de capilla* at Cádiz Cathedral on 17 March 1616, and was identified in the capitular acts as an ordained priest. Soon after his arrival he recommended the purchase of new music, and also recommended that the chapter should order the instrumentalists (*ministriles*) to attend the evening services as well as those held during the day. In recognition of his merit the *cabildo* raised his salary by ten ducats on 3 February 1620.

It is not known why or when Padilla left Cádiz, but he was in New Spain by autumn 1622, and on 11 October that year he was named *cantor* and assistant *maestro* at Puebla Cathedral with an annual salary of 500 pesos. With Gaspar Fernandes as its director, the cathedral at that time boasted one of the finest musical establishments

in Spanish America, on a par with the best in Europe. Padilla's duties included composing the *chanzonetas* for the services, and teaching polyphony (*canto de órgano*) on all regular working days between the hours of 10 and 11 in the morning. Melchor Álvarez was officially responsible for teaching the choirboys, but in 1624 the Puebla cathedral chapter gave Padilla 100 pesos extra for teaching the choirboys polyphonic music and for recruiting and training potential boy sopranos. After the death of Fernandes before 18 September 1629, Padilla was appointed *maestro de capilla* on 25 September with an annual salary of 500 pesos and an additional 40 pesos for composing *chanzonetas*. He was instructed by the chapter to deposit copies of his compositions in the cathedral music archive. To bring his salary into line with that of his predecessor, Fernandes, the chapter raised it to 600 pesos on 21 August 1630, with the stipulation that a precedent should not be established. Four years later, on 1 August 1634, the chapter dismissed Padilla and the *bajón* player Simón Martínez for unknown reasons; after the personal intervention of Bishop Gutierre Bernardo de Quiroz, both were reinstated on 9 September.

During his years in Puebla, Padilla ran a workshop with the assistance of black instrument makers, selling instruments in Mexico and as far afield as Guatemala. A document of 1641 reveals the sale of 20 large dulcians (*bajones grandes*), 20 small soprano dulcians (*bajicos tiples*), 17 sets of three shawms (*juegos de tres chirimias*) and two flutes. According to Ray, Padilla also taught music in the Colegio de San Pedro and the Colegio de San Juan. Little is known of his activities between 1640 and 1648, but he was evidently influential in securing the appointment of Francisco López as *bajón* player and organist at Puebla Cathedral in 1641. He aided the younger man during his seven years there, and also when he sought a better position in Mexico City (he was named *maestro de capilla* there in 1654). In his *Relacion y descripcion del templo real de la ciudad de la Puebla de los Angeles* (Puebla, ?1650) Antonio Tamariz de Carmona described the consecration of the new Puebla Cathedral in 1649 and mentioned 14,000 pesos as the sum expended on music that year (probably a greater amount than usual because of the dedicatory events). He also praised Padilla's *motetes dulces* which were performed at various altars in the cathedral. According to Ray, Padilla and his musicians took charge of the adornment of one of the side-chapels (today called the Capilla de las Reliquias).

After Archbishop Juan Palafox y Mendoza left Puebla for the peninsular see of Osma, the cathedral music budget was reduced and Padilla's salary with it (though with the obligation of teaching polyphony removed). In June 1654 the cathedral musician Juan García de Zéspedes agreed to take over from Padilla the duties of teaching plainsong and polyphony to the Puebla choirboys, as well as the task of giving lessons on the *violón* to the boys and men who showed instrumental ability. In 1655 Padilla's contribution to religious ceremony and ritual at Puebla was recognized when he was placed tenth on a list of cathedral dignitaries (though a prebend, he was never a cathedral canon). Cathedral finances had improved by the late 1650s and in August 1658 the chapter was able to restore his salary to its 1651 level, at the same time renewing his obligation to teach the performance of polyphonic music to the choirboys. On 21 May 1660 the authorities asked him to resume daily classes in plainsong and polyphony for all the singers, boys and men. In October 1663 the chapter ordered that all Padilla's compositions should be put into good order. The Latin works were bound and the loose parts for his vernacular villancicos were placed in folders. The composer made his last will and testament on 18 March 1664, and his death was announced in the chapter meeting of 22 April. He was buried in the cathedral, and on 12 August Juan García de Zéspedes took over his duties (he was appointed titular *maestro de capilla* in 1670).

The most important source of Padilla's works is Puebla choirbook no.15, which contains masses, motets, psalms, Lamentations, responsories, hymns, a litany and a *St Matthew Passion*. In them he showed himself the equal of any peninsular composer of his age in both talent and technique. A substantial number of his liturgical works are for two choirs. In his polychoral *Missa 'Ego flos campi'* he juxtaposed phrase by phrase, the first choir singing the Credo in a dramatic and homophonic style and the second choir singing the same text in a contrapuntal fashion. His masses, especially *Ave regina* and *Joseph fili David*, demonstrate his knowledge of parody and canonic techniques, and in *Ave regina* and *Ego flos campi* he also used a motto theme in each section and reworked thematic material in successive sections. The Puebla organist Francisco de Vidales used Padilla's *Exultate justi in Domino* as the model for his parody *Missa super Exultate*, and another connection between the two men is seen in Vidales's addition of a tenor part to Padilla's *O Domine Jesu Christe*.

As well as Latin sacred music, Padilla wrote numerous vernacular villancicos. Written in, or based on, a popular style, they were intended for the large and enthusiastic crowds attracted to services at Puebla Cathedral partly by the special music composed for specific feast days. The published librettos to many of his villancico sets (several of which are in *US-BLl*) were intended as mementos of these special occasions. They do not always name the composer, but the sets for Christmas 1649 and the feast of the Immaculate Conception, 1652, 1654, 1656 and 1659, were probably – and that for Christmas 1659 certainly – composed by Padilla. In many of his villancicos he included examples of musical styles popular among working-class people from various ethnic backgrounds: the Mexican *tocotín*, the *guasteco* (probably from the Huasteca region of Mexico), the Afro-Hispanic *negrillas*, the *kalendas*, *ensaladillas*, *batallas*, *jácaras*, *juguetes*, and the Portuguese-tinged pieces such as *Ah, siolo Flasiquiyo*, *A la xacara xacarilla* and *Si al nascer, o Minino se yela*. The villancico reached a high point of creativity and popularity with Padilla and his contemporaries. A typical formula for a villancico type such as the African dialect *negro* would include 6/8 metre, often alternating with 3/4 to create hemiola; the frequent use of C and F major; and alternation between soloist(s) and choir in the *estribillo* and *coplas*. Though there is not always a specific indication for the use of basso continuo in these works, the organ, *violón*, *bajón* and harp were frequently used as continuo instruments in Padilla's time.

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in Collección Jesús Sánchez Garza, Mexico City, unless otherwise stated

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JOHN KOEGEL

Padilla y Ramos, Mariano (1842–1906). Spanish baritone, husband of DÉSIRÉE ARTÔT.

Padlewski, Roman (*b* Moscow, 7 Oct 1915; *d* Warsaw, 16 Aug 1944). Polish composer, pianist and conductor. In 1922 his family settled in Poznań. He studied the violin with Zdzisław Jahnke and composition with Wiechowicz at the Poznań Conservatory (1927–39) and musicology with Kamieński at Poznań University (1931–5). From 1933 he was active as an orchestral player, choral conductor and music critic. He escaped from German captivity in 1939 and moved to Warsaw, where he was second violinist in the Umińska Quartet. In 1943 he took up studies again with Rutkowski (organ), Bierdiajew (conducting) and Sikorski (composition). He was killed on the barricades during the Warsaw uprising and most of his manuscripts were burnt. His few surviving works show a highly talented musician with an ability to unite romantic expression with constructive rigour.

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Inst: Str Qt no.1, perf. 1934; Str Qt no.2, 1940 (Kraków, 1949); Sonata, vn, 1941; Suite, vn, orch
Choral: Motets, boys' chorus, perf. 1946 (Kraków, 1946); Motets, mixed chorus, perf. 1946
Solo vocal (for 1v, pf): 3 pieśni, 1933; Pytam, co w mym życiu [I ask, what in my life] (J. Lechoń), 1938; Śmierć św. Sebastiana [St Sebastian's Death], perf. 1946
Arrs.: C. Stamitz: Conc., va d'amore, hpd, orchd 1933; A. Vivaldi, arr. F. Kreisler: Vn Conc., C, orchd 1941; J.S. Bach: Air from Toccata and Fugue, C, arr. vn, pf, 1943; F. Janiewicz: Vn Conc., arr. pf

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'O nowej muzyce polskiej' [On new Polish music], *Orlęta* (1930), no.12, pp.10–11
'Chopin', *Orlęta* (1932), no.6, pp.6–8
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TERESA CHYLIŃSKA

Padoana [paduana, padovana, padouana, padouenne] (It.: 'Paduan'). A term used in the 16th and 17th centuries for at least two kinds of dance. No choreography with the title 'padoana' is known to exist, but the title appears in several important lute and keyboard collections. In some 16th-century sources it seems to be equivalent to the dignified, duple-metre PAVAN, as in J.A. Dalza's lutebook of 1508, Phalèses *Des chansons reduictz en tabulature* (1545) and Sebastian Vredeman's *Carminum quae cythara* (1569). In others, however, the title denotes the first triple-metre after-dance of a PASSAMEZZO, as in Jean

Ex.1 Giacomo Gorzanis: Passo e mezzo detto 'O perfidia che sei' with its Padoana and Saltarello, from *Il secondo libro de intabulatura di liuto* (Venice, 1562)



d'Estrée's *Tiers livre de danseries* (1559), where 'La padouenne' follows a 'Pas meige'; and in the lutebooks of Giacomo Gorzanis there are several groups of dances in the order passamezzo–padoana 'del ditto'–saltarello 'del ditto' (ex.1), based on the same melodic material. In the 17th century, particularly in Germany and the Netherlands, the term seems to have reverted to its earliest known meaning, as the equivalent of pavan (e.g. in Paul Peuerl's *Newe Padouan, Intrada, Däntz unnd Galliarda*, 1611, Schein's *Banchetto musicale*, 1617, and Isaac Posch's *Musicalische Tafelfreudt, das ist Allerley neuer Paduanen und Gagliarden*, 1621). The exact relationship, if any, between duple- and triple-metre padoanas is unknown.

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TIM CRAWFORD

Padova (It.). *See* PADUA.

Padovanis [Padovas], **Domenicos** [Kyriakos] (*b* Corfu, 14 July 1817; *d* Corfu, 9/21 March 1892). Greek composer and organist. Born to Catholic nobility, he was the son of Hieronymos Padovanis, a respected man of letters. In his preface to the libretto of his opera *Dirce* Padovanis attributed his 'moral existence' to Mantzaros, who taught him 'for a whole decade'. He studied humanities in Rome, probably at the Accademia di S Cecilia, and also studied the organ in Corfu. From 1839 he was organist of the local Catholic cathedral of S Giacomo, and from 1841 taught harmony, counterpoint and composition at the recently founded Corfu Philharmonic Society; in 1846 he was nominated an honorary fellow. After Mantzaros's death in 1872 Padovanis was elected president of the musical section of the Society (his 'Poche parole sopra i scritti del cav. Niccolò C. Manzaro', in the Corfu newspaper *I Foni*, 12 and 20 April 1872, gives valuable information on Mantzaros).

Despite rumours that Alessandro Guidatti, a Catholic clergyman from Corfu, had transferred to Tinos several of Padovanis's manuscripts, these have not yet been found in the Tinos Catholic Archdiocese archives, and may be located in Rome, where Guidatti died. Padovanis's extant output was discovered by Leotsakos in 1981 at the Yerassimos Rombotis private musical library and in S Giacomo, Corfu. His compositions demonstrate an accomplished technique, and combine bel canto writing with a Rossinian rhythmic vitality. His melodic eloquence is matched by his capacity to create a theatrical atmosphere through simple musical means. *Dirce*, an unusual subject for an Ionian composer of that time for the mere savagery of the plot, is in bel canto style, wherein dramatic and even violent action is rendered in the major mode. The uninterrupted transitions from recitative to arioso or aria discourage the selection of separate numbers for concert performance. Padovanis's three one-movement sinfonias are the earliest known purely orchestral Greek works (Mantzaros's sinfonias exist only in piano score).

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Stage: Dirce, figlia dia Aristodemo (tragedia lirica, 3, S. Fogacci, after V. Monti: *Aristodemo*), Corfu, San Giacomo, 1/12 Feb 1857, lib (Corfu, 1857), vs in 2 acts, Sinfonia in fs; Il ciarlatano preso per principe (farsa, 1, Fogacci), San Giacomo, ?1857

Sacred: 4 masses, solo vv, chorus, ?orch, org, lost; Et in terra pax, Laudamus te, Gratias, Bar, chorus, orch; Sanctus, frag. of Mass no.4; Laetantur coeli, chorus, org/pf; Stabat mater, 1v

Other: Sinfonia, B♭, orch, 1837; Sinfonia a piena orchestra, C; Sinfonia nella 'Dirce', orch, 1857; Pastorale cantabile, chorus, org/pf; Inno al Capodistria, vv, orch, transcr. for band, lost; 14 Sonnets (Petrarch), 1v, pf, lost; other unsigned works

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GEORGE LEOTSAKOS

Padovano [Padoano], **Annibale** [Patavinus, Hannibal] (*b* Padua, 1527; *d* Graz, 15 March 1575). Italian composer and organist. He was an organist at S Marco, Venice, from 30 November 1552 until 2 August 1565. He must have been well known to his employers even before his appointment, for the competition was advertised with little notice and Annibale seems to have been the only candidate. On 1 August 1545 he became organist at the court of Archduke Karl II of Austria in Graz, where he was promoted a year later to 'chief musician'. Shortly before 1570 he assumed the title of director of music.

While in Venice, Padovano was undoubtedly able to become part of Willaert's prestigious group of pupils. He must also have known Merulo, Andrea Gabrieli, Zarlino and Rore. His secular production coincided with the period of greatest expressive development of the madrigal. Nevertheless, his reputation rests on his organ playing and organ works. Together with Willaert, Merulo, Bertodi, A. Gabrieli and Buus he contributed significantly to the early development of the ricercare for keyboard. His book of ricercares, published in 1556, brings together for the first time most of the stylistic elements of the mature Venetian ricercare: a dignified and homogeneous

level of rhythmic activity; diatonic, largely conjunct thematic material; the linking of thematic material by means of subtle motivic interconnection and variation; the variation of thematic material by constant rhythmic permutation and by learned devices (augmentation, diminution, inversion and stretto). Padovano was also a master of the toccata: he may have been the first composer to expand the form and make it more important. His insertion of an imitative section between two sections of passage work also characterizes the toccatas of his colleagues, and continued into the high Baroque.

Padovano was highly regarded both in Italy and abroad. In 1568 – together with Lassus – he composed much of the music for the wedding of Duke Wilhelm V of Bavaria to Renata of Lorraine. His eight-part instrumental *battaglia* was performed on this occasion; also probably performed were a 12-part instrumental work (lost) and a 24-voice mass (in *A-Wn*). He probably also composed music for the wedding between Archduke Karl and Mary of Bavaria, in Vienna on 26 August 1571; a letter from the duke of Mantua to Hippolito Nuvolono of Graz, dated 19 September 1571, speaks of a *Dialogo a 7* composed by Padovano in honour of the couple.

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TIZIANA MORSANUTO

Padovec, Ivan (*b* Varaždin, 17 July 1800; *d* Varaždin, 4 Nov 1873). Croatian composer and guitarist. He studied theory, violin and piano in Varaždin and Zagreb with J.K. Wisner-Morgenstern, but, inspired by hearing Mauro Giuliani in Vienna, he taught himself the guitar, a very popular instrument in 19th-century Croatia. By 1824 he had written his first compositions for the instrument, and in 1827 he began to give concerts throughout Croatia. In 1829 he moved to Vienna, and subsequently toured Austria, Germany, Bohemia, Hungary, Poland and England. His concert career was interrupted because of bad eyesight, and in 1837 he returned to Varaždin; he eventually became blind, and from 1848 supported himself exclusively by teaching.

The Viennese luthier Johann Georg Stauffer constructed a 10-string guitar to a design by Padovec, adding to the standard instrument four bass strings (*A′–B′–C–D*) on a separate fingerboard (Padovec's own instrument is now in the Muzej za Umjetnost i Obrt in Zagreb); these strings could also be retuned a semitone higher. Padovec thought that the extra strings added to the resonance of the instrument, and in his *Theoretisch-praktisch Guitarr-Schule* (Vienna, 1842) gave an explanation of this invention. Padovec wrote more than 200 pieces, of which most are variations and fantasies on popular themes or operatic arias by Bellini, Donizetti and others, for one or two guitars; he also wrote a number of songs on Croatian and German texts, with guitar or piano accompaniment. In his guitar pieces the emphasis was always on brilliance and virtuosity.

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ZDRAVKO BLAŽEKOVIĆ

Padre Barnabá. *See* MILLEVILLE family, (4).

Padre Raimo. *See* BARTOLI, ERASMO.

Pads. In wind instruments with side holes governed by keys or finger-plates (e.g. the Boehm-system flute), the material ensuring airtight closure. This is achieved by facing the head of a key with resilient and non-porous material which (under reasonable pressure) adapts closely to the tube surface surrounding the hole. The earliest keys recorded were simply faced with flat leather discs, at first stitched through perimeter holes and later attached with adhesive. Though effective, these are subject to distortion and hardening in damp conditions, even when layers of graded quality are used. Greater efficiency was obtained with the introduction in the early 19th century of small 'purses' of kid leather stuffed with fine wool – the first true pads. An alternative method involved the use of so-called 'pewter plugs', patented by the London flute maker Richard Potter (1726–1806) and adopted by other flute makers abroad. These were chamfered discs of zinc or pewter, loosely fitted to the key shank and bedding into an inserted metal lining. The modern pad is thin and flat, and consists of a basic circle of card supporting a layer of felt and faced with kid, prepared animal membrane or waterproof synthetic tissue. To improve their hermetic qualities, pad surfaces are sometimes treated with paraffin wax. These different types of pad have all influenced the form of the keys carrying them (*see* KEYWORK). Experiments have also been made with solid pads of various elastic synthetics, but these have not come into general use; however, the use of cork is not uncommon. A so-called 'padless' metal flute has been produced in which the finger-plates were simple metal discs, the resilient

material being in the form of rings surrounding the raised collars of the tone holes.

PHILIP BATE

Padt Brue, Cornelis Thymanszoon. *See* PADBRUÉ, CORNELIS THYMANSZOON.

Padua (It. Padova). Italian city in the Veneto. An important centre of Roman civilization, the city had a theatre and an arena (of which ruins survive). A *schola cantorum* flourished at Padua Cathedral from the 13th century onwards through the activity of both the cantor, who was expected to teach and guide the performance of plainchant, and the *magister scholarum*, who taught grammar as well as music. Two books in the cathedral library (C55 and C56, compiled between 1407 and 1472 and containing a body of 13th-century rites and melodies), afford a complete documentation of the city's processions, as well as the richest Italian collection of 'dramatic Offices' (i.e. a dramatic organization of liturgical text and music), which were to be performed with theatrical apparatus during the Office of the major feasts of the year; this repertory included pieces for which the mid-13th century *liber ordinarius* of the cathedral prescribed a two-voice improvised performance, ornamented according to the solemnity of the occasion. These practices are connected with the notion of 'cantus planus binatim', for which the Paduan theorist Prosdocimus de Beldemandis, in his *Expositiones*, required 'voces pares et dulces'; in the later sources such pieces are found both in non-mensural and mensural notation (according to Marchetto da Padova's system). At least one of these dramatic Offices, that of the Annunciation, was performed outside the cathedral on 25 March (or another date chosen by the Paduan bishop): the two main characters, the Angel and Mary, were carried in procession by the whole city from the chapel of the Palazzo della Ragione to the Roman arena. There, and after 1305 in the chapel built on that site for Enrico Scrovegni and frescoed by Giotto, the Office was performed (the ceremony, mentioned in the city statutes, had both civic and religious significance). It is likely that Marchetto composed the three-part motet *Ave regina celorum/Mater innocentie* for the opening of the chapel; he taught music at the cathedral up to 1308 and in 1312.

In the 13th century, troubadour song was cultivated in Padua as in the Veneto region, although very few melodies specifically related to this area have been identified. The importance of the French language and French literature in the Veneto encouraged the propagation of *musica mensurabilis* at the beginning of the 14th century. From 1328 to 1339 Alberto della Scala, a patron of the arts and music, was Lord of Padua. In 1332 the Paduan judge Antonio da Tempo dedicated to him his treatise on poetry and verse, containing the first description of the relationship between music and Italian secular poetry. Some compositions of the early Ars Nova repertory can be ascribed to this Paduan period on account of the allegorical references in poetic texts.

The few surviving polyphonic settings of Ordinary sections and ballatas dating from the mid- and late 14th century by local figures such as Graciosus de Padua, Zaninus de Peraga de Padua and Jacobus Corbus de Padua reveal an increasingly strong French influence. Such Franco-Veneto style, closely corresponding to contemporary epic poetry, is exemplified by the output of Bartolino da Padova, a Carmelite monk probably active in his native town during the last two decades of the century. Bartolino's 11 madrigals and 27 ballatas may be connected with the court of Francesco Novello, the last of the Carrara lords who ruled Padua for about a century. References in three of Bartolino's madrigals to Gian Galeazzo Visconti, who ruled Padua between 1388 and 1390, have been variously interpreted as a homage to the new ruler or as evidence of the composer's exile at Visconti's court.

In 1405 the city became part of the Venetian Republic; from 1403 until his death in 1411 Johannes Ciconia, whose madrigals are often connected with events of Paduan and Venetian public life, was cantor at the cathedral and the first Flemish musician active in northern Italy during the 15th century. Ciconia's link with Padua, and specifically with the university and the Benedictine abbey of S Giustina, dates back to the period of Francesco Carrara *il vecchio* (*c*1367). S Giustina, which became the most important centre of Benedictine reform, is also notable for the organs built there around the same period (a fragment of an organ tabulature, copied locally, survives). A reform of the monastery initiated in 1409 involved the official rejection of *cantus figuratus* during most of the 15th century, yet evidence indicates a continuing performance tradition of *biscantus et contrapunctus* and especially of polyphonic *laude*.

Music had been taught as one of the liberal arts at Padua University, founded in 1222: Prosdocimus de Beldemandis, a music theorist, astronomer and mathematician, taught music there until his death in 1428. During the 15th century the cathedral remained the centre of musical life; at the beginning and end of the century the names of Flemish and French composers, such as 'Johannes de Francia tenorista' (1419), 'Richardus tenorista' (1431), 'Johannes contratenorista' (1431) and 'Presbyter Raynaldus francigena' (1489), appear in the payrolls together with names of clearly Italian origin. Crispin van Stappen, who composed the strambotto *Vale vale de Padoa santo choro*, was *magister cantus* in 1492 and 1498. The organ builders and organists of the cathedral in this period were mainly of German origin, like Bernardus de Alemagna (1457–60) and his son Antonius (*c*1480). Pellegrino Cesena, a frottola composer from Verona, was *maestro di cappella* from 1494 to 1497 and several other names connected with the frottola repertory are associated with the city. Indeed the four-voice villotta (also termed 'villotta alla padovana' in later sources) originated in Padua, where it was used in performances of the plays of Angelo Beolco (*c*1502–42) at the house of his patron, Alvise Cornaro. The architect G.B. Falconetto built in Cornaro's gardens a stage and an 'odeon' for plays and musical performances; both of these survive in the grounds of the Palazzo Giusti del Giardino.

A document of 1480 reports the decision to appoint a *magister cantus* for polyphonic music and an organist at S Antonio (usually called 'Il Santo'). Polyphonic music, however, had certainly been used before, as exemplified by, among other things, Ciconia's motet on J. von Speyer's text for St Anthony's Office, *O proles Hispanie*. It is also conceivable that the Proper of Du Fay's plenary mass for St Anthony of Padua was especially composed for the consecration of Donatello's altar in 1450 and that Du Fay himself came to Padua for the performance together with nine clerics from Burgundy. The activity of the *cappella* was rather irregular and based on a group of three to six singers until the mid-16th century, when new regulations

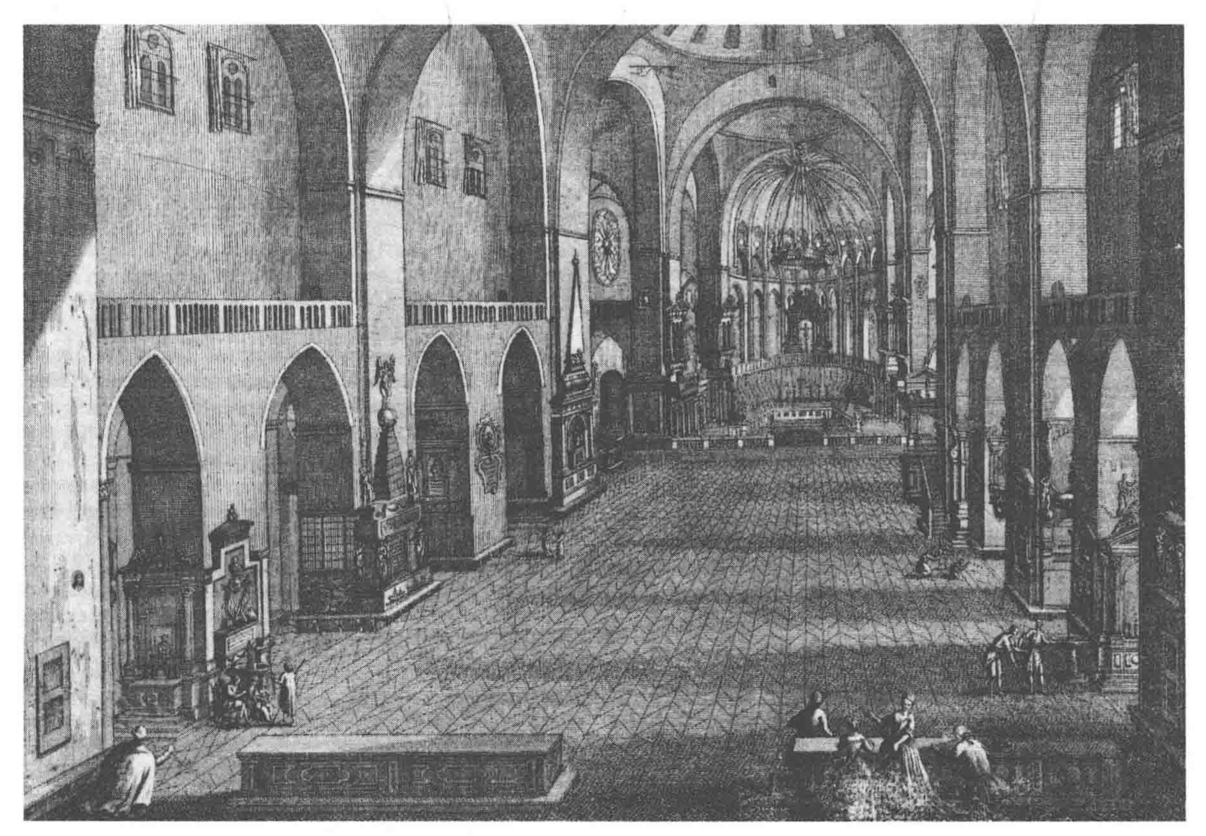
brought stability to the institution. The first lay organist at Il Santo was Bartolomeo Novellino, engaged in 1498, probably in connection with the building of two great organs completed that year by Antonio Dilmani; a third was completed in 1544.

From 1575 the *maestro di cappella* at the cathedral was entrusted with the musical training of the clerics in the newly founded seminary (1571), a practice that lasted until the 19th century. From 1520 until his death in 1557 the Dominican Giordano Pasetto was *maestro* at the cathedral: he was instrumental in the local diffusion of the international polyphonic repertory (e.g. *I-Pc* A17, copied by Pasetto). Throughout the 16th century and later there was a continuous exchange of musicians between Il Santo and the cathedral: Ruffino d'Assisi was *maestro di cappella* at the cathedral between 1510 and 1520, and at Il Santo in the periods 1520–25 and 1531–2. Costanzo Porta was *maestro* at the cathedral from 1589 to 1595 and then returned to Il Santo (where he had also been in 1565–7) until his death in 1601.

A school 'ad pulsandum lautos et citharas' is documented as early as 1372 and may have flourished into the 16th century, as indicated by the career of the lute virtuoso and teacher Antonio Rotta (Rota), who taught students from the Faculty of Law, besides being organist in several churches and ecclesiastical institutions; Giovanni Maria Radino, organist at S Giovanni di Verdara, published an *Intavolatura di balli per sonar al liuto* in 1592. In the second half of the 16th century prominent German lute makers such as Wendelin Tieffenbrucker and Michael Hartung worked in Padua. Various professional associations of musicians, and more specifically instrumentalists, formed in 1531 and 1555 indicate that music had become a self-supporting profession in the city.

A number of academies were active in the 16th century; these learned gatherings of noblemen and rich bourgeoisie, at which humanistic and scientific subjects were discussed, were started early in the century by Alvise Cornaro and the linguist Pietro Bembo, but they flourished in the second half of the century: the Costanti was founded in 1556, and the Elevati lasted from 1557 until 1560. For both academies music was the main activity; Francesco Portinaro was engaged by both – with three other musicians – for the performance and teaching of vocal and instrumental music. Another academy, the Eterei, was active from 1564 to 1567. Portinaro was also employed (with the same duties) when the Rinascenti was established in 1573; he later became *maestro di cappella* at the cathedral (1576–8). Other Paduan academies were the Animosi, the Delia (mostly for fencing, and of which Galileo Galilei became a member) and the Ricovrati, later the Accademia Patavina di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti (still extant). Other composers at these academies included Giulio Renaldi and Gasparo Torelli (i), who was also active as a poet and promoter of the Accademia degli Avveduti.

A number of vocal polyphonic collections published in Venice in the late 16th and early 17th century originated in Padua, often with members of the well-established *Natio germanica* (e.g. the 1598 *Laudi d'Amore: Madrigali a cinque voci de diversi eccellenti musici di Padova*, containing pieces by Porta and Viadana). In 1596 the Venetian patron Marco Corner (Cornaro) was consecrated Bishop of Padua, and the following year at least



Basilica of S Antonio (Il Santo): engraving by Pellegrino da Colle after Bellucco, mid-18th century

three important publications of sacred music were dedicated to him by Giovanni Croce, Ludovico Grossi da Viadana and Girolamo Lambardi.

A series of *intermedi* was performed with the anonymous play *Occulta fiamma amorosa* in 1566 by the students of the university in the Sala dei Giganti in the Palazzo del Capitanio (see *EinsteinIM*, pp.474–5). Opera in Padua began in 1636 with the production under the aegis of Pio Enea degli Obizzi of *Ermiona*, a tourney with a 'dramatic introduction' with music by G.F. Sances and stage machinery by Alfonso Rivarola; the performers, who had come from Rome and Venice, later took part in the first public opera performance in Venice, Francesco Manelli's *Andromeda* (1637). A similar tourney, *L'amor pudico*, with music by Antonio Dalle Tavole (Tavola), was performed in the piazza dei Signori in 1643. Apart from a *favola boscareccia*, *La Cidippe*, performed in 1670, no other works appear to have been staged in Padua until 1691, when Domenico Gabrielli's *Maurizio* was given in the renovated Teatro dello Stallone. The Teatro degli Obizzi, inaugurated in 1652 and used primarily for spoken theatre, hosted opera only from Carnival 1693 (*Isifile*); the theatre archives, which survive, are for the most part inaccessible. In nearby Piazzola sul Brenta, lavishly staged operas (mostly by Carlo Pallavicino and Domenico Freschi) were performed in the sumptuous villa of Alvise Contarini from 1679 to 1685.

The earliest oratorio performance recorded in Padua was in 1675, when *Santa Catterina da Siena* was given within the context of a private celebration. Other oratorios were produced in various palaces and churches. Music at Il Santo during the 17th century flourished under the long tenure of Antonio Dalle Tavole (1635–74) as *maestro di cappella*; his music library, of which an inventory survives, reveals a broad interest in Italian sacred music for voices and instruments. The young Agostino Steffani sang in the *cappella* as a soprano between 1664 and 1667.

During the 18th century Padua became one of the most distinguished Italian musical centres. F.A. Calegari, *maestro di cappella* at Il Santo from 1703 to 1727, was an important theoretician who inspired a distinctive Paduan school of composition. This reached its zenith during the tenure of his pupil F.A. Vallotti, *maestro di cappella* at Il Santo from 1730 to 1780. Vallotti's music was performed in Padua until the last decade of the 19th century. The most famous composer of 18th-century Padua, however, was Giuseppe Tartini, first violin at Il Santo from 1721 until his death in 1770. In 1728 he began his celebrated school of violin playing which brought to the city students from Italy and abroad; his theoretical works also attracted interest throughout Europe. Other prominent musicians connected with Il Santo were the cellist Antonio Vandini and the oboist Matteo Bissoli. The castrato Gaetano Guadagni, one of the most influential singers of the century, joined the *cappella* of Il Santo in 1746 and returned to Padua in the last years of his life. From 1726 until the early 19th century a guild of musicians under the protection of St Cecilia was active in the city.

In the 18th century musical standards at Il Santo were considerably higher than those at the cathedral, where the *cappella* suffered from protracted disputes between bishop and chapter over musical matters. Giacomo Rampin, *maestro di cappella* at the cathedral for more than half a century (1704–60), was followed by Aurelio Episcopi (1760–80) who produced a new repertory of introits, hymns and vespers preserved in the cathedral's archive. A more distinguished figure was the keyboard player and composer Gaetano Valeri, organist from December 1785 and *maestro di cappella* from 1805 until his death in 1822.

Operatic activity in the earlier part of the 18th century was sporadic and largely undocumented. For several years from 1743 the soprano castrato Mariano Nicolini was impresario at the Teatro degli Obizzi; opera centred on the summer season and the Fiera del Santo, which attracted many visitors. The Teatro Nuovo, a larger theatre controlled not by a single owner but by an association of the nobility, was inaugurated in 1751 with Galuppi's *Artaserse*. This began the most splendid period of operatic activity in Padua, often in direct competition with Venice and nearby Vicenza. Between 1779 and 1791 the Teatrino del Prato della Valle staged *opera buffa*, as did the Teatro degli Obizzi in the autumn season which included the Fiera di S Giustina. Towards the end of the 1780s there was fierce rivalry between the two larger theatres; from 1792 they divided the seasons between them, the Nuovo being allotted the Santo and S Giustina fairs and the Obizzi the carnival and spring seasons. From 1768 to 1784 musical life in Padua was enriched by the private academy patronized by Don Giuseppe Ximenes d'Aragona, the former Habsburg ambassador in St Petersburg and London. Among the works commissioned by Ximenes d'Aragona was Mozart's *La Betulia liberata* (1771).

The years after the fall of the Venetian Republic in 1797 were characterized by stagnation and growing dependence on works originating in the principal Italian theatres; the last important premières in Padua were Meyerbeer's *Romilda e Costanza* (1817, Nuovo) and Temistocle Solera's *Genio e sventura* (1843, Nuovo). In 1884 the Teatro Nuovo was renovated and given the name Teatro Verdi, which it still bears.

During the 19th century the *cappella musicale* at Il Santo was beset by economic and organizational problems. The Austrian and French military occupations between 1797 and 1814 caused progressive impoverishment, exacerbated by over-ambitious attempts to maintain the *cappella*'s former standards. Performance of Vallotti's music was frustrated by the shortage of castrato voices, while the authorities refused to accept female singers. After a suspension of its activities between 1848 and 1851, the *cappella* was reinstated by Melchiorre Balbi, *maestro di cappella* from 1854 to 1879, who also stressed the need for a renewal of the repertory. A new reform, begun in 1893, resulted in the abolition of the orchestra and the institution of a new *schola cantorum*, in keeping with the ideals of the Cecilianist Giovanni Tebaldini; as the new *maestro di cappella* (1895–7), Tebaldini initiated historical research on the *cappella* and rejected the Vallotti tradition. He was followed by Oreste Ravanello (until 1938), the last *maestro* to produce a substantial body of compositions for the *cappella*. The *cappella* was officially disbanded in 1967; Il Santo, however, remains one of the main venues for important musical events in Padua.

In 1878 an Istituto Musicale was founded, serving both as a school and a centre for the organization of concerts. In 1882–4 and from 1890 to 1912 it was directed by Cesare Pollini, a pianist and pupil of Brahms. Under his

aegis, a taste for instrumental music, both chamber and orchestral, was slowly developed in Padua through the organization of forward-looking concerts, despite the opposition of the local opera-orientated public; after Pollini's premature death in 1912 the institute was named after him. In the 1920s a concert society named after the Paduan inventor of the piano, Bartolomeo Cristofori, was integrated with the Pollini institute and developed a programme of concerts, including music by the most advanced European composers. After 1953 the legacy of the Cristofori was taken over by the Amici della Musica and the Centro d'Arte of the university, which by the 1970s had raised concert life in Padua to a high level, despite the inadequacy of local performing venues.

The Orchestra da Camera di Padova e del Veneto, founded in October 1966, was directed and conducted by Claudio Scimone until 1983. Virtually the same group of musicians performed as the Solisti Veneti until the two orchestras became distinct in 1983. In that year Peter Maag became resident conductor of the Orchestra da Camera, one of the few Italian chamber orchestras of international standard. The Solisti Veneti remain active under Scimone, who in 1971 launched the annual Tartini Festival, focussing on revivals of 18th-century music. It was subsequently renamed the Veneto Festival and expanded its scope.

When, after World War II, a bill was passed regulating operatic activity in Italy, Padua failed to achieve the status of 'teatro di tradizione' which would have guaranteed the survival of an opera theatre in the city; today productions are occasional, and the local opera public goes to the nearby theatres of Venice, Verona, Treviso and Rovigo. There is, however, a Centro Lirico in Padua which organizes concerts of operatic repertory. Following the fire which destroyed the Teatro La Fenice in 1996, the Teatro Verdi has hosted productions from Venice.

Since 1973 a laboratory for electronic music, the Centro di Sonologia Computazionale has been active within the university. In 1983 a group specifically devoted to contemporary music, Interensemble, was founded in Padua and has contributed substantially to the diffusion of new music.

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Paduana. *See* PAVAN and PADOANA .

Paean (Gk. *paian*, *paiēōn*, *paiōn*, *paōn*). Ancient Greek choral hymn addressed to Apollo, Artemis, Zeus, Dionysus, Asclepius or Hygieia. Proclus's *Useful Knowledge* defines it as a species of song specifically assigned to be sung to Apollo and Artemis for the cessation of plagues and maladies but later written for all the gods. The term is also applied to military hymns; hymns composed in honour of an important event, such as the ratification of a treaty; and, later, hymns addressed to prominent persons. In the *Iliad* (i.472–4) the term appears in connection with a hymn sung to Apollo as a propitiation for the Greek army's offence against the god; and later (xxii.391–4) the term is used to describe a piece sung in celebration of a victory. In addition, the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* preserves the famous cry of the Cretan paean singers, 'Ie Paean' (*iēpaiēon*), which was used as an epithet for Apollo in his role as healer. Pseudo-Plutarch (*On Music*, 1134b–d, 1146b–c), in the course of his survey of the Spartan musical pioneers, referred to Thaletas, Xenodamus, Xenocritus and Pindar as composers of paeans, but he also made it clear that there was some disagreement about the precise distinction between a paean and a *hyporchēma*. In the works of Pindar, however, he maintained that the distinction is clear; a fragment perhaps from one of Pindar's threnodies does indicate the poet's awareness of generic distinctions (frag.128c1–9). Several paeans are counted among the surviving musical

fragments, including the two famous examples from the Athenian treasury (*see* HYMN, §I, 1).

The paean was flexible enough to serve diverse literary, devotional, narrative, religious and civic purposes in Greek society. The inherent musicality of the genre is evident not only in the allusions that abound in the texts themselves but also in the way the text and music work together to create rhythmic variety within the larger metric framework and to articulate structural patterns in the overall form.

See also GREECE, §I, 4.

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For further bibliography *see* HYMN, §I.

THOMAS J. MATHIESEN

Paer, Ferdinando (*b* Parma, 1 June 1771; *d* Paris, 3 May 1839). Italian composer. He was one of the central figures in the development of *opera semiseria* during the first decade of the 19th century.

1. LIFE. Paer received his first musical instruction from his father Giulio, a horn player in the Parma court theatre orchestra after 1778, and later studied with the court *maestro di cappella* Gian Francesco Fortunati. Paer's first known stage work was *Orphée et Euridice* (1791, Parma), on a French text with spoken dialogue, and his earliest Italian opera was *Circe* (1792, Venice). On the strength of these initial accomplishments he was appointed honorary *maestro di cappella* to the Parma court, a post which allowed him to compose numerous comic operas, many for other cities (among them *L'intrigo amoroso* for Venice in 1795 which as *Saed, ossia Gli intrighi del serraglio* was his first opera to make a mark outside Parma), and three *opere serie* (*L'Idomeneo*, *Ero e Leandro* and *Il Cinna*). In 1797 he was promoted to *direttore musicale di tutti i regi servizi* in Parma, a position which called for him to substitute for the two regular *maestri di cappella* when they were ill or absent.

Later that same year Paer moved to Vienna to become musical director of the Kärntnertortheater and thus, like many other Italian composers of his day, began a series of foreign appointments that was to lead him to achieve his greatest success outside Italy. In 1798 he married the soprano Francesca Riccardi (*b* Parma, 1774; *d* Bologna, 1845), whom he had known in Parma and for whom he later created the roles of Briseis in *Achille*, Isabella in *I fuorusciti di Firenze*, Sofia in *Sargino* and Leonora in *Leonora, ossia L'amore conjugale*. The first two of Paer's operas in the *semiseria* style that made him famous were produced during his tenure in Vienna – *Griselda* (1798, Parma), on a famous Boccaccio tale of feminine virtue, set by many other Italian composers, and *Camilla, ossia Il sotterraneo* (1799, Vienna), a macabre 'rescue opera' whose libretto was based on that used for Dalayrac's opera *Camille*; his very successful though rather old-fashioned *opera seria Achille* was also given there in 1801. While in Vienna, Paer met Beethoven and encountered a broad spectrum of musical styles, which probably enriched his already skilful treatment of the orchestra.



Ferdinando Paer: portrait by François Gérard, charcoal (Museo Glauco Lombardi, Parma)

After a short time in Prague in 1801, Paer accepted the post of court Kapellmeister in Dresden, where for the court theatre he wrote in successive years three of his most important works: *I fuorusciti* (1802), *Sargino* (1803) and *Leonora* (1804), the last based on a story that Mayr and Beethoven used in operas staged the following year. In Dresden he came to the attention of Napoleon, who is said to have particularly admired *Achille*. Paer followed Napoleon to Posen (now Poznań) and Warsaw in 1806, became his *maître de chapelle* in Paris in 1807 and eventually director of the Opéra-Comique and, after Spontini's dismissal, music director of the Théâtre Italien in 1812. After Napoleon's abdication in 1814 he retained only the last of these positions (until 1818, serving again in 1819–24 and 1826–7), but through connections made previously was able to support himself handsomely as a singing master and composition teacher to members of the upper classes (Liszt studied composition with him in the 1820s). Apart from *L'oriflamme* (1814, written in collaboration with Méhul, Berton and Kreutzer), Paer's operas written in Paris were exclusively Italian (including *Agnese* for Parma, 1809) until 1816. Then, perhaps to regain some of the popularity he had lost to Rossini and to such new stars as Boieldieu, he began with *Le maître de chapelle, ou Le souper imprévu* (1821) an intermittent series of French works which ended with the *opéra comique Un caprice de femme* (1834). His last opera, *Olinde et Sophronie*, was never completed.

From 1824 to 1826 Paer yielded his directorship of the Théâtre Italien to Rossini, who agreed to assume the position only if his older colleague were not displaced. Rossini's solicitude seems surprising, since Paer had for years been accused publicly of intriguing against Rossini's operas in Paris – a charge that Paer himself felt obliged to rebut in a pamphlet printed after his dismissal as director in 1826. He received the cross of the Légion d'Honneur in 1828 and in 1831 succeeded Catel as a member of the Académie des Beaux-Arts; in 1832 he became director of chamber music and *maître de chapelle* to Louis-Philippe. From 1837 until his death he taught composition at the

Conservatoire, where he had been superintendent since 1834.

2. WORKS. Paer was a prolific composer, producing at least 55 operas, most of them during the 25-year span from 1791 to 1816. Although he wrote many traditional *opere serie* and *opere buffe*, his historical contribution centres on his operas of mixed genre, the Italian counterparts (with sung recitatives) of the hybrid French *opéras comiques* of the post-Revolutionary period. The balance between comic and serious elements in these works varies considerably. Paer's *dramma eroicomico Sargino* has a mock-heroic flavour, emphasizing comic elements over serious ones and giving *buffo* characters roles at least as weighty as those of the hero and heroine. His *opere semiserie*, on the other hand, are essentially serious operas with happy endings. For example, *Camilla*, *I fuorusciti* and *Leonora* are 'rescue operas' after the model of Cherubini, set in the lonely, ominous settings of Gothic romances – ruined castles, threatening forests and dank underground vaults; *Agnese* even incorporates a mad scene. Yet the tension of these situations is relieved regularly by the intrusion of cowardly servants and pairs of rustic lovers, who provide comic relief and express nostalgic or folklike sentiments.

Paer's operas of *mezzo carattere*, like those of his contemporaries, have expansive multi-sectional arias alternating with ones of more modest size; they range through the entire gamut of vocal styles from comic parlando to elaborate, highly ornamented melody; and, like comic operas, they incorporate a high proportion of elaborate, freely constructed action ensembles (this is especially true of *Leonora*). Operas of this type – and Paer's in particular, because they were relatively well known – played an influential role in the infusion of comic elements such as continuous action, formal flexibility and complexity, and dramatic and musical continuity into serious opera later in the century. Moreover, in their situations and settings they constitute early examples of the infusion of northern Romanticism into Italian opera.

Paer's particular contribution to these intermediate genres extends to many aspects of style. Perhaps more successfully than his contemporaries he managed to integrate the attributes of comic and serious opera (notably in *Agnese*), characterizing his heroes and heroines more realistically and giving his intermediate characters greater vocal weight by making their roles more florid and technically demanding, while not eliminating entirely the traditional distinctions between different types of character. He made use of orchestration to evoke the gloomy atmosphere of many of his scenes, particularly in their pantomime preludes, and he expanded the role of orchestrally accompanied recitative, using tonal and rhythmic tension and instrumental colour to exploit more fully its psychological and expressive potential.

In his vocal writing Paer provided a link between late 18th-century composers (Cimarosa and Paisiello) and Rossini and his followers. Like those of his predecessors, Paer's works overflow with sweet, luminous italianate melodies organized in elegant phrases and supported by transparent harmonies. Yet he led the move away from casting sopranos – women and castratos – as the male love interest and towards adapting the tenor voice for this purpose, raising its tessitura to bring it closer to the brilliant clarity of traditional soprano heroes and separating it from the other tenor roles (compare, for example, the parts of Florestano and Pizzarro in *Leonora*). Moreover, in contrast to Mayr, who shared with 18th-century composers a taste for long vocal melismas, Paer anticipated Rossini's techniques of scattering relatively short ornaments throughout his melodies, ending phrases with *gruppetti*, and writing in a semi-syllabic style (in which two or three notes are given to each syllable). Paer had a talent for inventing vocal filigree – his *fioriture* constitute a primary source of aesthetic and dramatic effect in many of his melodies – and the patterns that he devised show striking similarities to Rossini's repertory of ornaments.

As a person Paer was disliked – apparently with some justification – by many of his contemporaries, particularly by envious native composers at courts where he was Kapellmeister. He showed no compunction about using his power at the Théâtre Italien against such rivals as Spontini and Rossini, and he was said to have led a dissolute life. Yet he won over contemporary audiences with his engaging music. His skill at achieving virtually immediate success in several operatic centres of contrasting character – Parma and other Italian cities, Vienna, Dresden and Paris – demonstrates his ability to adapt his style to varying tastes. And although Stendhal (letter, 1824, cited in Minardi, 1987) criticized his *canto spianato* for its lack of passion, Berlioz judged his instrumentation (in *Agnese*) to be 'sober and sensible', and Carpani praised him, with Mayr, Zingarelli and others, for exploring the expressive possibilities of the orchestra without overpowering his melodies – in short, for defending 'good music'. Paer's late *opéra comique Le maître de chapelle* was his only work to survive as part of the 19th-century repertory (and to a lesser extent that of the 20th century); moreover, it is usually performed in a severely truncated and dramatically inconclusive version which emphasizes its most conservative traits (although Barnabé's self-congratulatory aria and Gertrude's singing-lesson are certainly charming), thus constituting an inadequate and unrepresentative legacy for a composer who, with Mayr, dominated the Italian operatic scene at the turn of the century.

WORKS

STAGE

PMD – *Parma, Teatro Ducale*
VM – *Venice, Teatro S Moisè*
WK – *Vienna, Kärntnertortheater*

Orphée et Euridice (prose op [play with songs], 1, Duplessis), Parma, Court, 1791

Circe (op, 3, D. Perelli), Venice, S Samuele, carn. 1792; also perf. as Calypso, *I-Fc**, *B-Bc*

Le astuzie amorose, o Il tempo fa giustizia a tutti (dg, 2, A. Brambilla), PMD, aut. 1792, *F-Pc*, *I-Bc*, *Mr*, *PAc*; also perf. as La locanda dei vagabondi, *D-MÜs*, *I-Fc*, *US-Bp*, *Wc*

I portenti del magnetismo (ob, 2), VM, carn. 1793

Icilio e Virginia (2, G. Foppa), Padua, Nuovo, June 1793

Laodicea (3, Foppa), Padua, Nuovo, June 1793, duet *I-PAc*; as Tegene e Laodicea, Florence, 1799, *Fc*

I pretendenti burlati (dg, 2, G.C. Grossardi), Medesano, Teatrino Privato Grossardi, sum. 1793, *PAc*

L'oro fa tutto (dg, 2, A. Anelli), Milan, Scala, Aug 1793, *D-Dl*, *I-Fc*, *Mr*, *PAc*; as Geld ist die Lösung, Dresden, 1795

Il nuovo Figaro (dg, 4, L. Da Ponte), PMD, Jan 1794; *Fc* (as Il matrimonio di Figaro]

Il matrimonio improvviso (farsa, 1, Foppa), VM, 22 Feb 1794; as I due sordi, Parma, 1801

I molinari (farsa, 1, Foppa), VM, 22 Feb 1794, *D-Dl*, *F-Pc*, *US-Bp*

Il fornaro (farsa, 1), VM, carn. 1794

L'Idomeneo (dramma serio, 2, G. Sertor), Florence, Palla a Corda, spr. 1794, *I-PAc*

Ero e Leandro (dramma, 2), Naples, S Carlo, 13 Aug 1794, *Fc*, *Nc*, *PAc*

L'inganno in trionfo (int, 1), Florence, Palla a Corda, 1794
Una in bene e una in male (dg, 2, Foppa), Rome, Valle, 1794, *B-Bc*, *I-Fc*, *Mr*, *PAc*, *US-Bp*, vs, lacking recit. (Paris, ?1810); as Le astuzie di Patacca, Dresden, 1802
La Rossana (melodramma serio, 3, A. Aureli), Milan, Scala, carn. 1795, *I-Mr**, *PAc*
Il Cinna (melodramma serio, 2, Anelli), Padua, Nuovo, 13 June 1795, *Fc*, *PAc* [2 copies]
Anna (ob, 2), Padua, Nuovo, June 1795
L'intrigo amoroso (dg, 2, G. Bertati), VM, 4 Dec 1795, *D-Dl*, *I-Fc*; as Saed, ossia Gl'intrighi del serraglio, Venice, 1795, *Fc*; as Il male vien dal buco, Bologna, 1797, *US-Bp*
L'orfana riconosciuta (dg), Florence, Pergola, 2 April 1796, *I-Fc*
L'amante servitore (commedia in musica, 2, A. Sografi), VM, 26 Dec 1796, *Fc*
Il principe di Taranto (dg, 2, F. Livigni), PMD, 11 Feb 1797, *B-Bc*, *D-Dl*, *I-Bc*, *Fc*, *Mr*, *PAc* [2 copies], *US-Bp*; rev. as La contadina fortunata (A.L. Tottola), 1807
Il fanatico in Berlina, WK, 1797
Griselda, ossia La virtù al cimento (dramma semiserio, 2, Anelli), PMD, Jan 1798, *A-Wgm*, *B-Bc*, *D-Dl*, *DS*, *F-Pc*, *GB-Lbl*, *I-Fc* [2 copies, titled La virtù al cimento], *Mr*, *PAc* [2 copies], *US-Bp*, *CA*, *Wc*, vs (Bonn, ?1815)
Camilla, ossia Il sotterraneo (dramma semiserio, 3, G. Carpani, after B.-J. Marsollier des Vivetières), WK, 28 Feb 1799, *A-Wgm*, *Wn*, *B-Bc*, *D-Bsb*, *DS*, *Mbs*, *F-Pc*, *I-Fc* [2 copies], *Mc*, *Mr*, *Nc*, *Pca*, *PAc* [5 copies], Bottini collection, Pisa, *US-Bp*, *Wc*, vs (Bonn 1799; Paris, n.d.)
Il maestro di ballo (farsa, 1, Foppa), VM, carn. 1799
Il morto vivo (ob, 2, C.P. Defranceschi), WK, 12 July 1799, *B-Bc*, *D-Bsb*, *Ds*, *I-Fc*, *US-Bp*
La testa riscaldata (farsa, 1, Foppa), Venice, S Benedetto, 20 Jan 1800, *D-Dl*, *I-Fc*, *US-Bp*, vs (Mainz, n.d.)
La sonnambula (farsa, 1, Foppa), Venice, S Benedetto, 15 Feb 1800, *I-Mr**, *Fc*, *US-Bp*
Ginevra degli Almieri (op tragicomica, 4, Foppa), WK, 2 Sept 1800, *A-Wgm*, *B-Bc*, *D-DS*, *I-Bc*, *Fc* [2 copies], *Mr*, *PAc*, *US-Bp*
Poche ma buone, ossia Le donne cambiate (ob, 2, Foppa), WK, 18 Dec 1800, *I-Fc* [1 act]; in Ger. as Der lustige Schuster, *D-Bsb*, *Ds*, ov. (Offenbach, *c*1800), excerpts, vs (Leipzig, *c*1890)
Achille (melodramma eroico, 2, G. De Gamerra, after Homer), WK, 6 June 1801, *B-Bc*, *D-Bsb*, *Dl*, *DS*, *F-Pc*, *GB-Lbl*, *I-Bc*, *Fc*, *Mr*, *Nc*, *PAc*, *US-Bp*, vs (Bonn, n.d.; Hamburg, n.d.; Paris, n.d.)
I fuorusciti di Firenze (op semiseria, 2, Anelli), Dresden, Hof, 27 Nov 1802, *D-Bsb*, *Dl*, *F-Pc*, *GB-Lbl*, *Lcm*, *I-Fc* [2 copies], *Mr*, *PAc*, *US-Bp*, Ger. vs (Leipzig, *c*1805)
Sargino, ossia L'allievo dell'amore (dramma eroicomico, 2, Foppa), Dresden, Hof, 26 May 1803, *B-Bc* [Ger.], *D-Bsb*, *Dl*, *Ds*, *DS*, *I-Fc*, *Mr*, *Nc*, *PAc* [2 copies], *US-Bp*, vs (Leipzig, ?1803; Bonn, n.d.; Brunswick, n.d.)
Lodoiska (dramma eroico, 3, F. Gonella), Bologna, Comunale, sum. 1804
Leonora, ossia L'amore conjugale (dramma semiserio, 2, G. Schmidt, after J.N. Bouilly), Dresden, Hof, 3 Oct 1804, *B-Bc*, *D-Bsb* [Ger.], *Dl* [Ger.], *DS*, *I-Fc* [2 copies], *Mr*, *US-Bp*, excerpts, vs (Leipzig, ?1805)
Sofonisba (dramma serio, 2, Schmidt), Bologna, Corso, 19 May 1805, *I-Mr**, *A-Wgm*, *B-Bc*, *D-DS*, *MÜs*, *I-Fc*, *Nc*, *US-Bp*, vs (Bonn, ?1808)
Il maniscalco (dg), Florence, Palla a Corda, sum. 1805, *I-Mr*, *PAc*
Numa Pompilio (dramma serio, 3, M. Noris), Paris, Tuileries, carn. 1808, *B-Bc*, *D-Dl*, *I-Fc*, vs, lacking recit (London, n.d.)
Cleopatra, Paris, 1808
Diana e Endimione, ossia Il ritardo (int, S. Vestris), Paris, Tuileries, aut. 1809, *Fc*, vs (Leipzig, ?1811)
Agnese (dramma semiserio, 2, L. Buonavoglia, after F. Casari), Parma, Villa Douglas-Scotti, Ponte d'Attaro, Oct 1809, *B-Bc*, *D-Bsb*, *Mbs*, *I-Bc*, *Fc*, *Gl*, *Mc*, *Mr*, *Nc* [2 copies], *PAc* [2 copies], *Pca*, *US-Su* [Act 1], *Wc*, vs (Paris, ?1811)
La Didone (melodramma serio, 2, P. Metastasio), Paris, Tuileries, 1810, *D-Dl*, *I-Fc*, *MOe*, *PAc* [2 copies], vs (London, 1814)
Un pazzo ne fa cento (ob, 2), Florence, Pergola, aut. 1812
I Baccanti (os, 2, G. Rossi), Paris, Tuileries, 7 Jan 1813, excerpts *A-Wn**
Poche ma buone, ossia La moglie ravveduta (farsa comica, 1, De Gamerra), Rome, Valle, sum. 1813
L'oriflamme (opéra, 1, C.-G. Etienne and L.P.-M.-F. Baour-Lormian), Paris, Opéra, 1 Feb 1814, collab. E.-N. Méhul, H.-M. Berton, R. Kreutzer; *F-Pn*, *Po*, *I-PAc*; (Paris, 1814)
Oro non compra amore (ob, 2), Pavia, Quattro Signori, 1814
L'eroismo in amore (melodramma serio, 2, L. Romanelli), Milan, Scala, 26 Dec 1815, *Mr**, *Fc*
La primavera felice (op giocosa, 1, L. Balocchi), Paris, Italien, 5 July 1816, *Fc*, excerpts (Paris, n.d.)
Le maître de chapelle, ou Le souper imprévu (oc, 2, S. Gay, after A. Duval), Paris, Feydeau, 29 March 1821 (Paris, ?1821), vs (Paris, ?1854)
Blanche de Provence, ou La cour des fées (opéra, 1, M.E.G.M. Théaulon and de Rancé), Paris, Tuileries, 1 May 1821, *F-Po*, collab. Berton, A. Boieldieu, Cherubini, Kreutzer
Olinde et Sophronie (after T. Tasso), intended for the Opéra, ?1824, inc., *US-Wc**
La marquise de Brinvilliers (oc, 3, E. Scribe and Castil-Blaze), Paris, OC (Ventadour), 31 Oct 1831 (Paris, 1831), collab. Auber, Batton, Berton, Blangini, Boieldieu, Carafa, Cherubini and Hérold
Un caprice de femme (oc, 1, J.P.F. Lesguillon), Paris, OC (Bourse), 23 July 1834 (Paris, 1834)
Music in: Lo sprezzatore schernito, 1816

CANTATAS

Adieux de la société de Vienne à Mme la princesse Boris de Galitzin, S, 3vv, pf, *A-Wgm*; Arianna consolata (componimento drammatico, L. Prividali), *I-Fc*; Cantata pel giorno natalizio del signor Luigi Franul de Weissenthurn, solo vv, pf, *A-Wgm*, *Wn*; Cantate pour la fête du sacre S.M. le roi de France, Charles X, vv, pf (Paris, n.d.); Untitled cant., 3 solo vv [Felicità, Virtù, Imeneo], orch, *I-Fc*; Das heilige Grab, Vienna, 1803
È cessato il tempo, for Prince Lobkowitz, *A-Wn**; Eloisa e Abelardo agli Elisi, 2 solo vv, pf (Vienna, 1798); Europa in Creta, 1v, pf (Leipzig, ?1810); I bisogni sollevati (conc. drammatico), Vienna, 1805; Il più bel giorno di festa, 4 solo vv, chorus, orch, *I-Fc**; La conversazione filarmonica (cant. comica), 4 solo vv, chorus, orch, *Fc*; La gloria al massimo degli eroi, S, (hp, pf)/hp (Paris, n.d.)
La gloria coronante un eroe, S, hp, pf (London, ?1810) [? same as preceding]; La lanterna magica (divertimento), actors, vv, orch, *Fc*; L'amor timido (P. Metastasio), S, pf (Leipzig, n.d.); L'apoteosi, vv, orch, *Fc*; Prometeo al Caucaso, *Mr*; Saffo, S, orch (Paris, ?1815); Ulisse e Penelope, S, A, orch (Paris, ?1820)

OTHER VOCAL

Orats: Il trionfo della chiesa, Parma, 1804, *I-Fc**, copy *F-Pc*; La Passione di Gesù Cristo (Metastasio), Parma, 1810, *A-Wgm*, *I-Fc*; Il S Sepolcro, Dresden, 1818, *D-Dl*; Per la festività del S Natale (Metastasio), 3vv, insts, *Fc* [2 copies]
Sacred: masses, vv, orch, *D-Bsb*, *Dkh*, *I-Fc*; Kyrie-Gloria, 4vv, orch, *Bc*; Credo, 4vv, orch, *Fc*; Offertoire pour la mort du duc de Berry, *NL-At*; O salutaris, 3vv, vv, pf/org (Paris, *c*1825); Magnificat, 4vv, insts, *I-Fc*; 2 Tantum ergo: B, orch, *Fc*, T, orch, 1795, *Bc*; pss, hymns, others, *A-Wgm*, *B-Bc*, *D-Bsb*, *Dkh*, *I-Bc*, *Fc*
Vocal chbr: La Francia in pace, hymn (London, 1811); Grazie rendiamo, hymn, 2 S, B, pf (Paris, n.d.); L'odalisca, 1v, hn, pf, *I-Baf**; Pastorale che si canta dagli Zampognari in Roma, 5vv, pf, *D-Dl*; O notte soave (serenade), 2 S, T, B, hn, vc, db, pf (Paris, ?1810); Canon, 3vv (London, ?1820; Brunswick, n.d.); Il tempio d'armonia, 4vv, pf (Paris, n.d.); numerous ariettes, songs, duets, romances, notturni, many pubd
Pedagogical: 24 exercises pour voix de soprano ou tenore contenant gammes variées et solfèges (Leipzig, ?1822; Naples, n.d.); 36 vocalises pour voix de basse-taille avec pianoforte (Paris, n.d.); 6 solfeggi facili, per cantar di portamento

INSTRUMENTAL

Orch: Sym. (Leipzig, *c*1810); Sym., D (Paris, n.d.); Sinfonia baccante (Paris, n.d.); 5 syms., *I-Fc*, 3 syms., D, D, B♭, *Bc*; others, *PAc*; Hpd Conc., *PAc*; Org Conc., *PAc*; Grandes marches exécutées dans les galeries du museum au moment du passage de leurs MM. II. et RR. le jour de la bénédiction nuptiale de leur mariage, arr. pf (Paris, ?1810); Vive Henri IV, variations (Paris, ?1815)
Chbr: 3 grandes sonates, pf, vn, vc ad lib (Paris, ?1810); Sonata, pf, vn ad lib (Florence, n.d.); 6 pièces d'harmonie, 2 cl, 2 hn, 2 bn (Offenbach, n.d.); 6 Waltzes, 2 vn (Leipzig, n.d.); 6 Waltzes, pf (Paris, *c*1810); Potpourri variato (Vienna, n.d.); Polonaise favorite, pf

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R. Engländer: 'Paers "Leonora" und Beethovens "Fidelio"', *NBeJb 1930*, 118–32
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S.L. BALTHAZAR (text, bibliography), JULIAN BUDDEN(work-list)

Paersch, Franz Friedrich (*b* Thalberg, nr Leipzig, 23 Dec 1857; *d* Manchester, 30 March 1921). German horn player. After studying at the Leipzig Conservatory he came to England in 1882 and was appointed principal horn of the Hallé Orchestra in Manchester in the following year, holding this post until his retirement in 1915. He also played principal horn for the Richter concerts in London, and for the grand opera season at the Royal Italian Opera House, Covent Garden. As professor at the Royal Manchester College of Music, his teaching was mainly by example, but he nevertheless definitively influenced the developing English style of horn playing, which was justly admired until well after World War II.

Paersch originally used a rotary-valve F horn of German make and narrow bore, but soon adopted an old Raoux *cor d'orchestre* fitted with piston valves. While retaining the breadth of tone for which he was noted, he was able to adapt to the French instrument's brilliance and to combine the best of each school. Later he changed to a horn made by W. Brown & Sons of London on the Raoux pattern, and this became the standard English instrument until supplanted by the coarser-toned, but technically more secure, German double horn. Paersch's playing was notable for its fluency and absolute accuracy, but it never became an end in itself or detracted from the faithfulness of his interpretation. (R. Morley-Pegge: *The French Horn* (London, 1960, 2/1973))

HORACE FITZPATRICK

Paez [Pets, Petz]. Russian firm of music publishers and booksellers. The founder, Johann Paez, bought the business of F.A. Dittmar in St Petersburg around 1810, taking over the plates and catalogue of Gerstenberg and Dittmar, one of the leading music publishing firms in the city. Paez had previously collaborated with the publisher J. Brieff and it is likely that this business relationship continued beyond 1810. Some evidence suggests that the publishing house of Klever took over Dittmar's original business in 1808 and that, in fact, Paez technically acquired the business from Klever two years after this, but maintained the Dittmar name on some later publications. An extensive catalogue (dated 1810) of music bearing the Paez imprint available at the firm's music shop, 125 Bol'shaya Morskaya, reveals that the business was well established at this time and was issuing a wide variety of music, including works for orchestra, chamber music, solo instrumental music and teaching materials. Contained in the catalogue is a reference to two sets of piano miniatures by Paez himself, indicating that his interest in music went beyond the merely commercial. The firm flourished in the period 1810 to 1820, but appears then to have declined as other publishers established a stronger presence. The business is known to have operated from at least three different premises in Bol'shaya Morskaya. At least part of it was sold to Klever some time after 1826; it was later transferred to F.T. Stellovsky.

NIGEL J. YANDELL

Paff. American firm of publishers. John Paff established a publishing firm at 112 Broadway in New York in 1798. In 1799 he was joined by his brother Michael. Frederick Rausch may have worked for the brothers from 1800 to 1803, when the firm was located in Maiden Lane. In 1806 a branch was opened at 2 City Hotel. In 1810 Michael left the firm and John moved several times, finally, in 1817, to 15 Wall Street, where the firm was dissolved later that year. Paff was the most prolific New York music publisher in the first decade of the 19th century. It has been estimated that the firm may have produced 650 issues from 1798 to 1816. Its plate stock was purchased by William Dubois in 1817, who reissued Paff plates from 1836 to 1840. Though the Paff brothers carried out their own engraving, they occasionally printed from plates engraved by William Pirsson, and later by Edward Riley. Among Paff publications are Frederick Rausch's *Liberty's Throne* (*c*1803), *The Ladies Musical Journal* (from 1799), a collection entitled *The Gentlemen's Amusement* (probably after 1808), *President Madison's March* (1809), works by James Hook and Pleyel, and excerpts from Rodolphe Kreutzer's *Lodoiska* and Michael Kelly's *Blue Beard*.

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CALVIN ELLIKER

Paganelli, Giuseppe [Gioseffo] **Antonio** (*b* Padua, 6 March 1710; *d* ?Madrid, *c*1763). Italian composer. Although there is little information concerning his early years, his

membership of the Accademia dei Geniali (which in 1731–2 performed his oratorio *Il figliuol prodigo* and his cantatas *Narciso al fonte* and *Apoteosi di Alcide*) has been taken as evidence that his family was respectable and his education good. This is consistent with the contemporary description of him as a 'virtuoso dilettante di Padova'. Reports that he studied with Tartini remain to be confirmed. He made his début as an opera composer at Venice in 1732 with *La caduta di Leone, imperator d'Oriente*. Five further operas by him were staged there, the last being *La forza del sangue* (1743). Meanwhile, Paganelli travelled widely; in 1733 he appeared as a harpsichordist with the opera troupe of Antonio Maria Peruzzi in Augsburg, displaying his skills as a virtuoso at musical gatherings there. He visited Prague in 1735 for the performance of his opera *La pastorella regnante*. In 1736 he was in Rheinsberg and Brunswick, where he produced several operas during the next three years. Although Paganelli liked to describe himself as 'compositeur des opéras italiens de S.A.S. Monseigneur le duc régnant de Brunswick Lunebourg' on title-pages of later Parisian publications, no direct evidence of such an appointment has been found. In 1737 he became director of chamber music to the Margravine Wilhelmine of Bayreuth, a post which he left at the end of 1738. His career thereafter is less easy to trace. Apparently, he kept up connections with various German courts including that of Baden-Durlach. His output in the smaller instrumental forms was considerable and won him a lasting popularity.

Several of Paganelli's later publications, starting with *XXX ariae pro organo et cembalo* (1756), describe the composer as director of chamber music to the King of Spain. This unconfirmed claim is supported by the abrupt shift in the focus of his attention in the mid-1750s from ensemble music (published in Paris) to keyboard music (published in Augsburg, Amsterdam and Nuremberg), making him a possible successor to Domenico Scarlatti at Madrid. It may also be relevant that a Luigi Paganelli (possibly his son) sang, as a member of an Italian opera troupe, in Gherardesca's *La notte critica* at Barcelona in 1769. Although the date and place of Paganelli's death are unknown, a *dernier oeuvre* brought out by Leloup in 1764 fixes that year as the latest in which he could have died.

Merely to list the genres to which Paganelli contributed is to describe (by implication) his style. The trios, duet sonatas (for two violins or flutes) and solo sonatas exhibit a modish cosmopolitanism gravitating towards the light and melodious idiom of the opera. His keyboard sonatas have attracted some attention as fluent though not particularly advanced specimens of the Italian *galant* style.

WORKS

music lost unless otherwise stated

OPERAS

La caduta di Leone, imperator d'Oriente (dramma per musica, 3, C. Pagani Cesa), Venice, S Angelo, 1732
Ginestra e Lichetto (int, L. Giusti), Venice, S Angelo, carn. 1733
Tigrane (dramma per musica, 3, B. Vitturi), Venice, S Angelo, 1733
La pastorella regnante (azione musicale drammatica, 2), Prague, Sporck, spr. 1735
Arrenione (dramma per musica, 3, F. Silvani), Brunswick, 1736, *D-Wa*
Artaserse (dramma per musica, 3, P. Metastasio), Brunswick, 1737
L'asilo d'amore (festa teatrale, 1, Metastasio), Brunswick, 1737
Tirsi (pastorale, 3, F. de Lemene), Wolfenbüttel, 1737
Farnace (dramma per musica, 3, A.M. Lucchini), Brunswick, 1738
Barsina (dramma per musica, 3, Silvani, after J. Pradon: *Statira*), Venice, S Cassiano, aut. 1742
Engelberta (dramma per musica, 3, A. Zeno and P. Pariati), Venice, S Cassiano, carn. 1743
La forza del sangue (pastorale, 2, Vitturi), Venice, S Cassiano, carn. 1743
Arias in *D-Dl*, *KA*, *ROu*, *S-Uu*, *US-SFsc*

OTHER VOCAL

Il figliuol prodigo (orat), Padua, 1731–2
2 cants.: Narciso al fonte (G. Zangarini), Padua, 1731–2, *A-Wn*; Apoteosi di Alcide (Zangarini), Padua, 1731–2
Q. Horatii Flacci odae sex selectae, S, str, op.8 (Paris, *c*1745)
Premier recueil d'ariettes italiennes et françoises avec simfonie, op.9 (Paris, *c*1745)

INSTRUMENTAL

Vn conc., *I-Pca*; fl conc., *D-KA*
24 sonatas, 2 vn/fl, bc, 6 each in opp.1, 2, 3, 7 (Paris, *c*1740–42)
?6 sonatas, 2 vn/fl, bc, op.10 (Paris, *c*1745), lost
30 duos, 2 vn/fl, 6 each in opp.4, 5, 13, 'dernier oeuvre', unnumbered set (Paris, *c*1742–64)
6 sonatas, fl, bc, op.16 (Paris, *c*1750)
?Minuets, vn, bc, 'op.9' (Paris, *c*1750), lost
Divertissement musical contenant XXX airs, hpd (Augsburg, 1756)
XXX ariae, org/hpd (Augsburg, 1756)
3 sonatas, hpd, in J.U. Haffner: Raccolta musicale, ii–iv (Nuremberg, 1757–62)
Divertissement de le beau sexe, ou Six sonatines, hpd (Amsterdam and London, *c*1760)
Duos for 2 b insts, arr. Astraudy (Paris, *c*1760)
6 sinfonie a 4, op.1 (Nuremberg, *c*1760)
Symphonies, *Rtt*

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MICHAEL TALBOT

Paganina (It.). A type of PASSAMEZZO appearing in Italy during the late 16th and early 17th centuries. Among the earliest examples, G.C. Barbetta's *Passo'e mezo detto la Paganina* for lute (1582) is paired with a *gagliarda*, as is Terzi's example of 1599, while Giorgio Mainerio's *Pass'e mezzo della Paganina* for ensemble (1578, ed. in Musikalische Denkmäler, v, Mainz, 1961; repr. in 1583 by Phalèse) is followed by a saltarello. During the 17th century examples for the five-course Spanish guitar appeared under the name 'Paganina' in tablatures by Girolamo Montesardo (1606), G.A. Colonna (1620), G.P. Foscarini (1629) and Agostino Trombetti (1639). The lower staff of ex.1 shows a chordal guitar *paganina* by Foscarini (the stems show the direction the hand moves in strumming the chords); on the upper staff is a discant melody suggested by Mainerio's *Pass'e mezzo della Paganina*. The harmonic framework is based on the same chordal scheme as the *passamezzo antico* (*see* GROUND, ex.1*b*) but with a different structure and with variation chords added (the numerals of the latter are in parentheses in ex.1).

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RICHARD HUDSON

Ex.1 Musical scheme of the paganina



Paganini, Ercole (*b* Ferrara, *c*1770; *d* Novara, June 1825). Italian composer. He studied at the Conservatorio della Pietà dei Turchini in Naples from 1792 under Sala and Tritto and became *maestrino* (1793) and *mastricello* (by 1798) there. In 1799 he was arrested for treason; on his release he went, like Cimarosa, to Venice, where in 1800 his first opera, *Il matrimonio a forza, ossia I consulti rabbiosi*, was performed. Six other operas followed (to 1814), but these were overshadowed by Rossini's successes, and Paganini turned to writing sacred music. He was appointed *maestro di cappella* of Novara Cathedral in 1823. His sacred choral pieces, notably *Christus* (1797), the cantata *L'uomo contento* (1795), and numerous psalms and motets, with their fluent melodic writing, supple rhythms and dramatic passages, are of high quality and, unlike his stage works, show his talent at its best.

WORKS

STAGE

Il matrimonio a forza, ovvero I consulti rabbiosi (farsa giocosa, 1, G. Foppa), Venice, S Moisè, 1 Dec 1800
L'Olimpia (dramma serio, 2), Florence, Pergola, 15 Sept 1804, *I-Fc*
La conquista del Messico (melodramma serio, 2, L. Romanelli), Milan, Scala, 4 Feb 1808, *Mc*
Lisinga (op, 2), Florence, S Maria, 1808
Le rivali generose (melodramma giocoso, 2, Romanelli), Milan, Scala, 10 June 1809, *Mc*
I filosofi al cimento (melodramma giocoso, 2, A. Anelli), Milan, Scala, 25 June 1810, *Mc*
Cesare in Egitto (melodramma serio, 2, L. Andreoli), Turin, Regio, 22 Jan 1814
Aria in the pasticcio Lo Sprezzatore schernito (burletta per musica, 1), Florence, Pergola, 22 Nov 1816

Doubtful: Demetrio a Rodi (op)

OTHER WORKS

L'uomo contento, quando è in grazia di Dio (cant., after Ps xcix, trans. S. Mattei), S, A, orch, Naples, 1795, *Nc*
Christus (antiphony for Holy Week), S, coro, orch, Naples, 1797, *Nc*
Cantata per la concezione, 1v, orch, 1808, *Vnm*
3 masses, 3/4vv, orch, *Mc*, *NOVd*
Sacred works (*Nc*, *NOVd*) and instr works, incl. Conc. per pianoforte (*Fc*) and Sinfonia per valzer per pianoforte (Milan, n.d.)

Doubtful: La tempesta (cant.)

MARCO BEGHELLI

Paganini, Nicolò (*b* Genoa, 27 Oct 1782; *d* Nice, 27 May 1840). Italian violinist and composer. By his development of technique, his exceptional skills and his extreme personal magnetism he not only contributed to the history of the violin as its most famous virtuoso but also drew the attention of other Romantic composers, notably Liszt, to the significance of virtuosity as an element in art. As a composer of a large number of chamber works, mostly with or for guitar, Paganini was influential in furthering the performance and appreciation of music in private circles.

1. Early years. 2. Lucca, 1801–9. 3. First Italian tour, 1810–24. 4. Second Italian tour, 1825–7. 5. Austria, 1828. 6. Germany, 1829–30. 7. France and Great Britain, 1831–4, and last years, 1835–40. 8. Playing style.

1. EARLY YEARS. Paganini received his first musical education from his father, Antonio Paganini, a dock worker and an amateur musician, who taught him the mandolin and the violin. As the boy progressed rapidly in his studies, his father decided to place him in the abler hands of a professional violinist, Giovanni Cervetto (or Servetto), and later in those of Giacomo Costa, leader of the theatre orchestra. (About the latter Paganini once stated that he recollected with pleasure the lessons of 'good old Costa', but that he could not approve of his bowing.) He also studied composition, with Francesco Gnecco.

At about 12 he gave concerts in local churches and private circles, where his talent was noticed by the Marquis Giancarlo Dinegro from whom he received much encouragement. By this time Paganini had composed *Carmagnola*, a set of 14 variations for violin and guitar on a French revolutionary song. Since the guitar accompaniment is the same for all the variations, both the key (A major) and the rhythm (6/8) remain unchanged; however, this youthful work shows the composer's taste for unusual effects, such as 'organetto', directing the performer to imitate the nasal sound of a bagpipe by bowing on the bridge. Having been advised to continue his studies with Alessandro Rolla, leader of the ducal theatre at Parma, Paganini gave his own benefit concert in 1795 to raise funds to cover travelling expenses and tuition fees. Rolla was so impressed with the boy's outstanding technique and skill in sight-reading that he told him he could teach him nothing and recommended him to study composition with Ferdinando Paer. In Parma

Paganini found also another teacher, Gaspare Ghiretti, who no doubt contributed to the completion of his musical education. When Paganini returned to Genoa at the end of 1796 he was already an accomplished composer with an excellent command of music theory, orchestration and counterpoint. As he later told his biographer (Julius Schottky), he also enjoyed playing the guitar, for which he was to write more than 100 pieces.

The invasion of Italy in the late 1790s by Napoleon's troops, who took possession of Genoa, and the ensuing blockade of the harbour by the British fleet forced Antonio Paganini to leave his home town for Livorno in order to find work at the docks there. He took his son with him and succeeded in organizing a series of concerts with the help of the British Consul, Archibald MacNeill.

2. LUCCA, 1801–9. In September 1801 Paganini moved to Lucca. There he won great applause at a concert he gave for the Santa Croce festival, although he was criticized for having played jokes during his performance, such as imitating cries of animals and other peculiar sounds. The Lucca concert was perhaps the first public demonstration of his unorthodox behaviour both as an artist and as a man. His contempt for the audience, as well as his anarchic vision of life and infidelity in the performance of works by other composers, somewhat impaired his career. But in Lucca he felt more at home than anywhere else and he was to spend about ten years in this lively town, which could boast an important musical tradition: Boccherini and Manfredi, both of Lucca, were among the founders of the modern string quartet, while the Puccini family dominated its musical life for almost two centuries.

Paganini's reputation as an outstanding virtuoso was now enhanced by a more stable financial position. In 1805 he was appointed first violin of the republican orchestra, where he played with his elder brother Carlo (1778–1830), also a violinist. But when Napoleon's sister Elisa and her husband Prince Felice Baciocchi arrived at Lucca, Paganini was relegated to the second desk and soon had to take on other duties, which included giving violin lessons to Felice and conducting the new orchestra; he also had to wear the uniform of captain of the guards whenever his presence was required for official events.

Despite many engagements, Paganini found time to compose several sonatas for violin and guitar, and his first important work for violin and orchestra, which he entitled *Napoléon* as it was written specially for the nameday of Elisa's brother. The work is also called *Sonata Napoleone*, but has nothing to do with sonata form as it is based on three variations on a theme; it is to be played entirely on the G string, tuned up a minor 3rd. Through this device (which was known to Biber and Vivaldi, and termed 'scordatura'), Paganini confirmed once again his interest in producing different tone colours and altering the perceived nature of the violin.

3. FIRST ITALIAN TOUR, 1810–24. In 1810 Paganini decided to become an independent performer. Having left the court service he embarked on an extensive concert tour in the provinces of Romagna (Emilia-Romagna) and Lombardy. In Milan he met again Alessandro Rolla, who had been appointed leader of the orchestra at La Scala as well as teacher at the conservatory and who invited him to play at the theatre. While attending Süssmayr and Salvatore Viganò's ballet *Il noce di Benevento*, Paganini was much taken with an oboe passage marking the entry of the witches (*streghe*) who were to gather round a magic nut tree. He wrote three variations for violin and orchestra on the passage, and in this work (entitled *Le streghe*), double harmonics are used for the first time. He performed it several times in Milan, where it was an immediate success, but when he performed a violin concerto by Kreutzer or Rode criticism was inevitable: Peter Lichtenthal, for example, complained that Paganini's interpretation was too free and unfaithful to the original score. Whenever he had to face adverse criticism of that kind, Paganini invariably replied that he meant to play in the 'Italian manner'.

After the Milan triumphs, Paganini returned in 1814 to Genoa to give concerts in the local opera house, the S Agostino theatre. But having fallen in love with a young girl, Angiolina Cavanna, he eloped with her to Parma; they lived together for some months until their liaison was broken off. On his return to his home town, Paganini was charged with abduction by Angiolina's father and consequently spent a few days in prison. That incident marked the beginning of a series of such adventures, which saw him falling in and out of love without ever achieving a stable marital union.

The Napoleonic regime having come to an end in 1815, the Republic of Genoa was dissolved and the Ligurian region was incorporated with the Kingdom of Sardinia. Paganini, who was looked upon as a 'Jacobin', had to accept the political change, and when King Vittorio Emanuele I arrived at Genoa, he was asked to conduct a concert in the king's honour and dedicate three string quartets to him. The following year Paganini was back in Milan, where he and Lafont played a double concerto by Kreutzer in a 'contest' which took place at La Scala. The French violinist later criticized his famous colleague for not following the score exactly; when Paganini was asked to express an opinion of Lafont, his laconic reply was that Lafont was a good violinist but not an exciting one.

In spite of many engagements not only in Milan but also in Venice and Trieste, Paganini managed to complete his first full-scale violin concerto (op.6) by 1816. The work testifies to the composer's effort in dealing with the principles of sonata form as well as with the final rondo, which has lengthy and unimaginative repetitions. But the main theme in the first movement, stated after a pompous introduction, is unmistakably his own: a simple melody unfolding in a cantabile manner; the same principle is found also in the second movement. (No doubt Rossini was right when he said that if Paganini had become an opera composer he would have 'knocked out all of us'.) The First Violin Concerto was originally written in E♭, with the solo violin tuned up a semitone. Once again Paganini felt that the violin could act as a transposing instrument. Such a view was not shared by his successors, however, and the concerto was later transposed to D major.

Paganini's next important concert tour was in central Italy, in Piacenza and Bologna. In the former town he met the Polish violinist Karol Lipiński and in Bologna Rossini and his future wife, Isabella Colbran. The meeting with Rossini was the starting point of a long-lasting musical, as well as personal, friendship. Paganini singled out three Rossini arias, one each from *Tancredi*, *Mosè in Egitto* and *La Cenerentola*, for sets of variations for violin and orchestra which are among his best works of the kind.

After Bologna, Paganini proceeded to Florence, Rome, Naples and Palermo, giving many concerts and recitals.

In 1820 his publisher Ricordi had advertised in Rome the availability for the first time of five sets of works, namely the Caprices op.1, two sets of sonatas for violin and guitar (opp.2 and 3) and six guitar quartets (opp.4 and 5). The Caprices were dedicated to 'alli Artisti' (professional musicians) and were immediately judged unplayable. They have since become the 'Bible' of all violinists and are often used as compulsory pieces in competitions and at music schools. Although they were not intended for public performance, they are not merely a collection of studies or exercises, but a perfect and well-balanced blend of violin technique and musical content (as later similarly found in Chopin's Etudes opp.10 and 25).

As well as the six guitar quartets published by Ricordi, Paganini composed a further nine. A combination involving the violin and three instruments having a 'dark' texture would have been considered absurd by most composers of his time. But Paganini solved the problem by giving the violin the chief part, while the viola, cello and guitar were relegated to an ancillary role. In the last quartet (no.15), however, it is the viola which has the prominent part, especially in the beautiful 'Recitativo' linking the third and fourth movements. While he was in Rome Rossini asked Paganini to conduct the première of his opera *Matilde di Shabran* (1821), which he did with great success.

His return to northern Italy was marked by a period of complete idleness, owing mainly to the deterioration of his health. Medical examination revealed that he was infected with a venereal disease, for which he received all kinds of treatments and useless prescriptions (such as eating beefsteak and drinking asses' milk). Hoping to recover, Paganini spent some time as the guest of Domenico Pino, a retired general and amateur musician with whom he played duets for violin and guitar. It was probably in the general's villa on Lake Como that Paganini met Antonia Bianchi, a young singer who became his lover and followed him in all his restless trips. As soon as his health improved, he resumed his public appearances, performing at La Scala, in his home town, in Venice and in Trieste, where he stayed with Bianchi until autumn 1824.

4. Second Italian tour, 1825–7. Paganini began his second tour in central and southern Italy in January 1825. He revisited Rome, Naples and Palermo, where his reputation had grown considerably. In Rome he was created Knight of the Golden Spur and was also appointed to honorary membership of the Accademia di S Cecilia. On 23 July of that year Antonia Bianchi gave birth to Paganini's only child, who was named Achille Ciro Alessandro.

The following year, while in Naples, Paganini completed his Second Violin Concerto (op.7). It was an immediate success on account of its last movement, a rondo in which a triangle is employed to imitate the sound of a small bell. When it was later performed in Germany the rondo was named 'La campanella'; Liszt was so impressed with the simple tune of the bell that he wrote a fantasia on it (*Grand fantasia de bravoure sur La clochette*, one of his most difficult pieces for the piano). The great popularity achieved by the rondo induced Paganini to perform it without the preceding movements, although the richly melodic Adagio was by no means inferior to the last one. Moreover, since Paganini was often accused of employing 'noisy' orchestration and 'Turkish music', which was considered vulgar, the bass drum and cymbals were not used in the Second Concerto.

Before his return to northern Italy, Paganini had already sketched the Third Concerto, which he completed and orchestrated in 1828. Although the work is not one of his best, the Adagio (marked 'cantabile spianato') is notable for its unhurried and unfolding melodic content accompanied by pizzicato, provided by the orchestral strings acting as a giant guitar. The same procedure is adopted in almost all Paganini's concertos and no doubt originates from his profound knowledge of guitar technique.

During his return journey Paganini performed in Florence and Livorno, and then in Genoa, Turin and Milan. In the meantime, he had composed a set of variations for solo violin on an aria from Paisiello's opera *La molinara*. Paganini's score is lost; it was reconstructed from memory by Karl Guhr in his treatise *Über Paganinis Kunst* (1830), but a different, simplified version for two violins and cello is in the British Library.

5. Austria, 1828. At the beginning of March 1828 Paganini left Milan for Vienna with Antonia Bianchi and his three-year-old son. The journey took about ten days. On his arrival at the Austrian capital he contacted the Artaria brothers, music publishers of Italian descent, who helped him find suitable lodgings. According to his own records, Paganini gave some 15 concerts in Vienna in four different theatres. Schubert, who was present at one of the concerts, was reported to have said that he 'heard an angel sing'. During his three-month stay in Vienna, Paganini met Mayseder, Schuppanzigh, H.W. Ernst, Léon de Saint-Lubin and Josef Slavík. He soon realized that the Viennese orchestras had a symphonic style which was unparalleled in his own country and that his experience as soloist, composer and conductor could be greatly enhanced. 'Qui si gusta la vera musica' ('Here one appreciates the true music') he wrote to his friend Luigi Guglielmo Germi.

In Vienna Paganini composed three works for violin and orchestra: Capriccio on Mozart's 'Là ci darem la mano' (now lost), *Maestosa suonata sentimentale* and *La tempesta*. The first two works were clearly intended as homage to the Austrian people who had welcomed him so enthusiastically. The *Maestosa suonata*, conceived for the G string, consists mainly of four variations on the Austrian national hymn (from Haydn's String Quartet op.76 no.3). The introductory part and the first two variations are developed in routine fashion, but the ensuring variations bear the signs of his genius in combining delicate sounds (third variation) and, in the powerful fourth variation, the most effective use of syncopation. The work was performed in the presence of the emperor, who appointed Paganini his *Kammervirtuos*. While the *Suonata* achieved a great success, *La tempesta* was a fiasco. This composition was the result of an unfortunate collaboration between Paganini and Joseph Panny, who did most of the work under the former's supervision.

In the meantime the liaison with Antonia Bianchi was broken off and legal separation soon followed; the result was that Paganini had to pay a large sum to Bianchi, who in return waived all her claims and agreed that their child could stay with his father.

At the end of the summer of 1828 Paganini left Vienna for Carlsbad (Karlovy Vary), hoping that his health would improve by taking the waters there. But his next important move was to Prague, which proved, however, to be a source of bitter disappointments: the audience was scarce and criticism adverse. No doubt Paganini's pyrotechnics were not acceptable to the Bohemian violin school which considered technique as a means to an end and not a mere display of virtuosity. In particular, a reviewer criticized the rondo of the Second Violin Concerto, which in his opinion was based on purely technical devices that had nothing to do with music.

In Prague Paganini met Julius Schottky, who was interested in writing his biography. This was published in 1830 with the title *Paganinis Leben und Treiben als Künstler und als Mensch*; it is a curious mixture of useful information, apologetic statements and certain untruths, including the alteration of Paganini's date of birth to 1784 (instead of 1782).

6. GERMANY, 1829–30. Paganini's German tour started in January 1829 and lasted about two years, including an extension to Poland, during which he gave more than 100 concerts in 40 different towns. In Germany he met again Spohr and Hummel, who invited him to perform in Kassel and Weimar. He was in touch also with Schumann, Clara Wieck and Goethe. In Berlin he obtained the sponsorship of Spontini, who was responsible for the musical activities of the Prussian king. In spite of his heavy schedule, Paganini completed his Fourth Violin Concerto, in D minor. In this work he achieved a perfect balance of musical content and technique, especially in the poignant and almost Chopinesque character of the slow movement, and in the Finale, which is reminiscent of 'La campanella'. Two new works soon followed, both sets of variations: on *Il Carnevale di Venezia* and *God Save the King*. The former, consisting of 20 variations preceded by an introduction, is in the same tonality and key signature throughout, but through the skilful use of displaced accents and changes in note values a great variety of moods and rhythms is attained. The main feature of the variations on *God Save the King* is the intermingling of left-hand pizzicato with bowed notes, probably the first example of such a complicated technique.

Having set up his general headquarters in Frankfurt, Paganini acquainted himself with the leader of the local theatre orchestra, Karl Guhr. Guhr was allowed to watch closely Paganini's technique, on which he wrote his treatise *Über Paganinis Kunst die Violine zu spielen* (1831). The book is an interesting and fully informative survey of all the technical aspects of Paganini's playing style.

Although Paganini won the general acclaim of the German audiences, reviewers and professional musicians often complained about the eccentricity of his playing. For instance, Spohr's conservative outlook led him to maintain that 'flageolets' (harmonics) did not belong to the violin as they originated from the flute. The German sojourn having come to an end, Paganini was now anxious to proceed to Paris, which he did via Strasbourg in February 1831.

7. FRANCE AND GREAT BRITAIN, 1831–4, AND LAST YEARS, 1835–40. Paganini's appearance in Paris for the first time was hailed as a major event. The opening concert included his First Concerto, *Sonata militare* (variations on Mozart's aria 'Non più andrai') and the variations on 'Nel cuor più non mi sento', from Paisiello's *La molinara*. Notwithstanding the prices of admission, which were doubled, the house was crammed. The conductor was F.-A. Habeneck, who was doing much to introduce Beethoven's works to France. The reactions of the press were extremely favourable; music critics such as Castil-Blaze, Jules Janin and F.-J. Fétis were unanimous in their praise of Paganini's extraordinary style and technique. His stay in Paris was, however, cut short by an invitation from the manager of the King's Theatre in London, Piere-François Laporte, to give concerts in England. He readily accepted and on 14 May 1831 arrived in London. But the announcement that ticket prices would be doubled (a box in the grand tier was initially advertised at ten guineas) aroused general indignation, which was widely circulated in the London newspapers. As a result of such a difficult situation Paganini asked Laporte to postpone his first concert on account of an illness, which was nothing but an excuse. The prices of admission were subsequently reduced by a considerable extent. His first appearance at the King's Theatre took place on 3 June 1831 (fig. 1) and was an immediate success. *The Times* critic wrote: 'He is not only the finest player that ever has existed on that instrument, but he forms a class by himself'. William Ayrton, editor of *The Harmonicon*, remarked that

> his powers of execution are little less than marvellous, and such as we could only have believed on the evidence of our own senses; they imply a strong natural propensity for music, with an industry, a perseverance, a devotedness and also a skill in inventing means, without any parallel in the history of his instrument.

The programme included Paganini's First Violin Concerto, the *Sonata militare*, Beethoven's Symphony no.2 and a selection of operatic arias.



1. Paganini's debut at the King's Theatre, London: drawing by Daniel Maclise, pencil, 1831

In London Paganini met several Italian musicians, including Pio Cianchettini, Michael Costa (fig.2), Dragonetti, Michele Lablache, Nicolas Mori, Giuditta Pasta and Paolo Spagnoletti. Early in August 1831 Paganini embarked on a tour to Ireland and Scotland with the pianist Cianchettini and Costanza Pietralia, a singer who had to fill the vocal part of his programmes. In Dublin he gave the première of a new work for violin and orchestra, variations on the Irish folktune *St Patrick's Day*, which was obviously conceived to please the Irish audience. The solo part is lost, but from the orchestral material it appears that the familiar tune was quoted in the second section of the work (Allegretto–Vivace). From Ireland Paganini went to Scotland and then returned to London, playing in several towns on the way back and arriving at the beginning of March 1832. His stay in London, however, was short as he decided to go to Paris and resume his contacts with the music circles there. In a letter he wrote from Paris to his loyal friend and administrator Germi he stated that in one year he was able to give 151 concerts and travelled 5000 miles by coach, a staggering record. His unstable health was consequently affected and he composed less. In fact, while in Paris he produced only two works, and those were transcriptions of earlier compositions: the *Moto perpetuo* for violin and string orchestra, from the Guitar Quartet no.14 (sometimes confused with the *Moto perpetuo* op.11), and *Le couvent du Mont Saint Bernard* for violin, male choir and orchestra, a reworking of a version which had been performed in 1829. The *Allegro vivace 2 movimento perpetuo* (also known as 'Perpetuela') was conducted by Habeneck. The 2272 semiquavers were executed in three minutes and 30 seconds, at the rate of 11 notes per second. *Le couvent* was not rescued from oblivion in spite of its striking originality. The work aims at depicting in almost a pre-Impressionist manner life in a remote convent. It uses Gregorian chant and, in the last part, the 'Campanella' rondo from the Second Violin Concerto is unexpectedly introduced.

During the years 1832–4 Paganini became interested in the viola as a solo instrument. In London he played it at a private concert where his Terzetto for viola, cello and guitar was performed with Robert Lindley as cellist and Mendelssohn playing the guitar part on the piano. When in Paris, Paganini asked Berlioz to write a viola concerto for him but after having examined the first sketches he rejected the work as unsuitable; Berlioz later rearranged it as the symphony *Harold en Italie*. Paganini felt that he had no alternative but to compose a more 'suitable' work for himself, which he did. In 1834 he performed his *Sonata per la grand viola* (for viola and orchestra) at the Hanover Square Rooms. The instrument used was a large-size viola which he had borrowed from his friend Germi, hence the title 'grand viola'; the work was received with a *succès d'estime*. Since then the sonata has seldom been performed owing to its inherent difficulties. However, in spite of (or because of) these difficulties the work ranks as a major contribution to the repertory of the viola's 19th-century virtuoso literature.

During his last stay in England Paganini had fallen in love with Charlotte Watson, the daughter of his piano accompanist, and he was determined to marry her in Paris. He arranged for her to meet him at Boulogne, but she found her suspicious father there instead of her fiancé. The ensuing scandal was echoed by the press on both sides of the Channel, and Paganini had to spend over two months in Boulogne writing letters to newspapers in a desperate attempt to defend himself. On his return to Paris he was fiercely attacked by Jules Janin, music editor of the *Journal des débats*. Paganini had now become a shadow of himself. Embittered, he soon left Paris for Italy, where he was anxious to take possession of a villa near Parma which he had bought in the meantime with the help of his friend Germi. But early in 1835 he was back in Genoa after a six-year absence. There he composed within a month the 60 Variations on *Barucabà* for violin and guitar, as a present for Germi, who was also an amateur violinist. The text of this song (also known as *Gnora Luna*) is a parody of the complicated ceremonies connected with the Jewish marriage service. ('Baruch-aba' is a Jewish expression meaning 'be blessed'.) The tune (also called 'Minuetto del Re di Sardegna'), stated after every 20 variations, is perhaps the least interesting of all those chosen by Paganini for his numerous variations. The work was published posthumously in 1851 with the French title *Etudes en 60 Variations sur l'air Barucabà pour violon solo*, the guitar part (wholly uninteresting) being omitted. The French publisher was right, however, when he labelled the variations 'Etudes' since this work is in effect an appendix to the Caprices in so far as technique is concerned, with the exception of harmonics (the production of which Paganini did not wish to disclose).



2. Programme for Paganini's grand concert at the King's Theatre, London, 15 July 1831

Early in November 1835 Paganini was again in Parma, where the Archduchess Marie-Louise of Austria (Napoleon's second wife and a keen musician) appointed him adviser to the ducal orchestra, which he reorganized on the strength of his contacts with the best European orchestras. He also resumed conducting, directing Bellini's *I puritani* and the overtures to Rossini's *Guillaume Tell* and Beethoven's *Fidelio*. But it seems the court did not approve of all his plans, which included replacing certain players who did not meet with his expectations. The ducal orchestra had been increased by 47 members and was to become the best in Italy. His plans were frustrated and, after resigning his post, he left Parma for Turin, where he played for the king, Carlo Alberto, and for some charitable concerts in order to obtain a certificate of legitimacy for his son, Achille; it was eventually granted. After his Turin appearances he moved to Marseilles and Nice, where he gave a few concerts, returning to Genoa at the beginning of 1837. There he made his final will, appointing Achille his sole heir.

Paganini's friend Lazzaro Rebizzo approached him with a view to persuading him to become stockholder of a new music establishment in Paris bearing his own name, Casino Paganini. Paganini was in Paris again late in June 1837 and two months later the Casino Paganini was founded. He undertook to give concerts twice a week, but his wretched state of health precluded the fulfilment of his duties and this new enterprise soon failed. Paganini had to face proceedings for breach of contract before the Paris tribunal and, having lost the case, he was condemned to pay a large sum in settlement of the plaintiffs' claims.

Even if he was no longer a star as a performer, he had not abandoned the idea of himself as a composer. In Paris he produced two works for violin and orchestra which were only partly orchestrated: the Sonata 'La primavera' and *Balletto campestre*. Once again Paganini felt that variations would be the most suitable means to achieve a perfect balance between virtuoso technique and expressive content. The *amoroso* first theme, Larghetto cantabile, stated after the introduction of Sonata 'La primavera', followed by one variation, is a significant example of such procedure. In *Balletto campestre* there are 49 variations on what appears to be a folktune. After every three variations Paganini introduced an orchestral interlude which was probably meant to allow a rest for the soloist. With this work, his last, which he mistakenly intended for public performance – the audience was expected to listen to nearly 50 variations – Paganini's intention to demonstrate his skill as a composer was by no means affected by his moral and physical decline (the devastating effects of his illness had caused him to lose his speech).

Before leaving Paris (at the end of 1838), he sent a cheque for 20,000 francs to Berlioz along with a short message:

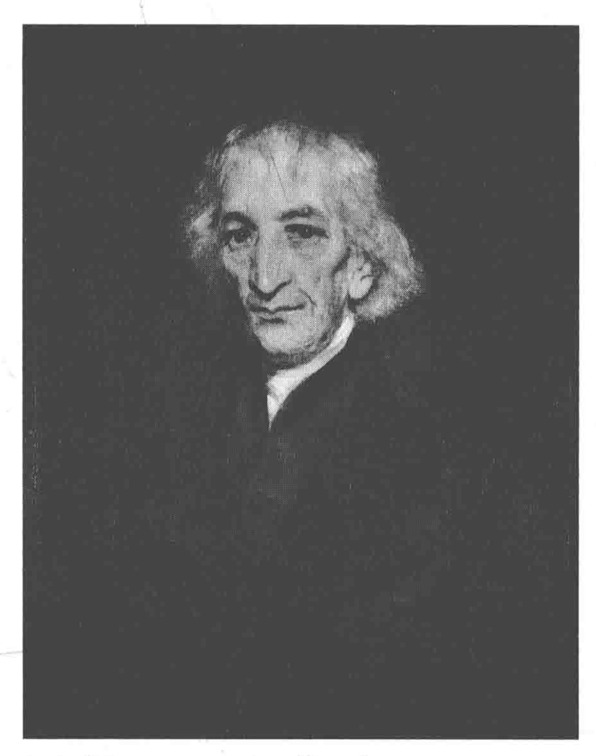
> Beethoven being dead only a Berlioz could reincarnate him. I who have fed on your divine compositions worthy of a genius as yours, feel it my duty to ask you to accept in homage the sum of 20,000 Francs, which Baron Rothschild will remit on presentation of the accompanying note.

Although the opinion that Berlioz was the reincarnation of Beethoven was exaggerated, there is no doubt that Paganini was more appreciative of the music of the French composer than the latter's own countrymen. Berlioz responded to his friend's generous gift by dedicating to him his symphony *Roméo et Juliette*.

Having lost the case started against him by the administrators of the casino, Paganini filed an appeal and left Paris for Marseilles. His career as a performing artist and as a composer had come to an end. He then thought it would be profitable to invest large sums in acquiring valuable string instruments, which he ordered from one of his Milan correspondents, Vincenzo Merighi, and which he hoped to sell with the guarantee of his own name.

Fearing that the legal proceedings in Paris would be unsuccessful, he took the advice to set up his residence in Nice, a town belonging to the Kingdom of Sardinia and where a foreign judgment could not be legally enforced. There Paganini resumed his activity as a dealer in string instruments until his health worsened to such an extent that his son sent for a priest, whom he mutely but amply dismissed. His failure to fulfil the church requirements was immediately reported to the Bishop of Nice, who charged him with impiety and forbade a religious funeral and interment in consecrated land. Paganini died in Nice on 27 May 1840, but his remains were not finally interred until 36 years later, in a cemetery at Parma.

8. PLAYING STYLE. Paganini formed no school nor had any pupil who equalled his fame. But two exceptions may perhaps be taken into consideration: Heinrich Wilhelm Ernst, who heard him in Vienna and whose variations on *The Last Rose of Summer* are based on his flamboyant technique; and Henryk Wieniawski, who included in his *Etudes-caprices* his own variations on *God Save the King*, in which he surpassed the technical difficulties of the Paganini model. As in the case of Liszt and Chopin, Paganini's music was dependent on his own playing style. While he allowed the publication of five opus numbers during his lifetime, all of which were intended for private



3. Nicolò Paganini: portrait by Wildman, late 1830s (private collection)

performance (including the 24 Caprices op.1), most of his works for violin and orchestra, such as the concertos and variations, remained in manuscript until 1851, because Paganini had presumed that these works could be played only by himself. Thus, the conductor or the leader had to rely on the first violin part, on which he marked the solo and tutti passages; and Paganini's autograph scores omit the soloist's part. There was, however, another reason for such unfortunate omissions which have deprived us of the possibility of acquainting ourselves with at least three of his late works: the lack of any kind of copyright. A composer had therefore no alternative but to sell his work to a publisher or to perform it himself for either a nominal fee or a percentage of the proceeds of the sale of tickets. In spite of these limitations, Paganini earned so much money in one year that he could have bought 300 kilos of gold.

Paganini's orchestration was a mixture of ingenuity and pragmatism as he differentiated between 'obbligato' and 'di rinforzo' instruments. The former group was employed during the solo passages because the resulting lighter texture allowed the soloist to be heard more distinctly, whereas the two groups were brought together in the tuttis. And, as in pre-Romantic practice, the soloist belonged to the first desk and was thus required to play in the tutti passages.

Paganini's virtuoso technique largely depended on his peculiar manner of holding the violin, which is shown by the numerous lithographs and drawings published in France and England. Contrary to the modern school of violin playing, the neck of the instrument pointed downwards and both upper arms were held close to the body; one foot was placed slightly forward. In this posture Paganini's body was totally relaxed, achieving a perfect centre of gravity. His fingers were of normal size but they could be stretched laterally to a considerable extent, which enabled him to produce double stops and double harmonics with great ease.

His favourite violin was a Guarneri del Gesù (made in 1742), which he called 'Il cannone' ('The Cannon') because of its powerful sound. In Vienna he had the original fingerboard replaced with a larger one; he also adopted a flatter bridge, which allowed the simultaneous production of triple and perhaps quadruple stops. His bow was old-fashioned and heavy, an exact replica of the Tartini model, the stick being parallel with the hair.

When Liszt wrote an obituary of Paganini, he did not fail to mention the effects that his friend had drawn from the four 'miserable strings' of his violin. No doubt Paganini had caused the four strings to become less 'miserable', through his use of left-hand pizzicato and double harmonics, and 'ricochet' bowing, produced by letting the bow bounce on the strings. Tuning the G string to B♭, and all four strings up a semitone as in his First Violin Concerto, led to a slight sacrifice in tone quality, especially in the lower frequencies of the strings. It is possible that Paganini was dissatisfied with the generally lower pitch of the European symphony orchestras of his time (*a′* = 435), but this is questionable since he never complained about any difference of pitch between his violin and the orchestras that accompanied him in his concerts. Paganini was perhaps more interested in making his violin attain ethereal sounds through mercurial flights, so that what had been an exception became a rule.

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most MSS in I-Rc; for catalogue see Moretti and Sorrento (1982)

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VIOLIN AND ORCHESTRA

Napoléon (Sonata Napoleone), E♭, 1807, arr. M. Abbado for vn, pf (Milan, 1940)
Polacca con variazioni, A, perf. 28 Oct 1810, arr. M. Kergl for vn, pf (Mainz, 1952)
Sonata 'Maria Luisa', E, 1813
Le streghe, variations on a theme from Süssmayr's Il noce di Benevento, 1813, op.8 (Paris and Mainz, 1851)
Concerto, e, *c*1815, ed. F. Mompellio (Genoa, 1973), Istituto di Studi Paganiniani*, Genoa
Concerto no.1, E♭, but usually transposed to D, 1816, op.6 (Paris and Mainz, 1851)
Introduction and Variations on 'Non più mesta' from Rossini's La Cenerentola, 1819, op.12 (Paris and Mainz, 1851)
I palpiti, introduction and variations on 'Di tanti palpiti' from Rossini's Tancredi, 1819, op.13 (Paris and Mainz, 1851)
Introduction and Variations on 'Dal tuo stellato soglio' from Rossini's Mosè in Egitto, ?1819 (Hamburg, 1855)
Sonata militare, variations on 'Non più andrai' from Mozart's Le nozze di Figaro, ?1825, vn part lost
Concerto no.2, b, 1826, op.7 (Paris and Mainz, 1851)
Concerto no.3, E, 1826, *I-Rc**
Capriccio on 'Là ci darem la mano' from Mozart's Don Giovanni, perf. Vienna, 11 May 1828, lost
La tempesta, variations, 1828, collab. J. Panny
Maestosa suonata sentimentale, variations on the Austrian national hymn, 1828, ed. A.M. Monterosso (Rome, 1978)
Sonata and Variations on 'Pria ch'io l'impegno' from Weigl's L'amor marinaro, 1828, arr. G. Kinsky and F. Rothschild for vn, pf (Vienna, 1922)
Le couvent du Mont Saint Bernard, vn, orch with male vv, 1828–30
Variations on God Save the King, 1829, op.9 (Paris and Mainz, 1851)
Variations on 'O mamma, mamma cara' from Il carnevale di Venezia, 1829, op.10 (Paris and Mainz, 1851)
Sonata Varsavia, variations on a mazurka by Elsner, 1829, vn part only
Sonata appassionata, ?1829, vn part lost
Concerto no.4, d, perf. 26 April 1830, *Rc**
Concerto no.5, a, 1830, ed. F. Mompellio (Siena, 1958), *Rc**
Sonata amorosa galante, 1831, vn part lost
Potpourri, 1831, vn part lost
St Patrick's Day, variations on the Irish folktune, 1831, vn part lost
Sonatina e polacchetta, with variations, B♭, 1831
Moto perpetuo (Perpetuela; Sonata movimento perpetuo), 1831–2
Allegro vivace a movimento perpetuo, C, 1835, op.11 (Paris and Mainz, 1851), *US-NYp** [frag.]
Sonata 'La primavera', ?1838, vn part only, arr. M. Kergl for vn, pf (Mainz, 1952)
Balletto campestre, variations, arr. M. Kergl for vn, pf (Mainz, 1952)
Tarantella, a, arr. vn, gui, ed. (Frankfurt, 1959), *D-Bsb**

OTHER ORCHESTRAL

Concertino, bn, hn, orch, ?1831
Sonata per la grand viola, large va, orch, perf. 1834

CHAMBER MUSIC

for violin and guitar

Carmagnola, variations, perf. 31 July 1795, ed. S. Accardo (Genoa, 1980), Istituto di Studi Paganiniani*, Genoa
Sonata concertata, 1804, ed. E. Schwarz-Reiflingen (Frankfurt, 1955), *I-Rc**
6 Sonatas, *c*1805, op.2 (Milan, 1820), *Mr**
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Duetto amoroso, ?1807, arr. M. Kergl for vn, pf (Mainz, 1952), *Rc**
Cantabile e Valtz, 1823, ed. G. Kinsky and F. Rothschild (Vienna, 1922), *Rc**
Centone di sonate, 18 sonatas, after 1828, ed. E. Schwarz-Reiflingen (Frankfurt, 1955), *Rc**
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Variazioni di bravura, on Caprice no.24, ed. E. Schwarz-Reiflingen (Frankfurt, 1959)
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3 duetti, vn, vc, *c*1802, *Rc**
Sonata a violino scordato, solo vn, 2 vn acc., *c*1802, W. Schatzki private collection*, New York
Grande Sonata, A, gui, vn, 1803
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3 Quartets [nos.4–6], D, C, d, vn, va, gui, vc, 1806–16, op.5 (Milan, 1820), *Mr**
Serenata, C, va, vc, gui, before 1808, ed. A. Sebastiani (Milan, 1989), *Rc**
3 String Quartets, d, E♭, a, *c*1815, ed. F. Mompellio (Rome, 1976), *Rc**
9 Quartets [nos.7–15], vn, va, gui, vc, 1818–20: no.7 ed. (Frankfurt, 1956); no.9 ed. (Mainz, 1935); nos.8, 10, 14, 15 ed. A.M. De Chiara (Rome, 1980); no.11, ed. 1979, arr. str qt, ed. Prost (Leipzig, n.d.)
Cantabile, D, vn, pf, ?1824, ed. G. Kinsky and F. Rothschild (Vienna, 1922), *Rc**
Sonata and Variations, vn, va, vc, gui, ?1824, heirs of C. Sivori private collection, va part lost
Tema napolitano, vn, pf, 1829, *US-NYp**, pf part only
Sonata à mouvement perpétuel, A, vn, pf, after 1830, ed. G. Kinsky and F. Rothschild (Vienna, 1922) [orig. in B♭]
Rondò, vn, vc, 1831, *STu**
Les charmes de Padoue, vn, pf (London, 1831)
Caprice d'adieux, vn, pf, ?1831 (Mainz, 1833)
Terzetto, D, vn, vc, gui, 1833, ed. E. Schwarz-Reiflingen (Frankfurt, 1955)
Terzetto concertante, D, va, gui, vc, 1833, ed. E. Schwarz-Reiflingen (Frankfurt, 1955)
Sonata a violino principale, solo vn, vn, vc (Mainz, 1860)
6 duetti fiorentini, vn, pf, ed. M. Kergl (Mainz, 1952)
Serenata, 2 vn, gui, ed. G. Balestra (Ancona, 1970), *I-Rsc**
4 notturni, *US-NYpm**

VIOLIN SOLO

Fandango spagnolo, 1800, lost
24 Caprices, *c*1805, op.1 (Milan, 1820), *I-Mr**
Due merveille, *c*1808, ed. K. Guhr (1830)
Introduction and Variations on 'Nel cor più non mi sento' from Paisiello's La molinara, ?1820, ed. K. Guhr (1830)
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Ghiribizzi, 43 short pieces, 1820, ed. R. Chiesa (Milan, 1986), *Rc**
*c*100 other works, some in modern edns, *Rc**

VOCAL

È pur amabile (Paganini), canzonetta, 1v, pf, 1828
Quel jour heureux, 1v, chorus, pf (Hanover, 1830)
Canzonetta, C, 1v, gui
Ghiribizzo vocale, B, S, orch
Sul margine di un rio, S, pf

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EDWARD NEILL

Paganini String Quartet. String quartet founded in 1946 by HENRI TEMIANKA.

Pagano, Tommaso [Tomaso] (*b* Naples, *c*1635; *d* Naples, 27 June 1690). Italian organist and composer. He studied with G.M. Sabino and in 1659 succeeded Filippo Coppola as first organist of the viceregal chapel in Naples; on 15 March 1684 he became *maestro di cappella onorario*. For a brief period in January 1688 Pagano became principal *maestro di cappella* as a result of a row between Francesco Provenzale and Alessandro Scarlatti, *maestro di cappella* from 17 February 1684. However, Scarlatti was reinstated on 11 March 1688 and Pagano resumed his former post

which he held until his death; he was succeeded by Provenzale.

Pagano's surviving compositions were apparently intended for use at the Oratorio dei Filippini (now Girolamini) where he was also employed. He was a somewhat conservative composer but nevertheless accepted the trends of his time. The oratorio *La samaritana* reflects the style of about 1670. *La ruina degli angeli* includes many of the stylistic novelties introduced about 1680: increased use of the orchestra to accompany arias, a bass part with a more melodic profile, and the inclusion of siciliano-like arias. He also wrote shorter works, including dialogues for solo voices and music for soloists, chorus and orchestra.

WORKS

all in I-Nf

Oratorios: Angelo ed Anima; Costantino; Giesù nell'orto; La fornace di Nabuc di Nasor; La ruina degli angeli; La samaritana; La vergine, Maria Maddalena e Giovanni; Maria avvocata, o vero Il giuditio particolare; Morte di Maria SS; Oratorio per l'Assunta della Beata Vergine, 4vv

Dialogues: Angelo, Anima purgante ed Huomo; Christo ed Anima; Dialoghi in pastorale; Redentione, Colpa et Adamo

Concerted sacred works: Cantata per la morte; Epulone nell'inferno; La memoria dell'Inferno; La memoria del Paradiso

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THARALD BORGIR

Page, Christopher (Howard) (*b* London, 8 April 1952). English musicologist and performer. After reading English at Oxford (BA 1974) and York (PhD 1981), he became a lecturer in English at New College, Oxford (1980–85), and then at Cambridge University (from 1989), where he was appointed Reader in Medieval Literature and Music in 1997. He was awarded the Dent Medal in 1991 and became founding co-editor of the journal *Plainsong and Medieval Music* in the same year. He has also been chairman of the Plainsong and Medieval Music Society and has been prominent as a broadcaster. Professionally active as a lutenist (including performances and recordings with Musica Reservata, the Consort of Musicke and the Early Music Ensemble of London), he founded the ensemble Gothic Voices in 1982 and has continued to direct it since then.

Page's earliest publications were mainly concerned with the history of instruments, fuelled by his training as a philologist and an active interest in archival sources. With the realization ('Machaut's "Pupil" Deschamps', 1977) that instruments had a rather smaller role in the performance of medieval polyphony than previously thought, he turned to broader social studies of medieval music, particularly in books that blend his extensive performing experience with his life as a lecturer in medieval literature. His research on the performance of medieval song has found fruit particularly in the recordings of Gothic Voices; these and their illuminating liner notes must be counted as an integral part of his scholarly output.

WRITINGS

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DAVID FALLOWS

Page, Frederick (Joseph) (*b* Lyttelton, 4 Dec 1905; *d* Wellington, 29 Nov 1983). New Zealand pianist and writer on music. He studied the piano with Ernest Empson in Christchurch, New Zealand, and after taking the MusB at Canterbury University College studied composition with Vaughan Williams, R.O. Morris and Gordon Jacob at the RCM, London (1935–7). At Victoria University, Wellington, where he became the first lecturer in music in 1946 and professor (1967–71), he created a contemporary music department with several New Zealand composers on the staff whose works he promoted. Founder, and later president, of the New Zealand branch of the ISCM, he was active in the establishment of the Arts Council. As a frequent soloist and chamber music player he was the first in this country to perform Bach's complete '48', Schubert's piano duets and all Schoenberg's piano works. He also proposed a new music training and examination system for New Zealand. His autobiography *A Musician's Journal*, ed. J.M. Thomson and J. Paul (Dunedin, 1986), contains tributes and impressions by friends and gives a vivid account of his studies in London and the contemporary music world of Darmstadt and Donaueschingen in their heyday. For many years a pungent critic on the *New Zealand Listener*, his considerable influence continues through his former students, such as the composers

Lyell Cresswell, Jenny McLeod and Denis Smalley as well as the writer Robin Maconie.

J.M. THOMSON

Page, John (*b* c1760; *d* London, 16 Aug 1812). English cathedral musician and editor. He became a lay clerk of St George's Chapel, Windsor, in December 1790, but resigned in November 1795, having already begun to deputise at the Chapel Royal and St Paul's Cathedral, London. In London he seems to have established some friendship with Jonathan Battishill, a number of whose works he was later to see through the press. In January 1801 he was appointed a vicar-choral of St Paul's. By that time he had produced his *Harmonia sacra*, which appeared in 90 separate numbers to make three volumes, completed in January 1800.

As Arnold's *Cathedral Music* was intended as a supplement to Boyce's, so Page's *Harmonia sacra* was designed as a supplement to them both. Although, except for two specimens, it did not go back before the Restoration and included a good deal of mediocre work, it gave useful currency to certain items by Blow, Purcell, Croft, Greene and Boyce, and brought in some Handel, together with Battishill and Charles and Samuel Wesley. Page also edited several other collections of sacred music (including that performed at Nelson's burial service in 1806), and a collection of madrigals, elegies and glees, entitled *Festive Harmony* (1804). Only one original composition was published, the Christmas hymn *See the morning star appear* (London, 1792).

WATKINS SHAW/H. DIACK JOHNSTONE

Page, Walter (Sylvester) (*b* Gallatin, MO, 9 Feb 1900; *d* New York, 20 Dec 1957). American jazz double bass player and bandleader. He played occasionally with Bennie Moten's band in the early 1920s and in 1925 founded his own band, the Blue Devils, in Oklahoma City. At various times this group included in Hot Lips Page, Buster Smith, Count Basie, Jimmy Rushing, Lester Young and other leading figures in the Southwest style, making the Blue Devils, along with Moten's group, the most influential jazz band in the area. However they made only one record, *Blue Devil Blues/Squabblin'* (1929, Voc.). In 1931 Page was forced, for financial reasons, to give up the leadership of the Blue Devils, and he played with Moten until 1933. After playing briefly with Basie and then with the Jeter-Pillars band in St Louis, he began a fruitful association with the Count Basie Orchestra (1935–43, 1946–9). He was a mainstay of Basie's celebrated rhythm section, where the solidity and swing of his playing enabled Basie to dispense with left-hand stride patterns and Jo Jones to transfer the pulse to the hi-hats. *Pagin' the Devil* (1938, Com.), recorded with the Kansas City Six, a unit from the Basie band, includes one of the earliest jazz solos on the double bass. These and other performances established Page as the leading jazz bass player of the late 1930s and a creator of the walking-bass style. Page returned to Basie from 1946 to 1949, but otherwise played mainly on a freelance basis with various swing and dixieland groups in New York. He participated in the seminal mainstream-jazz recordings of Vic Dickenson (1953–4) and Buck Clayton (1953–6).

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J. BRADFORD ROBINSON

Pagendarm, Jacob (*b* Herford, Westphalia, 6 Dec 1646; *d* Lübeck, 14 Jan 1706). German composer. He studied theology, philology and music at the universities of Helmstedt and Wittenberg and was Kantor, first in Osnabrück (1670–79) and then at the Marienkirche, Lübeck (1679–1706), where he shared the musical duties with Buxtehude, who had been organist there since 1668. The post of organist was more important in Lübeck than that of Kantor, and in fact Pagendarm's main source of income there was as Kantor (teaching Latin, theology and music) at the Katherineum Lateinschule. Pagendarm is remembered mainly as the first to compose melodies for the hymns of the *Lübeckisches Gesangbuch*. In 1705 he issued four partbooks with simple four-part harmonizations of 303 chorales; many of the melodies were already in use. One of his concerted pieces survives (in *GB-Ob Mus.Sch. C.43*): *Befiehl dem Herrn deine Wege* for soprano, bass and continuo. It is in the Venetian style of Legrenzi, Castello and Rovetta, which was popular in Lübeck at the time.

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ALEXANDRA AMATI-CAMPERI

Pageot, Etienne. *See* PAJEOT, ETIENNE.

Paggi, Giovanni (*b* Iesi, 16 Nov 1806; *d* Florence, 3 Nov 1887). Italian oboist, composer and tenor. He toured extensively in Italy (1828–32) playing the oboe and the english horn, before going to the USA in 1833. In 1844 he returned to Italy, and undertook a long European tour (1853–5) encompassing Belgium, the Netherlands, Paris and London. From 1855 there are no records of his oboe playing; he later built a career as a tenor and a singing teacher, performing in Paris (1867–8) and England (1868–78). His last years were spent in Florence. He counted numerous composers among his friends (including Rossini, Spontini, Paer, Vaccai and Bellini), and many of his works for oboe are variations on operatic themes. His oboe music demands a high degree of virtuosity, and is typical of the brilliant Italian oboe repertory that reached its apogee in the music of Pasculli. His compositions include four pieces for oboe and piano (published in Paris), unpublished works for oboe and orchestra, and about 12 songs for one or more voices with piano (published in England). Manuscripts and other documents are held in the Biblioteca Comunale in Iesi.

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ALFREDO BERNARDINI

Pagh-Paan, Younghi (*b* Ch'ŏngju, 30 Nov 1945). Korean composer. After studying at Seoul National University and the Hochschule für Musik in Freiburg, she taught composition in Graz, Karlsruhe and Bremen; she has

received awards in Basle, Paris and Seoul. Pagh-Paan's compositional identity emerged largely after she arrived in Germany in the early 1970s to study with Klaus Huber. In *Dreisam-Nore* (1975), her first acknowledged piece, her preoccupation with flux allows the solo flute to move from a serial melody to ornamentation and lyricism. Reflecting a personal struggle between the conservatism of Korea and the avant garde of Europe, it takes its name from Freiburg's river and the Korean word for song. Integral to her next piece, *Man-Nam I* ('Meeting', 1977), is what she describes as 'tone space' and 'infinity of tone', whereby instruments are woven around a common lyrical thread; ornamentation provides contrast, much as it does in traditional Korean music, and the horizontal focus reduces any need for a harmonic framework. This work reflects both her political exile from military dictatorship in Seoul and her new life in Europe.

Protest returns with the orchestral work *Sori* (1979–80), inspired by traditional mask dance dramas that had been appropriated by Korean students in demonstrations against the military regime, and *Flammenzeichen* (1983), an exploration of vocal timbre and a warning against fascism. While Pagh-Paan often seeks inspiration in Korea, she is never imitative. *Pyon-Kyong* (1982) is evocative of Korean court music, now transformed for percussion, and interprets the Chinese instrument classification system according to the eight basic materials from which they are made. *Tsi-Shin-Kut* (1993–4) is an electronic recasting of a timeless Korean shaman ritual. *U-Mul* ('Fountain', 1992) brings all Pagh-Paan's stylistic characteristics together. The fountain of the title is the sustainer of life around which the people gather. In the midst of a continuous melodic line, individual instrumental timbres are contrasted by ornamentation; non-functional chord clusters, reminiscent of the East Asian mouth organ, colour the texture, while transitions are signalled by percussive rhythmic elements which retain faint echoes of Korean folk rhythmic cycles known as *changdan*.

WORKS

Orch: Sori [Sound], 1979–80; Nim [Lover], 1987; Hong (Ständig wiederkehrend ...) [Red], 1992–3

4–16 insts: Man-Nam I [Meeting], cl, vn, va, vc, 1977; Man-Nam II, a fl, vn, va, vc, 1977–86; Madi [Joints], 12 insts, 1981, rev. 1983; Ta-Ryong II [Ballad], 16 insts, 1987–8; U-Mul (Der Brunnen), a fl, cl, perc, vn, va, vc, db, 1992; Bi-Dan-Sil (Seidener Faden), solo ob, a fl, ob d'amore, cl, bn, vn, va, vc, db, perc, 1992–3; Tsi-Shin-Kut [Ritual], 4 perc, tape, 1993–4

1–3 insts: Dreisam-Nore, fl, 1975; Pyon-kyong [Sound Stone], pf, perc, 1982; Aa-Ga I [Baby], vc, 1984; No-Ul [Sunset Sky], va, vc, db, 1984–5; Ta-Ryong IV, perc, 1991; Tsi-shin (Ta-Ryong III) [Spirits of the Earth (Ballad)], 2 perc, 1991; Rast in einem alten Kloster, b fl, 1992–4; Hang-Sang [Always], a fl, gui, drum, 1993; Trio, cl, va, pf, 1994; Hang-Sang II, 2 cl, shō, 1996

Vocal: Nun [Snow], 5 womens' vv + perc, 18 insts, 1978-9; Flammenzeichen (H. Scholl, S. Scholl, extracts from World War II resistance pamphlet: *Weissen Rose*), Mez + perc, 1983; Hin-Nun [White Snow], 6 womens' vv + perc, 1985; Hwang-To (Gelbe Erde) (Kim Chiha), solo vv, SATB, ob, cl, b cl, hn, trbn, perc, va, 2 vc, 1988–9; Hwang-To II (Kim Chiha), 5 vv, 1989–92; Ma-Am (H.C. Artmann), Mez, 1990; Ma-Um [Mind], Mez, 12 insts, 1990; Mein Herz, Mez, Bar, str ens, 1991; Sowon (Wunsch), S, fl, ob, cl, perc, gui, hp, vn, va, vc, db, 1995–6; Noch ... , S, va, 1996

Principal publisher: Ricordi

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'Unterwegs: Reflexionen über meine Tätigkeit als Komponistin', *Neuland*, iv (1983–4)

'In cammino: riflessioni sul mio lavoro da compositrice', *Quaderni perugini di musica contemporanea*, iv (Perugia, 1987) [programme notes]

'Zu *Madi, Dreisam Nore, No-Ul, Aa-Ga I, Ta-Ryong II*', *Komponistinnenporträt Younghi Pagh-Paan* (Zürich, Internationale Gesellschaft für Neue Musik, 1989) [programme notes]

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KEITH HOWARD

Pagin, André-Noël (*b* Paris, *c*1719–20; *d* *c*1787–99). French violinist and composer. After studying the violin in his own country he went aged 20 to study with Tartini in Padua. Tartini begged Girolamo Amati (ii) to make a violin for his new French pupil and on the label of this instrument Amati gave his age as 90: Pagin's violin (1739–40), now lost or re-labelled, can thus be considered as the last to be made by the Amati family. Returning to Paris, Pagin made his début at the Concert Spirituel on 8 December 1747, playing a sonata of his own. From that time until 1750, he often appeared as soloist at the Concert Spirituel, playing music by Tartini and concertos of Vivaldi. His success at these concerts and the excellence of his reputation are attested by many of his contemporaries; in 1770 Burney called him Tartini's 'best scholar' and Tartini in his old age is reported (by J.-A.-C. Charles in *Acoustique*, Paris, *c*1787–1802) to have said 'Go and hear Pagin, for you will still hear me'. In 1750 Pagin's name disappeared from the register of concerts in rather mysterious circumstances. Burney later summed up the event as follows: 'He had the honour of being hissed at the Concert Spirituel for daring to play in the Italian style, and this was the reason for his quitting the profession'. Pagin retired from public concert life in 1750, eventually becoming the first violinist in the orchestra of the Duke of Clermont, and thereafter he was heard only in private salons. It was at the house of Mme Brillon that Burney heard Pagin and remarked favourably on his talents, and at the same house Benjamin Franklin heard and struck up an acquaintance with him. Pagin's most prominent students were Pierre La Houssaye and E.-B.-J. Barrière.

In 1748 Pagin published in Paris a set of six *Sonates à violon seul et basse continue* (it was probably one of these that he performed at his début in 1747). They show the influence of his teacher, with a virtuoso use of trills and pedal points, extreme leaps in register, challenging chordal passages, a sophisticated and extensive use of articulation marks and a range extending into the 7th position.

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LAUREL FAY/PATRIZIO BARBIERI

Pagliarani, Mario (*b* Mendrisio, Ticino canton, 27 June 1963). Swiss composer. He studied the cello (with Rocco Filippini), composition and electronic music at the Milan Conservatory, and later became a student of Sciarrino (1981–9). From his earliest compositions, he explored the position of sound in relation to space and time. His music,

a kind of 'invisible theatre of listening', shows the influence of Messiaen, Ligeti, Crumb, Feldman, Sciarrino and Grisey. While his works are often based on narrative themes or images, he always retains control of the musical structure, inverting episodes, anticipating conclusions and setting up recurrences as he sees fit. His honours include the Musica Ticinensis prize (1987), a prize from the Madrid competition for radio works (1995), and prizes and commissions from the Lucerne Music Festival, Pro Helvetia, the Basle Music Forum, Swiss Italian Radio and the Suisse Romande Orchestra.

WORKS
(*selective list*)

Alcuni particolari oscuri, cl, 1983; Vie d'uscita, female v, fl, vc, amp pf, 1986; Lucciole o imperi? (J.L. Borges), 17 haiku, 1v, orch, 1989–90; Paesaggio-Madrigale (after P. Bembo, G. Guarini, Petrarch, T. Tasso), 18vv, 1991; Pierrot lunatique, female v, fl + pic, cl + b cl, vn + va, vc, pf, 1993; Cappuccetto rosso (C. Perrault), 1v, db, hpd, elecs, 1994; Bergweg (Une promenade à travers la série du Concerto pour violon d'Alban Berg), vn, pf, 1995; Canzone fantasma, fl, cl, pf trio, 1996; Partitura dell'inverno (Pagliarani), spkr, male v, fl, vc, accdn, pf, perc, 1996; Apparizione di Franz Schubert fra le onde, 2 accdns, tape, shells, 1997

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JEAN-PIERRE AMANN

Pagliardi, Giovanni Maria (*b* Genoa, 1637; *d* Florence, 3 Dec 1702). Italian composer. He seems to have begun his career as a church musician at Genoa. His earliest known work is an oratorio performed there in 1660. Between 1662 and 1667 motets by him for one to three voices and continuo appeared in collections published in Rome. In the prints of 1663 and 1667 he is described as *maestro di cappella* of the church of the Gesù, Genoa. (That of 1665 stated that he held a similar post at S Apollinare, Rome, though this is almost certainly an error resulting from the transfer to his name of information that should have appeared against Carissimi's in the index of composers; Pagliardi's name does not appear in the records of that church.) The libretto to his first opera (1672) gave him the title of *maestro di cappella* to the Grand Duke of Tuscany; he therefore may have succeeded Cesti, who died in that post in 1669. A document cited by Fabbri (1959) indicates that in 1679 he was serving the Grand Duchess of Tuscany. Later (in 1701) it is revealed that he had been *maestro di cappella* of S Lorenzo, Florence, a position that normally carried with it a benefice established by the Medici family that over the years had been awarded to the most important composers of the city, provided they were priests, as was Pagliardi. In 1681 his name appears in the pay records of the Tuscan court, which name him as keyboard teacher to Prince Ferdinando. From then until his death he remained the musical director and principal composer of the operas and presumably the many other kinds of musical performance produced at the prince's villa at Pratolino and at the Palazzo Pitti, Florence. After the death of Pietro Sanmartini on 1 January 1701, he also became *maestro di cappella* of Florence Cathedral. The date 9 December usually given for his death in 1702 appears on his tomb in S Lorenzo; but this refers to his burial, and the dramatist G.B. Fagioli, whose diaries serve as a reliable necrology for Florentine musicians, records that he died six days earlier.

Pagliardi was best known as a composer of operas. His most successful, *Caligula delirante*, was revived at least 14 times, playing at five cities in 1675 alone. Its music is notable for its impassioned, even bizarre, chromaticism, a trait shared by other Florentine opera composers of the time (e.g. Bonaventura Cerri).

WORKS

OPERAS

known only from librettos unless sources given

Caligula delirante (melodramma, 3, D. Giaberti), Venice, SS Giovanni e Paolo, 18 Dec 1672, *D-MÜs*, *I-Vnm*

Lisimaco (dramma per musica, 3, C. Ivanovich), Venice, SS Giovanni e Paolo, 10 Dec 1673, *MOe*, *Vnm*

Il Numa Pompilio (dramma per musica, 3, M. Noris), Venice, SS Giovanni e Paolo, 11 Jan 1674, and Vienna, Hoftheater, 1674, *A-Wn*, *I-Vnm*

Il pazzo per forza (dramma musicale, G.A. Moniglia), Florence, Pratolino (Villa Medici), 26 Aug or 16 Sept 1687

Il tiranno di Colco (dramma musicale, Moniglia), Florence, Pratolino (Villa Medici), 1688

Il Greco in Troia (festa teatrale, Noris), Florence, Pergola, 29 Jan 1689

Attilio Regolo (dramma per musica, Noris), Florence, Pratolino (Villa Medici), 6 Sept 1693

ORATORIOS

L'innocenza trionfante, Genoa, SS Annunziata, 1660, music lost

OTHER VOCAL

5 motets, 1–3vv, bc, 1662[2], 1663[1], 1664[1], 1665[1], 1667[1]

Chamber cantatas, arias, spiritual madrigals, *A-Wn*, *I-Fc*, *Nc*

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JOHN WALTER HILL

Pagliughi, Lina (*b* New York, 27 May 1907; *d* Savignano sul Rubicone, nr Rimini, 2 Oct 1980). Italian soprano. Born in New York of Italian parents, she appeared in public for the first time when she was 12. She studied in San Francisco with Silvia Puerara Maracci and Domenico Brescia, and then in Milan with Manlio Bavagnoli. She made her début at the Teatro Nazionale, Milan (1927), as Gilda. Subsequently she appeared at Monte Carlo (1931), at the S Carlo, Naples (1936), as Lucia, at La Scala (1937) as Sinaïde in Rossini's *Mosè in Egitto* and (1947) as Lucia, at Covent Garden (1938) as Gilda, at the Maggio Musicale, Florence (1940), as the Queen of Night and at the Rome Opera (1949) as Elvira (*I puritani*). Pagliughi's other roles included Rosina, Violetta and Amina. She retired from the stage in 1954 and taught in Milan. Her vocal and stylistic gifts – sweet, pure tone, smooth, flexible technique, perfect legato and delicacy of expression – made her the leading Italian light soprano after Toti dal Monte. Her unimpressive stage presence was a hindrance to her theatrical career, but she sang a great deal on the radio and made many successful recordings.

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ES (R. Celletti); *GV* (R. Celletti; R. Vegeto)
L. Di Cave: 'Lina Pagliughi', *Record Collector*, xxi (1973–4), 101–25 [with discography]
L. Rasponi: *The Last Prima Donnas* (London, 1984), 166–72
L. Di Cave: *Lina Pagliughi* (Rome, 1989)

RODOLFO CELLETTI/VALERIA PREGLIASCO GUALERZI

Pagoli, Bernardo. *See* PISANO, BERNARDO.

Pahissa, Jaime (*b* Barcelona, 7 Oct 1880; *d* Buenos Aires, 27 Oct 1969). Catalan composer. He abandoned a career in architecture and studied composition with Enric Morera in Barcelona. By 1906, through the success of his Trio in G and especially of his incidental music for Gual's *La presó de Lleida*, he was already considered an important young composer. Some of his works – the symphonie poems and especially the operas – are influenced by Pedrell and the Catalan Wagnerian tradition, but he was equally open to the most advanced movements of his day. He was one of the first Spaniards to explore Expressionism and the 12-note scale, which he considered a continuation and culmination of Wagnerism and polyphonic experimentation; his *Suite intertonal* (1926) is an example of such thinking.

Pahissa's first opera, *Gala Placidia*, received its first complete performance in 1913. Because the opera was written at two different periods, act 1 (1906) is relatively simple while the other two are in a complex, post-Romantic style with intricate polyphony, strong dissonances and rich and vigorous orchestration in the tradition of Strauss and Mahler. The opera was well received in spite of the novelty of the music. Pahissa's second opera was *La morisca* (1919). It is more symbolic and less passionate, with one dominant character, Mari Cruz. Its single act is divided into ten scenas but avoids both the picturesque music that the theme invites and also the complex texture of *Gala Placidia*; melody predominates, making it probably the composer's most accessible work, with recitative, *semicantados* (recitatives similar to Sprechgesang) and more conventional harmonic writing. *Marianela*, similar in its emphasis on melody, followed in 1923. *La princesa Margarida*, described as a romantic Catalan opera, was first performed in 1928; based on the youthful work *La presó de Lleida*, it retains some numbers of the original. It contains much descriptive writing, especially in the intense third act, and shows a new tendency to elaborate harmony.

In 1937, as a result of the civil war, Pahissa, like Falla and Julián Bautista, went to Argentina. There his output included the staged *Catnata en la tucu ba de Federico García Lorca* and two more operas, *Don Gil de las calzas verdes* and *Tragicomedia de Calisto y Melibea*.

WORKS
(*selective list*)

STAGE

La presó de Lleida (incid music, A. Gual), 1906
Gala Placidia (op, 3, A. Guimerá), 1913, Barcelona, Liceu, 15 Jan 1913
La morisca (op, 1, E. Marquina), 1919, Barcelona, Liceu, 15 Feb, 1919
Marianela (op, 3, S. and J. Alvarez Quintero, after B. Pérez Galdós), 1923
La princesa Margarida (drama lírico, 3, Gual), 1928, Barcelona, Liceu, 8 Feb 1928 [based on incid music La presó de Lleida]
Angélica (incid music, L. Frerrero), 1938, Montevideo, 1938
Cantata en la tumba de Federico García Lorca (staged cant., A. Reyes), 1939
Bodas de Montaña, ballet, Buenos Aires, 1946
Don Gil de las calzas verdes, op, Montevideo, 1955
Tragicomedia de Calisto y Melbea, op, Buenos Aires, 1956

VOCAL

Vocal-orch: Humanal Camí; Balada, Bar, orch
Choral: El cant dels ocells; Tots mos cants son por tu; Motet; 3 corrandes; Aném; 3 motets; Himno cooperativista; Quomodo sedet solo, 1901; 6 canciones populares españolas
Songs incl. Canciones populares catalanes, 1949

INSTRUMENTAL

Orch: Sym. no.1, 1900; El combat, 1901; A les costes Mediterrànies, 1904; Canigó, 1926; De sotaterra als aires; El camí, sym. poem, 1909; El Rabadán, ov., 1917; Monodia, 1917; Nit de somnis, sym. poem, 1921; Sym. no.2, 1921; Suite intertonal, 1926; Vêspero
Chbr: Trio, G; Sonata, vn, pf; Qt; Nocturno, vn/vc, pf, 1937
Pf works

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P. Camps: 'Mi obra', *Temas y Contracantos*, v (1987)

EMILIO CASARES

Paiban. Chinese CLAPPERS.

Paideia. Ancient Greek term for education or culture, in which music played an important part. Probably its first recorded use occurs in Aeschylus's *Seven against Thebes* (18; 467 BCE), where it refers to rearing a child; but during the same period PINDAR used the corresponding verb *paideuō* of education. The minimal elementary education of that time was supervised by the *grammatistēs*, who taught reading, writing, arithmetic and literature; the study of literature was based on memorization and recitation of passages from the poets, especially Homer, with the passages chosen for their moral character. These studies might be supplemented by *gumnastikē*, physical training (with aulos accompaniment for rhythm and timing, and often dance-like), taught by the *paidotribēs*; and *mousikē*, principally the learning of poetic texts together with their lyre accompaniments but also training in the expressive recitation of epic and gnomic poetry, taught by the *kitharistēs*. Education in specialized subjects had to be obtained on an individually arranged basis from an expert. These teachers, who came to be known as sophists, travelled from city to city providing instruction for a fee. A particularly famous sophist, Hippias of Elis, offered letures in arithmetic, geometry, music theory and astronomy, a combination of disciplines adopted by Plato (cf *Hippias Minor*, *Hippias Major* and the *Republic*) and eventually passed on to the Middle Ages by Boethius in the form of his Quadrivium. Most of the sophists, however, concentrated on literature and rhetoric.

During the 5th century BCE *paideia* came to denote 'culture', the harmonious development of mind and body that produced a lasting attitude towards life. In the 4th century BCE various schools were founded for higher learning, in particular by Isocrates (*c*392), Plato (the

Academy, *c*385) and Aristotle (the Lyceum, 335). Isocrates and Aristotle were, on the whole, less interested in the musical aspects of *paideia*, while Plato continued to regard music as a subject of central importance. In the Hellenistic period, a system of secondary education evolved in the *gumnasia*, at least one of which was established in most important cities. The curriculum concentrated on literature, mathematical and natural sciences (including music), and philosophy. Elementary and secondary education together with the influences of home and society came to be regarded as *engkuklios paideia*, an ideal that lasted (to some extent) until the end of the ancient world.

See also MUSIC EDUCATION, CLASSICAL, and ETHOS.

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THOMAS J. MATHIESEN

Paien, Gioan (*fl* mid-16th century). Italian composer. He is known from a single collection of duos, *Il primo libro de madrigali a due voci* (Venice, 2/1564, 4/1597), of which the first edition is lost. The texts chosen by Paien – the *Vergini* and other well-known Petrarch sonnets, along with a number of ottava stanzas, including some famous ones by Ariosto – suggest that the duos may have been commissioned by the publisher, Gardane, to capitalize on the mid-century popularity among madrigalists of poems such as these. The duos are written in a facile imitative style without strong individuality.

JAMES HAAR

Paige, Elaine [Bickerstaff, Elaine Mary] (*b* Barnet, 5 March 1949). English popular singer. From a family of amateur musicians, she went to stage school in Golders Green, London, and to the Actor's Workshop, Stratford. She toured in productions of several musicals before appearing in the West End in *Hair* (1968); further shows included *Jesus Christ Superstar* (1973), *Grease* and *Billy* (both 1974). With her creation of the role of Eva Peron in Lloyd Weber and Rice's *Evita* (1978) she became one of the West End's leading performers in musicals, subsequently creating Grizabella in *Cats* (1981), so introducing 'Memory', and Florence Dassy in *Chess* (1986), with whose 'I know him so well' she acheived chart success with Barbara Dickson in 1985. She co-produced and played Reno Sweeney in the major revival of Porter's *Anything Goes* in London (1989). Although not originating the role, her performance as Norma Desmond in *Sunset Boulevard* (1995) was much praised, particularly on Broadway (1996) where she was hailed by Clive Barnes (*New York Post*) as 'the most remarkable voice in the popular musical theatre today'.

Her technique particularly uses the upper extremes of the chest voice, providing an unusual depth and resonance on higher notes, sometimes aggressively so. She has a striking stage presence, belied by her stature, and tends towards broad and emotional interpretations.

Since her first solo recording in 1981 she has regularly released best-selling albums that draw on stage and contemporary ballad repertories, and has made many concert tours through Europe. She has also played dramatic roles on television and taken the title role in a revival of Pam Gem's biographical *Piaf* in the West End (1993); her non-singing début was in *Le misanthrope* (1998). In 1995 she was made an OBE.

□

Paik, Kun Woo (*b* Seoul, 10 May 1946). South Korean pianist. He made his début at the age of ten playing Grieg's Concerto with the National Orchestra of Korea, and subsequently studied at the High School of Performing Arts in New York and with Rosina Lhévinne at the Juilliard School (1965–71); he then studied in London with Ilona Kabos and in Italy with Kempff and Guido Agosti. In 1971 he won the Walter Naumberg Piano Competition in New York and was a finalist in the Leventritt Competition. The following year he made his New York orchestral début at Carnegie Hall with the National Orchestra under James Conlon. His London début came in 1974, with three recitals at the Wigmore Hall. Paik has toured Europe, the USA and Korea and has performed at many leading festivals including Berlin, Spoleto, Edinburgh and Aix-en-Provence. Among his recordings are the complete piano works of Ravel and bravura accounts of the Prokofiev piano concertos.

JESSICA DUCHEN

Paik, Nam June (*b* Seoul, 20 July 1932). Korean composer and video artist. After early piano and composition study with Jae Duk Shin and Keun Woo Lee, his family left Korea and settled in Tokyo, where he studied music, art and philosophy at Tokyo University (BA 1956). He continued his composition studies with Fortner at the Freiburg Staatliche Hochschule für Musik (1957–8) and met Stockhausen (1957) and Cage (1958) at Darmstadt. From 1958 to 1963 he worked in the WDR Studio für Elektronische Musik, Cologne. After taking part in the first Fluxus international festival of modern music (Wiesbaden, 1962), he became known as one of the central figures of the Fluxus movement. His life-long friendship with Joseph Beuys, with whom he gave various piano performances, dates from this period. In 1963 he held his first exhibition with television sets, Exposition of Music/Electronic Television, at the Galerie Parnass, Wuppertal, and in 1964 went to New York, where he collaborated with the cellist Charlotte Moorman on musical and video performances. By the 1970s he was regarded as one of the world's foremost video artists. He was appointed professor at the Staatliche Kunstakademie, Düsseldorf, in 1979 and accepted a post at the Berlin Academy of Arts in 1987.

Paik's 'action music' of the 1960s drew criticism that labelled him as a 'cultural terrorist' and 'neo-Dadaist'. Heinz-Klaus Metzger described his works as 'an affront to the very concept of music'. Concerned with the concentrated negation of conventional habits of seeing and hearing, a general disavowal of taboos, particularly those of a sexual nature, has been central to Paik's work. His *One for Violin solo* (1962), for example, celebrates the destruction of a violin. A number of conceptual works, such as the Symphony no.5 (1965), are impossible to perform.

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STEFAN FRICKE

Paik Byung-dong (*b* Manchuria, 26 Jan 1936). Korean composer. Educated in Korea, he studied composition at Seoul National University, where he became a professor of composition (1976), and is the recipient of numerous Korean awards. His early works explore a variety of styles. Among his piano works, *Seven Variations on a Theme of Hae-Sub Song* (1959) is impressionistic, but the *Three Essays* (1963) are serial. After refining his technique at the Hochschule für Musik und Theater in Hanover (1969–71), his works have been characterized by sectional through-composed structures, counterpoint and wide-ranging melodies. In *Un-I* (1970), serialism forms the background to a through-composed contrapuntal structure; harmony is non-functional, and flexible rhythms allow complex melodic flurries and constantly changing metre. *Un-II* (1972) contains a fugal passage leading to a contrapuntal second movement. He moves towards a pointillist style in *Three Bagatelles* (1973), and freely employs octaves and tone clusters in *Sonata-Sonore* (1985).

Paik's compositions refer to East Asian philosophy, particularly the interplay between *yin* and *yang*, and he consequently lays claim to writing thoroughly Korean music. *Guitariana* (1984), for example, provides a set of cells for each of two guitars, which are overlaid in performance in an indeterminate way. One set represents *yin* with horizontal melodic ideas and the other *yang* with vertical harmonic clusters. *Yin* and *yang* are both opposing yet complementary, as *Byul-gok '87* for piano and violin demonstrates. At the opening, vertical piano structures oppose horizontal violin melismas, but by mid-point the piano imitates the violin, and gradually a point is reached where the two instruments support each other. Paik has also written a number of works for Korean instruments, translating his style to an inherited idiom, of which *Shin Byul-gok* (1972) is the best known. Recent pieces have accommodated new developments of old instruments, notably *Dam-Jeup '92*, where new treble and tenor versions join the traditional *kayagŭm*.

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Chbr: Pf Trio, F, 1960; Paraphrase on a Lyrical Theme, vc, pf, 1963; Sonata no.1, A, vc, pf, 1963; Str Qt no.1, 1963; Contrast, fl, cl, pf, 1966; Sonata no.2, vc, pf, 1966; Un-I, ob, pf, 1970; Chbr Music no.2, kayagŭm, 6 inst, 1972; Es habe, 7 pfmrs, 1973; Irrfahrt, 2 hp, 1973; Un-rack [Musical Rhyme], trad. Korean ens, 1976; Wind Qnt, 1976; Str Qt no.2, 1977; Classical Suite, 7 insts, 1977; Epigram, pf trio, 1978; Intercounter II, taegŭm, yanggŭm [dulcimer], 1978; Ein kleines Nachtlied, vn, pf, 1979; Un-V, trbn, str, 1979; Sinaui [Shinawi] [Shaman improvisation], 5 insts, 1979; Passacaglia, perc, 1979; Sori [Song], fl, gui, vc, 1981; Un-VI, fl, pf, 1981; Youlmok [Voice of Shadows], str, 1982; For the Soul Disappeared, trad. Korean ens, 1983; Passacaglia, va, chbr ens, 1983; Guitariana, 2 gui, 1984; Pf Trio, 1985; Myung [Inscription], fl, cl, gui, va, db, 1987; Byul-gok '87 [Piece '87], vn, pf, 1987; Contra, mar, 2 perc, 1988; 5 Pieces, vc, db, 1989; Duo, pf, perc, 1990; 5 Pieces, vc, pf, 1990; Dam-Jeup '92 [Phlegm], 3 kayagŭm, 1992; Sait-Sori [Song of Space], 4 taegŭm, yanggŭm, 1994; Sinawi [Shaman Improvisation], Jap. ens, 1995

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KEITH HOWARD

Paillard, Jean-François (*b* Vitry-le-François, 12 April 1928). French conductor. After graduating from the Sorbonne in mathematics, he studied musicology at the Paris Conservatoire with Dufourcq and conducting with Markevich

at the Salzburg Mozarteum. In 1952 he established the Ensemble Instrumental Jean-Marie Leclair, a group of 12 strings and harpsichord, which became the Jean-François Paillard Chamber Orchestra in 1953. This orchestra was mainly concerned with performing little-known works from the 17th and 18th centuries, especially French, but it also played contemporary works. The Jean-François Paillard Chamber Orchestra gave concert tours in more than 40 countries and made many recordings, mostly of Baroque works (including a memorable set of Rameau's *Les Indes galantes*), but also of music by Debussy and Roussel. Paillard directs a summer chamber music academy in Valence, is editor of the series Archives de la musique instrumentale, and has written *La musique française classique* (Paris, 1960).

CHRISTIANE SPIETH-WEISSENBACHER/R

Paine, John Knowles (*b* Portland, ME, 9 Jan 1839; *d* Cambridge, MA, 25 April 1906). American composer and teacher. He was the first native-born American to win acceptance as a composer of large-scale concert music, and one of the first to be named professor of music in an American university (Harvard).

As a youth, Paine studied organ, piano, harmony and counterpoint with Hermann Kotzschmar, a musician who had fled from Germany in 1848 and settled in Maine. After a thorough musical grounding, Paine sailed for Europe in September 1858. In Berlin he studied organ with Karl-August Haupt (who was apparently his principal mentor), and orchestration and composition with Wilhelm Wieprecht, among others. He remained abroad for three years, travelling during vacations, playing the organ and giving piano recitals in Germany and England; he met and played for Clara Schumann; and he was affected by the rediscovery of the music of Bach then current in Berlin. During this visit and also during a second, lengthy one to Germany at the end of the 1860s, Paine absorbed the style, manner and taste of the German musical world, and put it to immediate use upon his return to the USA.

When he settled in Boston in 1861, Paine started a series of organ recitals and public lectures on musical style, forms and history; these ultimately won him an appointment to the faculty of Harvard, which he retained until towards the end of his life. The department of music that he organized was to be a model for many others in American universities. Paine became the idol of the arbiter of the Boston genteel tradition in the arts, John Sullivan Dwight, whose Boston-based *Journal of Music* was always flattering when reporting Paine's concerts and lectures and, more important, when lobbying for more attention to music at Harvard.

Paine was a charter member of the American Guild of Organists, and played at Harvard's Appleton Chapel for several decades before his energies were directed towards composition and teaching. His early organ recitals were models of catholicity and included major works of Bach, not often heard in the USA at that time. Paine also lectured at the New England Conservatory, on whose board he sat as a friendly adviser; he taught at Boston University; and he appears to have had a large circle of musical friends, notably the conductor Theodore Thomas, the pianist Amy Fay, and the singer Emma Eames. Paine's composition students at Harvard and Radcliffe included John Alden Carpenter, Frederick S. Converse, Mabel Daniels, Arthur Foote, Edward B. Hill, Daniel Gregory Mason, and Carl Ruggles; his students in music history and style included Richard Aldrich, A.T. Davison, Olin Downes, Henry T. Finck, Hugo Leichtentritt and Henry Lee Higginson. Paine advised the last-named in the founding and early development of the Boston SO. In 1898 he became a member of the National Institute of Arts and Letters.

Paine served the Harvard community for 43 years. By his presence and by his serious concern with music in a liberal arts college he awakened a regard for music among many generations of Harvard men. His writings testify to his insistence upon the place of music within the liberal arts. Performances of his compositions were treated as major cultural events in Boston and Cambridge, and attracted frequent interest in New York, Brooklyn, Chicago and Philadelphia, to judge from reviews in the major literary journals. He was commissioned to write a major commemorative composition for each of America's expositions during his lifetime. His compositions formed a major part of the musical activities in Cambridge, most notably his music for the performance in Greek of Sophocles' *Oedipus tyrannus* (at Harvard's Sanders Theatre in 1881). Paine nourished the Harvard community with over 100 original musical compositions for use in campus plays, concerts and other diversions; with numerous lectures and prose articles; and by his presence as college organist, teacher and companion. He made Cambridge a centre of musical America and attracted such members of the Cambridge and Boston intelligentsia as H.W. Longfellow, R.W. Emerson, O.W. Holmes, J.R. Lowell, J.G. Whittier, C.W. Eliot, J. Fiske, W.D. Howells, the James brothers, F.J. Turner, C.E. Norton and G. Santayana. He was a pioneer not only in setting up a collegiate department of music, but in being a 'composer-in-residence', in contrast to the nature of appointments in contemporary European universities.

Paine modelled his early works upon the style of the masters he had studied, especially Bach and the Viennese classicists. The early keyboard music, the Mass in D, the First Symphony, the oratorio *St Peter* and the early cantatas are all in the accepted academic style prevalent before 1860 in German and German-American circles. Some of them, notably the Mass in D, go beyond mere competence to genuine inspiration and grandeur. Then, in a desire to align himself with musical progress (even after having written scathingly against the corruption of chromaticism), Paine altered his musical style by infusing it with greater chromatic activity, although never losing the strength and vigour of his individual style. A decline in health, bitterness at the lack of acceptance of his opera *Azara* (never staged), and the wear upon him of the academic *ennui* built into such a long teaching career contributed to a slackening of compositional activity in the last two decades of his life.

The change in style may be seen by comparing his two symphonies. The first, while not of uniformly superior quality, states its classical case with force and eloquence. A masterly handling of the sonata idea is notable in the opening movement and a lovely, mid-19th-century melodic slow movement. In the second symphony Paine incorporates elements of programme music, and organizes a much larger work in an almost Wagnerian manner through transformation and thematic recurrence. Another work from this period, perhaps his finest from his later years, is the Prelude to *Oedipus tyrannus*, which shows

clear examples of thematic transformation, cyclic construction and chromatic key relationships. A more pronounced stylistic change may be seen in the two versions of the violin sonata, extensively rewritten in the last year of his life. Traditional key relationships and diatonic voice leadings in the original are replaced by chromatic mediant and semitone key relationships and non-functional chord resolutions in the later version. For the most part, these changes greatly strengthen the musical statements. Throughout his career, Paine's music in general was characterized by a strong sense of tonality, by regular metric organization and distinctive rhythmic figuration, by sensitive orchestration and textural devices, and by controlled harmony marked by an increasing chromaticism.

Paine was rewarded in his lifetime by massive attention to his large works: the Mass in D, the oratorio *St Peter*, the two symphonies, some of the cantatas and music for plays. His music was performed frequently by the Boston SO and the Theodore Thomas Orchestra. In 1883 George Henschel, then the conductor of the Boston SO, was sent the following Valentine greeting:

> Oh, Henschel, cease thy higher flight!
> And give the public something light;
> Let no more Wagner themes thy bill enhance
> And give the native workers just one chance.
> Don't give the Dvorák symphony again;
> If you would give us joy, oh give us Paine!

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op.
— Il pesceballo (comic op, F.J. Child, J.R. Lowell), 1862, lib (Cambridge, MA, 1862), music (mostly arrs. of pieces by Mozart, Rossini, Bellini, Donizetti) lost
35 Oedipus tyrannus (incid music, Sophocles), T, male chorus, orch, 1880–81, Cambridge, 17 May 1881 (Boston, 1881); rev. 1895; version for large orch (Boston, 1908); Prelude pubd separately (Leipzig, 1903/*R*)
— Azara (grand opera, 3, Paine), 1883–98, concert perf., Boston, 7 May 1903 (Leipzig, 1901)
— The Birds (incid music, Aristophanes), T, male chorus, orch, 1900, Cambridge, 10 May 1901 (Boston, 1902)

CHORAL

— Agnus Dei, 1861, lost
— Benedictus, 1861, lost
— Hymn for Harvard Commencement (J.B. Greenough), 1862, rev. 1883 (Boston, 1883)
8 Domine salvum fac, inauguration hymn for Harvard president, male chorus, orch, 1863 (Cambridge, 1915)
10 Mass, D, S, A, T, B, chorus, org, orch, 1865, Berlin, 16 Feb 1867 (New York, 1866)
14/1 Funeral Hymn for a Soldier, male chorus, *c*1863
14/2 The Summer Webs, male chorus, *c*1863
14/3 Minstrel's Song (T. Chatterton), male chorus, *c*1863
— Peace, peace to him that's gone (T. Moore), male chorus, *c*1863
— Radway's Ready Relief (advertisement text), male chorus, *c*1863 (Boston, 1883)
— Soldier's Oath (C.T. Brooks), male chorus, 1865
— O bless the Lord, my soul (I. Watts), male chorus (Boston, 1911)
20 St Peter (orat), S, A, T, B, chorus, org, orch, 1870–72, Portland, ME, 3 June 1873 (Boston, 1872/*R*)
27 Centennial Hymn (J.G. Whittier), chorus, org, orch, 1876 (Boston, 1876), for Centennial Exposition, Philadelphia, 1876
36 The Realm of Fancy (after J. Keats), cant., S, A, T, B, chorus, orch, 1882 (Boston, 1882)
37 Phoebus, Arise! (W. Drummond), cant., T, male chorus, orch, 1882 (Boston, 1882)
38 The Nativity (after J. Milton), cant., S, A, T, B, chorus, orch, 1883 (Boston, 1883), for Handel and Haydn Society, Boston; rev. 1903 as op.39 (Boston, 1903)
— Divine Love (C. Wesley), 1883, lost
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Other occasional works, chorus, kbd

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29 Four Songs, *c*1866–*c*1878 (Boston, 1879): Matin Song (B. Taylor), ed. R. Hughes, Songs by Thirty Americans (Boston, 1904/*R*); I wore your roses yesterday (C. Thaxter); Early Springtime (T. Hill); Moonlight (J. von Eichendorff)
— Spring, 1869
— The Fountain (G.P. Lathrop), *c*1878
— The clover blossoms kiss her feet (O. Laighton), 1882
40/1 A bird upon a rosy bough (C. Thaxter) (Boston, 1884)
40/2 A Farewell (C. Kingsley) (Boston, 1885)
40/3 Beneath the starry arch (H. Martineau) (Boston, 1885)
40/4 Music when soft voices die (P.B. Shelley), lost
Other songs

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28 As you Like it, ov., *c*1876, pubd as Was ihr wollt (Leipzig, 1907/*R*)
31 The Tempest, sym. poem after Shakespeare, *c*1876 (Leipzig, 1907/*R*)
33 Duo concertante, vn, vc, orch, *c*1877
34 Symphony no.2 'In the Spring', A, 1879 (Boston, 1880)
44 An Island Fantasy, sym. poem, c1888, pubd as Poseidon and Amphitrite: an Ocean Fantasy (Leipzig, 1907*R*; T, x)
— Lincoln: a Tragic Tone Poem, *c*1904–6, inc.

CHAMBER

5 String Quartet, D, *c*1855 (New York, 1940)
22 Piano Trio, d, *c*1874
24 Violin Sonata, b, 1875, rev. *c*1905; ed. J.C. Schmidt (Madison, Wis., 1991)
30 Romanza and Humoreske, vc, pf, *c*1875; ed. J.C. Schmidt (Madison, Wis., 1991)
32 Larghetto and Humoreskè, vn, vc, pf, *c*1877; ed. J.C. Schmidt (Madison, Wis., 1991)

ORGAN

— Prelude and Fugue, g, 1859; LS
— Prelude, c; LS
2/1 Fantasia and Fugue, e, 1860; LS
2/2 Double Fugue on God Save the Queen or Heil dir im Siegeskranz, D, 1860; LS
3/1 Concert Variations on the Austrian Hymn, F, 1860 (Boston, 1876); L, LS
3/2 Concert Variations on The Star-Spangled Banner, *c*1861 (Boston, 1865); L [as op.4], LS

— Concert Variations upon Old Hundred, c1861 (Cambridge, 1916); L, LS
6 Fantasia, F, 1865, lost
— Reverie, after Longfellow's Song of the Silent Land, *c*1862, lost
17 Andante con variazioni, from lost Fantasia Sonata, *c*1863; LS
— Caprice, *c*1863, lost
19 Two Preludes, D♭, b, *c*1864 (Boston, 1892); L, LS
— Fantasia on the Portuguese Hymn, *c*1864, lost
— Pastorale, *c*1865, lost
13 Fantasie on Ein' feste Burg, *c*1869 (Cambridge, 1916); L, LS

Many preludes, fugues, other pieces

PIANO

1 Sonata no.1, a, 1859
4 Sonata no.2, f♯, before 1861, lost
7 Christmas Gift, 1862 (Boston, 1864); ed. M. Hinson, Piano Music in 19th-Century America, ii (Chapel Hill, 1975); S
9 Funeral March in Memory of President Lincoln, 1865 (New York, 1865); S
— Valse Caprice
11 Four Character Pieces, *c*1868 (Leipzig and Boston, 1872), incl. Welcome Home to my Darling Lizzie! From John
12 Romance, c, *c*1868 (Boston, 1869); S
15/1 Prelude and Fugue, b, before 1865
15/2 Prelude, f♯, before 1865
15/3 Fugue, A, before 1865
25 Four Characteristic Pieces, 1876 (Boston, 1876); S
26 Ten Sketches: In the Country, *c*1873 (Boston, 1876); S
39 Romance, D♭, *c*1882 (Boston, 1883); S
41 Three Piano Pieces, *c*1882–4 (Boston, 1884), no.2 previously pubd (Boston, 1882); S; nos.2–3 ed. J. Gillespie, Nineteenth Century American Piano Music (New York, 1978)
45 Nocturne, B♭, *c*1889 (Boston, 1889); S

MSS of most unpubd works in *US-CA*

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ed., with T. Thomas and K. Klauser: *Famous Composers and their Works* (Boston, 1891, 2/1894, rev. 3/1901) [incl. 'Beethoven as Composer' and 'Music in Germany' by Paine]

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KENNETH C. ROBERTS, JR./JOHN C. SCHMIDT

Paine, Thomas D(udley) (*b* Foster, RI, 9 Oct 1812; *d* Woonsocket, RI, 1 June 1895). American instrument maker and inventor. In 1848 he patented a rotary valve with three passages through the rotor instead of the usual two. His instruments are also the earliest known to use string linkage to turn rotary valves. A set of Paine brass instruments won a first prize at the 1852 exhibition of the Franklin Institute in Philadelphia.

Paine worked first in the Woonsocket woollen mills; he followed this by an apprenticeship and work in watch- and clockmaking from 1832 to 1837. He also played the violin for dancing. He first appears as a musical instrument maker in the Boston City Directory of 1841. In Boston he may have worked with E.G. Wright: both he and Wright exhibited keyed trumpets at the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association fair that year. From 1842 to about 1857 he worked in Woonsocket, supplying valved brass instruments of all sizes to many amateur bands. He was evidently assisted in the business by a younger brother, Emery A. Paine, and by his father, John O. Paine. Several examples of Paine's instruments are found at the Rhode Island Historical Society in Providence. After 1857 he seems to have worked mostly as a watchmaker and repairer, but after 1885 he listed himself as a violin maker. He is known to have made over 130 violins.

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ROBERT E. ELIASON

Paintal, Priti (*b* New Delhi, 2 Feb 1960). Indian composer. In 1982 she studied anthropology and ethnomusicology at Delhi Univeristy (BA 1980, MA 1982). Some of her early works were performed by the Delhi SO and broadcast on All India Radio. She moved to the UK on a British Council Scholarship, studying composition at York University and then with Anthony Gilbert at the Royal Northern College of Music in Manchester (MMus 1985).

Her distinctive musical voice utilises driving rhythms, modal harmonies and an assured lyricism, often as a framework for the improvisatory skills of the various performers with whom she works. Her influences range from a variety of African and Asian music to Western composers such as Bach, Chopin, Debussy, Stravinsky, Corea and Jarrett. In 1988 she founded Shiva Nova, a group of between five and 12 European, Asian and African musicians from both notated and improvising traditions. Shiva Nova has worked with singers, story-tellers, actors, dancers and installation artists to produce vibrant musical performances which are presented in venues ranging from concert halls to nightclubs. Paintal and Shiva Nova have also produced two recordings: *Polygamy* (1993) with jazz marimba player Orphy Robinson, and *Urban Mantras* (1998), a compelling reworking of dance rhythms. Other ensembles to have performed Paintal's music include the Balanescu and Bingham string quartets, the Bournemouth Sinfonietta and the City of London Sinfonia. Her powerful operas *Survival Song* (1989) and *Biko* (1992), both to librettos by Richard Fawkes and set in South Africa, were commissioned by the Royal Opera House.

WORKS
(*selective list*)

Stage: Survival Song (chbr op, R. Fawkes), 1989; Biko (op, 2, Fawkes), 1992; Gulliver in Lilliput (op, 2, C. Gawn) 1995

Orch: Scarlet Mountain Dances, sitar, Indian vn, tabla (all improvising), orch, 1990; Biko Ov., SATB, orch, 1992; How long is a piece of string?, ob, cl, perc, str, 1994; Music from Gulliver, SATB (children's and adult vv), orch, 1995; Blowing the Fuse, fl,

sax, bn, hn, sitar, Chin. dulcimer, va, vc, perc (all improvising), orch, 1996

Ens: Ayodhya, fl, cl, vc, 2 perc, 1986; Silk Rhythms, str sextet, 1987; For Us, 1988 [for Shiva Nova]; Euroasian Qnt, 1989 [for Shiva Nova]; Black and White Songs, 1991 [for Shiva Nova]; Bound by Strings of Rhythm, str qt, 1992; Polygamy, 1993 [for Shiva Nova]; Drastic Measures, pf, 1994; Bananas, 1996 [for Shiva Nova]; Urban Mantras, 1998 [for Shiva Nova]

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SOPHIE FULLER

Paired imitation. A term used to describe two related techniques of contrapuntal writing that were particularly important during the late 15th and the early 16th centuries. In the first, a pair of voices in a freely canonic relationship is imitated by another pair, as in the Kyrie of Josquin's *Missa 'Pange lingua'* (*Werken*, Missen, iv: 33, no.18). In the second, a duet involving two simultaneous motifs is imitated by another duet, as in the Gloria of Josquin's *Missa de Beata Virgine* (*Werken*, Missen, iii, 30–31, no.16). Paired imitation is an important contrapuntal resources in the style of Josquin's generation. Examples of it may be found in the music of Weerbeke, Josquin, Isaac, La Rue and Mouton, as well as in works by Févin and in the early works of Willaert.

See COUNTERPOINT; IMITATION; and MOTET, §II.

ALEJANDRO ENRIQUE PLANCHART

Pair of organs. Archaic English term ('payre of orgonys', etc.) for an organ, used at various times for organs of any size. *See* DOUBLE ORGAN and ORGAN, §I.

Paisible [Peasable], **James** [Jacques] (*b* France, *c*1656; bur. London, 17 Aug 1721). Composer and instrumentalist of French birth, active in England. He was related to Guillaume Paisible (*c*1659–1728) and other musicians at the French court. He seems to have come to England in September 1673 with Robert Cambert, and is listed as an oboist and recorder player in John Crowne's masque *Calisto*, given at court in February 1675. In 1677 he provided and directed the music for Mme de la Roche-Guilhen's *comédie-ballet Rare en tout*, performed at Whitehall on the king's birthday. He was appointed to the court of Charles II with three other French recorder players at Michaelmas that year; the French ambassador, Honoré Courtin, wrote that they played the instrument 'perfectly'. On the accession of James II in 1685, Paisible was appointed to the King's Musick as an instrumentalist, and in 1686 also as an instrumentalist in the king's Roman Catholic chapel. He married the singer Mary Davis, a former mistress of Charles II, around 4 December 1686; a court wit joked that Davis had 'an old Frenchman ... by the back'. He was associated with the circle of the Duchess of Mazarin (niece of the cardinal), who was in England from 1675, and provided music for several entertainments devised by Saint-Evremond and put on at her house in Chelsea (in a letter Saint-Evremond referred to Paisible as 'this great and slothful musician ... with manners that savoured of a well-bred man, and expressions which he must have learnt in his little library'). As a Roman Catholic he was not reappointed to the court under William and Mary in 1688, but went back to France and served James II in exile at Saint Germain-en-Laye. He returned to London around February 1693 and became composer to Princess Anne and her consort Prince George. He continued to work for Anne after her accession in 1702, writing an annual dance for her birthday and other state music. He also seems to have performed in concerts that may have been promoted by Gottfried Finger.

Paisible was heavily involved with the London theatres. He wrote act tunes for the United Company at Dorset Garden in 1693, then in the 1695–6 season became one of the house composers for Christopher Rich's company at Drury Lane. By the 1702–3 season he was also a member of the Drury Lane band, primarily as a bass violinist but also playing the recorder in numerous interval 'entertainments' with John Banister (ii), Gottfried Keller, Gasparo Visconti and others. In January 1708 he became a cellist at the new Queen's Theatre in the Haymarket. The anonymous translator of Raguenet's *Paralèle des italiens et des françois* (London, 1709), praising the opera band, attested that 'the famous Mr Paisible' on the recorder 'need not give place to any [Masters] at Paris'. In 1710 the German traveller Zacharias Conrad von Uffenbach heard Paisible play the recorder in concert and averred that his 'equal is not to be found'. By 1715 Paisible was back at Drury Lane at 'five shillings per diem, and one guinea every time he performs anything upon the stage'; again he played the recorder in the interval entertainments, now in competition with John Baston at Lincoln's Inn Fields. Throughout this period he also played in numerous concerts at York Buildings, Hickford's Room, Stationers' Hall and elsewhere, generally on the recorder but also on the 'echo flute' or 'small echo flute'. The inventory of Paisible's possessions on his death includes 13 musical instruments: 'three bass violins and one bass viol, a guitar and two cases', 'a spinet upon a frame' and 'two voice flutes, one consort flute and two small ones, an old hautboy and an old cane flute' ('flute' here always means recorder).

Paisible's compositions await a systematic study. His attractive theatrical music, relying heavily on French-style dances, was good enough to have been mistaken for that of Henry Purcell. During the 1690s, perhaps under the influence of Finger, he began to intermix elements of the Italian style in a rather quixotic manner. His 13 mixed-style recorder sonatas – never published, perhaps because of their virtuoso demands – deserve wider recognition. His best-known work is *The Queen's Farewell*, written for Queen Mary's funeral (1695).

WORKS

printed works published in London unless otherwise stated

Rare en tout (comédie-ballet, Mme de la Roche-Guilhen), London, 29 May 1677, lost

Ovs. and act tunes for the following plays: Pleasure, ?*c*1679, *GB-Lbl*, *Lcm*; Epsom Wells (T. Shadwell), 1693, *Lbl*; Timon of Athens (Shadwell, after W. Shakespeare), ?1694, *Lbl*, *Lcm*; Oroonoko (T. Southerne), 1695, *Lbl*, *Lcm*; Love's Last Shift (C. Cibber), 1696, *Lbl*, *Lcm*, *LEc*, *US-LAFinney*; Neglected Virtue, 1696, *GB-Lbl*; The Spanish Wives (M. Pix), 1696, *Lbl*, *Lcm*; The Humours of Sir John Falstaff (T. Betterton, after Shakespeare), 1700 (1701); King Edward III (J. Bancroft), *c*1700 (?*c*1700); Love's Stratagem, *c*1701 (*c*1701); She Wou'd & She Wou'd Not (Cibber), 1702 (1702)

Miscellaneous tunes: for vn, 1687[7], 1690[4], 1693[5], 1700[8]; for vn/rec/flageolet, 1691[5]; for 2 rec, 1694[7]; for ob/rec/vn/other insts, 1695[14]; The Compleat Flute-Master, rec (1695); for 2 rec, 1696[9]

The Queen's Farewell, 2 tr, t, b, 1695[14]

2 sonatas, 2 rec, 1698[8]

At least 1 sonata, 2 rec, 8 sonates à 2 flûtes sans basse (Amsterdam, 1699–1700), lost, listed in E. Roger catalogue
A Set of Ayres … being the 2nd Sett, a 4 (1700)
Pieces, vns, fls, obs, recs, bc, Pièces à 3 & 4 parties (Amsterdam, 1702), lost, listed in Roger catalogue
6 sonates, 2 rec, op.1 (Amsterdam, 1702) [as 6 Sonatas, op.1 (London, *c*1703)]
2 pieces, 2 rec, A Collection of Aires (1703)
Musick Perform'd Before Her Majesty and the New King of Spain, orch (1704)
Mr. Isacks New Dances Made for Her Majesty's Birth-Day, 1704: the Tunes by Mr. Paisible (1704), lost, mentioned in Walsh and Hare advertisement
Dances pubd separately (1705–18): 19 for Queen Anne's birthday; 1 for Princess Sophia Dorothea's birthday; 1 for George I's birthday; 1 miscellaneous
At least 1 sonata, 2 vn/ob, bc, Sonate da camera (Amsterdam, *c*1708), lost
At least 1 air, tpt, 2 vn, t, bc, A Collection of 6 Trumpet Airs (1717), lost
6 Setts of Aires, 2 rec, bc, op.2 (1720)
Sonatas, 2 rec, ?bc (1722), lost, listed in Walsh and Hare catalogue

Sonata, 2 tpt/ob, 2 vn, t, bc, *GB-Lbl*
3 Eng. partitas, tpt, 2 vn, va, bc, *D-SWl*
13 sonatas, 4 suites, rec, bc, *F-Pn*
2 sonatas, 2 rec, *Pn*
Set of dances, *GB-Ob* (inc., 1st tr pt only)

4 songs, 1682[7], 1684[4], Odes and Dialogues, pt 1 (*c*1699), 1 pubd separately (by 1701)

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DAVID LASOCKI

Paisible [Mareschal-Paisible], **Louis-Henry** (*b* Saint Cloud, nr Paris, 21 July 1748; *d* St Petersburg, 19 March 1782). French violinist and composer. A pupil of Gaviniès, Paisible obtained a post as violinist in the service of the Princess of Orléans (later Duchess of Bourbon-Conti) some time before 1763, when the Mozart family met the princess and the young virtuoso in Paris (see Leopold Mozart's travel diaries of late 1763 and letters of 5 February and 9 February 1778). From 1767 to 1776 Paisible appeared frequently and with great success as a solo violinist at the Concert Spirituel and the Concert des Amateurs. After 1776 his name disappeared from concert notices and from the lists of violin teachers in Paris. In 1777 he played in Vienna and in Königsberg; the next year he took up residence in St Petersburg, where his luck apparently took a turn for the worse. Although he put on more than 20 public concerts in that city and several more in Moscow, which he visited early in 1780 and again in 1781, he repeatedly failed to recover his expenses and gradually fell into debt. It has been said that his failure was due to the interference of the Italian violinist Lolli, but this cannot be true, for Lolli was not in Russia at the time. Twice in 1780 Paisible advertised sets of new compositions for sale by subscription, but he was unable to produce the works on schedule, and those which he did write were so badly printed as to be unplayable. In March 1782 he announced two further concerts in St Petersburg, but on the evening before the first, in despair over his debts, he shot and killed himself.

Reviews of his concerts indicate that Paisible was a brilliant technician, unsurpassed in his ability to draw an infinite variety of sonorities from his instrument. His compositions, which he often played in his own concerts, are remarkable for their highly idiomatic violin writing, but otherwise of little importance. Unfortunately, only his early works have survived; no trace remains of his output after he left Paris, although it is known that he wrote several large works, including an oratorio, while he was in Russia.

The title-page of the *Premier recueil d'ariettes* (*c*1766) indicates that Paisible's sister, Adélaïde-Félicité (*b* Paris, 19 Jan 1747, *d* Paris, 10 June 1806), composed or arranged small pieces for guitar. This collection seems to have enjoyed considerable popularity, for it was still listed in the catalogue of the publisher Bailleux as late as 1782. The isolated *Menuett* for guitar is probably also by the sister.

WORKS

Les israélites au Mont-Oreb (orat, ? C.H. de Voisenon), St Petersburg, 1779, lost
Orch: 2 concs., vn, str, fl/ob, 2 hn, op.1 (Paris, 1771); 3ème concerto, vn, str, fl/ob, 2 hn, op.2 (Paris, before 1776); 6 quatuor, 2 vn, va, b, op.3 (Paris, 1776); 4ème concerto, vn, str, fl/ob, 2 hn, op.4 (Paris, 1776); several sets of syms., concs., advertised St Petersburg, 1780, lost, ?unpubd
Others: 4 pieces in Premier recueil d'ariettes choisies avec accompagnement de guitarre par Melle. Paisible et de violon à volonté par Mr. son frère avec basse chiffrée (Paris, *c*1766); 6 Quartettos, str qt (London, *c*1777); Sonata, vn, b, *A-Wgm*; Menuett, gui, *F-Pn*, probably by Adélaïde-Félicité Paisible; qts, advertised St Petersburg, 1780, lost, ?unpubd

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JEAN HARDEN

Paisiello, Giovanni (*b* Roccaforzata, nr Taranto, 9 May 1740; *d* Naples, 5 June 1816). Italian composer. He was one of the most successful and influential opera composers of the late 18th century.

1. Life. Paisiello received his education first at the Jesuit school in Taranto and then, between 1754 and 1763, at the Conservatorio di S Onofrio, Naples. At about the time he left the S Onofrio he attracted the attention of a young nobleman, Giuseppe Carafa, who appointed him musical director of the small opera company he was then forming. It was due to Carafa that Paisiello acquired his first commissions to write works for the Teatro Marsigli-Rosi, Bologna, in 1764. The second of these, *I francesi brillanti*, failed at its first performance but was more successful when it was transferred to Modena two weeks later. This led to a commission from Modena for some new music for an opera originally by Guglielmi, *La donna di tutti i caratteri*. Paisiello's revision, *Madama l'umorista*, contained much new music; its success led in turn to requests for new operas for other north Italian theatres.

Paisiello regarded himself as Neapolitan, and preferred living and working in Naples to anywhere else. In 1766 he returned to Naples; as a freelance composer his chief activity was setting comic operas for the Nuovo and Fiorentini theatres, where his chief rival was Piccinni. But he was also happy to accept commissions for heroic operas for the S Carlo. The three operas (*Lucio Papirio dittatore, Olimpia* and the so-called *Festa teatrale in musica*) staged at the S Carlo between June 1767 and

May 1768 appear to indicate that the court, and in particular the King of Naples, Ferdinando IV, approved of his music. However, the royal approval seems to have been withdrawn, possibly because of Paisiello's unusual behaviour over his marriage to a widow, Cecilia Pallini. In the summer of 1768 he signed a contract to marry her but then tried to withdraw from it, using various excuses. Pallini successfully appealed, and Paisiello was confined in prison until the marriage was solemnized on 15 September. He received no further recognition from the court until 1774, when his short *Il divertimento de' numi* was performed at the royal palace, and no further commission came from the S Carlo until mid-1776.

Paisiello was unable to fulfil this commission because in 1776 he received and accepted an invitation from Catherine II of Russia to become her *maestro di cappella* in St Petersburg for three years at an annual salary of 3000 roubles. He left Naples for Russia on 29 July. His duties in St Petersburg included composing all the theatrical pieces ordered by the court and directing the court's orchestra and opera company. His new patroness maintained her small Italian opera company less out of personal affection for opera than with an eye to its political prestige value. Her relative indifference to music explains perhaps why Paisiello composed fewer stage works in Russia than he had done in a comparable period of time in Naples. In recompense he had time to write a number of keyboard pieces for other ladies of the court; most were for his pupil, the Grand Duchess Maria Feodorovna, the empress's daughter-in-law. Catherine liked him enough to renew his contract in September 1779 for another three years at an increased salary of 4000 roubles. And in 1781 she offered him a further four-year contract from September 1782, the date when his



1. *Giovanni Paisiello: portrait by Elisabeth-Louise Vigée Le Brun, 1791 (Château de Versailles)*

existing contract was due to expire. Paisiello accepted this latest offer, although he was starting to have second thoughts about staying in Russia much longer. His relationship with the court became strained in November 1783 after he had quarrelled with the newly formed committee of court theatres. Using his wife's ill-health as an excuse, he asked to be granted permission to return to Italy. Rather than lose her *maestro* altogether, Catherine granted him paid leave for a year. Once out of Russia, however, he made no attempt to return.

One reason why Paisiello did not go back to St Petersburg was his nomination by King Ferdinando of Naples on 9 December 1783 as *compositore della musica de' drammi* of the Neapolitan court. This was the result of a determined campaign by Paisiello to persuade the king, through the intercession of friends and intermediaries, to give him an official court position. During his campaign Paisiello sent his latest scores to Ferdinando through the diplomatic mail. His nomination was announced 17 days after *Il barbiere di Siviglia* (one of the operas he had sent from Russia) was performed before the Neapolitan court at the Palace of Caserta on 22 November 1783.

As the King's *compositore* Paisiello had no regular duties at court and no regular salary. Perhaps for this reason he did not reach Naples until October or November 1784, spending the summer of that year in Vienna, where he composed *Il re Teodoro in Venezia* (performed at the Burgtheater on 23 August). His first offering to the Neapolitan court after his return was *Antigono*, first given at the S Carlo on 12 January 1785. Shortly afterwards, on 7 March, the king granted him a pension, the conditions of which were reported in the *Gazzetta civica napoletana* of 18 March: Paisiello was in future obliged to write an annual [heroic] opera for the S Carlo and other occasional music as needed; in return he was to receive 1200 ducats annually, half from the treasury and half from the S Carlo (in effect payment for his annual opera); he was forbidden to leave Naples without royal permission; lastly, he was to receive the pension 'even if he could no longer compose in the service of His Majesty'. Paisiello faithfully obeyed these conditions for the next five years, and wrote no operas for theatres outside Naples during that period. On 29 October 1787 the king also appointed him *maestro della real camera* with an annual salary of 240 ducats. This appointment put Paisiello in charge of all secular music at court. His positions as court composer and *maestro della real camera*, with their large pension and salary, made him the most favoured musician in the city.

In 1790 Paisiello seems to have suffered some kind of physical or mental breakdown. He had contracted to write three operas for different Neapolitan theatres during the autumn and winter season of 1789–90 when Ferdinando gave him the extra task of composing *Nina, o sia La pazza per amore* (performed outside Caserta on 25 June 1789). This put him behind schedule with the other works. He was able to finish the first, *I zingari in fiera*, basically on time for the Fondo theatre in the autumn. But the other two, for the Fiorentini and the S Carlo theatres, both of which should have been staged the following carnival, did not then appear. The late completion of *Zenobia in Palmira* brought him into dispute with the impresario of the S Carlo, who maintained that he had failed to fulfil his annual contract. Paisiello petitioned the king to be relieved of all further duties to the theatre

and once more gained his wish. On 30 October 1790 Ferdinando ordained that he should in future receive his full pension without being obliged to write music for the S Carlo. This left him free to write operas for theatres outside Naples if he wished, and in fact he wrote three such works for Padua, London and Venice during the 1791–2 period. After 1792 his output of new operas slowed down; by 1800 it had virtually ceased, and he subsequently wrote only two complete stage works.

From about 1787 Paisiello started to receive commissions from monasteries and convents for masses and other liturgical music. This marked a change in the direction of his artistic endeavours, a change confirmed in December 1796 when he was appointed *maestro di cappella* of Naples Cathedral. By involving himself primarily in church music from here on Paisiello to some extent turned his back on public acclaim. His earlier successes had been almost exclusively in the realm of opera. Now he was working in musical fields that attracted less publicity. Performances of most of his late religious works were confined to a few locations in Naples, and from 1802 onwards, after he became Napoleon's private *maître de chapelle* in Paris.

Paisiello's journey to Paris followed a series of events that affected his career profoundly. In January 1799 republican forces with French military support gained control of Naples and established there the so-called Parthenopaean Republic. The king and his court fled to Sicily, but Paisiello, who was supposed to follow them, stayed behind. On 4 May he was made *maestro di cappella nazionale* to the republic (although he afterwards claimed he had not wanted this post) and on 23 May conducted the music at a religious ceremony attended by members of the new government. After Ferdinando's forces recaptured Naples at the end of June 1799, Paisiello's part in the republic's affairs was officially investigated, and he was suspended from all court duties. Not until 7 July 1801 was he pardoned and reinstated in his former positions. This was following a general amnesty for republican sympathizers, apparently requested by the French government, announced by Ferdinando in June 1801.

Napoleon Bonaparte had been a known admirer of Paisiello from the time, in 1797, when he had commissioned from him a funeral march to commemorate the death of the French general Lazare Hoche. Now first consul of France, Napoleon started negotiations with Ferdinando towards the end of 1801 for Paisiello's temporary release for a visit to Paris. These negotiations must have been complete by 19 January 1802, when Paisiello requested the Naples court to pay his monthly salary to his lawyer during his French visit. The composer finally reached Paris on 25 April. Napoleon seems to have taken his time deciding how best to make use of Paisiello's talents. In July he offered him a monthly salary of 1000 francs, free housing and free carriage, in return for being at the head of the 'music formed for the first consul', and for composing two operas a year and a military march each month. At this stage Napoleon's idea was clearly to turn his protégé into the leading composer of French opera. But the conditions of employment were then changed. On 25 September Paisiello received a new instruction to be present at and direct the music of the mass of the first consul's chapel each Sunday. This allowed Paisiello to ignore the earlier conditions, namely that he produce a steady flow of operas and marches. In fact he wrote only one opera in France, *Proserpine*, which was first performed at the Paris Opéra on 29 March 1803 and was a failure. Otherwise he concentrated on reconstituting the choir and orchestra of Napoleon's chapel (there had been no private chapel of the rulers of France since the abolition of the French royal chapel in August 1792) and providing music for the weekly service held there.

By early 1804 rumours were being reported and denied in the Parisian press that Paisiello wanted to return home. He finally obtained his release as Napoleon's *maître de chapelle* around 10 April, when J.-F. Lesueur was appointed as his successor, but he did not leave Paris until 29 August of that year. His late departure is related to the fact that Napoleon, who had made himself Emperor in May 1804, required the composer to help prepare the music for his coronation (which took place in Notre Dame on 2 December). The coronation music included a newly composed mass by Paisiello and his older *Te Deum* of 1791.

His return to Naples did not cause a severence of his links with Napoleon. The latter showed his continuing satisfaction with his past *maître de chapelle* by making him a member of the Legion d'Honneur on 18 July 1806 and by awarding him on 31 July 1808 an annual pension of 1000 francs backdated to 23 September 1804. The composer returned the compliment by sending the Emperor each year between 1807 and 1813 one or more sacred works (most of these were in honour of Napoleon's birthday on 15 August). Paisiello also continued to serve Napoleon in an indirect way by serving members of his family. In 1806 a French army invaded Naples, forcing Ferdinando to flee to Sicily for the second time. Napoleon's brother Joseph was installed King of Naples in May. One of his first acts was to put Paisiello in charge of all music at court, i.e. the composer now became *maestro di cappella* as well as *compositore* and *maestro della real camera*. Joachim Murat, Napoleon's brother-in-law, confirmed Paisiello in these appointments after he succeeded Joseph on the throne of Naples in 1808. Partly because of his own merits, no doubt, but partly also because of his connections with the Bonapartes, Paisiello received other rewards as well. In 1807 he was given one of the three directorships of the music college in Naples that Joseph had just founded, a post he held until 1813. In May 1808 he gained a place in the newly created Ordre royal des Deux Siciles, which gave him the rank of 'Cavaliere'. He also obtained honorary titles from Academies in Lucca and Livorno, and on 30 December 1809 was nominated one of the eight 'associés étrangers' of the Fine Arts section of the French Imperial Institute in Paris.

The composer can hardly have expected good treatment at the hands of Ferdinando when the latter returned yet again to Naples after the fall of the Bonapartes in 1815. Florimo gives the impression that the composer now lost all his appointments save that of *maestro di cappella* because of his previous affiliations. But in fact Ferdinando, by an amnesty published in Naples on 23 May 1815, pardoned all employees of the previous regime and promised that no action would be taken against them. So Paisiello held on to all his royal appointments until his death in June 1816. Almost inactive as a composer by now, he continued to serve up music in Ferdinando's chapel that he had written in previous times, much of it

ironically first intended for members of the Bonaparte family.

2. WORKS. In 1811 Choron and Fayolle brought out the second volume of their *Dictionnaire historique des musiciens* which included a short autobiographical sketch by Paisiello. In his sketch Paisiello divides his works into three periods, the first embracing his compositions up to his arrival in Russia in 1776, the second his works written in Russia, and the third everything composed after his departure from that country. The works that he assigns to periods one and two are operas in nearly every case. Those that he assigns to his third period include compositions in a wider variety of genres, religious works prominent among them. At the end of the sketch Paisiello makes his own assessment as to which of his works are the most successful. Here he significantly names no fewer than 20 comic operas, 12 heroic operas, but only three church compositions plus what he vaguely calls 'les motets et symphonies funèbres'.

This emphasis on his operatic production was, and remains, justifiable. In terms of volume created and appreciation engendered Paisiello's operas overshadow all his other work. Analysis of the style of his early Neapolitan comic operas reveals some of the reasons why he quickly became popular and a successful rival of Piccinni. Generally speaking Paisiello's style is lighter and melodically less ornate than Piccinni's. His instrumentation contains more felicitous use of legato-staccato alternations, the bass is less heavy, the accompanying wind is used more imaginatively (often rhythmically offsetting the string phrasing rather than duplicating it; fig.2). His harmonies are generally simple – this remains true of his music throughout his career. In compensation there is always a strong sense of rhythm; this becomes more pronounced in his later operas in which, in his ensemble writing especially, the rhythmic pulse propels the music through page after page.

In Russia, where he was composing for a court in which Italian was not the normal spoken language, he had to make his music good enough to compensate for any lack of understanding of the libretto. As a result his powers of musical characterization sharpened, his orchestration became more colourful, and his melodies acquired extra warmth. At this time there appeared in his melodic style certain turns of phrase reminiscent of Mozart. (Paisiello's influence on Mozart, who heard his *Il re Teodoro in Venezia* in Vienna in 1784 and probably his *Il barbiere di Siviglia* in 1783, is evident in parts of *Le nozze di Figaro* and *Don Giovanni*). After his return to Naples in 1784 Paisiello sought to simplify his melodies still further. His aim was to obtain a sentimental expressiveness by the simplest technical means. The trend is most noticeable in *L'amor contrastato* (also known as *La molinara*, 1788) and *Nina, o sia La pazza per amore* (1789), both of which had a number of popular tunes that endeared these works to the public. The cavatina 'Nel cor più non mi sento' from *L'amor contrastato* was a particular favourite that achieved wide distribution and carried Paisiello's name far outside the opera house. Many composers, including Beethoven, used this cavatina as a basis for variations or free fantasias.

Formal developments of *opera buffa* at the hands of Paisiello are a good guide to how *opera buffa* developed generally. The set aria forms of his earliest work (binary, ternary) give way in the early 1780s to a wider variety of aria structures, many of which may be described as 'free', i.e. the music is ongoing and lacks obvious recapitulation of material. This allows his arias a formal flexibility that is already the hallmark of his ensembles. Contemporaneously there is a proportional increase in the numbers of ensembles vis-à-vis solo items. Whereas in his early operas the only regular ensembles are the introduction to Act 1 and the act finales, in later operas they occur elsewhere as well and in certain cases almost match the solo items in number – in *Il barbiere di Siviglia* (1782), for instance,



2. Autograph score of part of an ensemble from Paisiello's 'Dal finto il vero', Act 1 scene ii, 1776 (I-Nc)

there are eight ensembles and ten solo items. Such developments can be perceived in the operas of Paisiello's contemporaries, Mozart included.

Other features of Paisiello's comic operas reflect the particular local conditions under which he was working. All his works for the Nuovo and Fiorentini theatres in Naples have texts in a mixture of Neapolitan and Tuscan dialects, a feature common to all operas staged in those particular houses. His comic operas written for other locations are in Tuscan only. Local circumstances also affected the length of his operas. Around the start of 1779 Catherine decided that his operas should last no longer than an hour and a half. This explains why all his works for the Russian court thereafter were short and (exclusive of *Il barbiere di Siviglia*) in one or two acts only. By contrast his comic operas for the Nuovo and Fiorentini theatres in Naples last longer and are nearly always in three acts. Act 3 of some of his third-period operas for the Fiorentini is tiny, consisting merely of simple recitative and one love duet. The feature of a small third act was retained in Naples long after *opera buffa* had been reduced to two acts elsewhere in Italy. When Paisiello's late three-act operas were performed outside Naples, the tendency was to compress the three acts into two; some such alteration might be justified in modern revivals.

Paisiello's heroic or tragic operas have not been highly regarded in recent times, partly because his music has been considered too light and frivolous for the sober nature of the genre. Yet he took their composition seriously, and the fact that all but one of his full-length operas written after 1792 have heroic or tragic texts suggests that he retained an affection for this genre longer than for comic opera. He greatly admired Metastasio, whose librettos he extolled to his pupils. He was less sympathetic to the views of Gluck, who claimed to curb the dominance of music over drama in heroic opera. He did, however, do much to limit singers' abuses, about which Gluck also complained. His attitude to the subject became defined during his Russian period. About his setting of Metastasio's *Alcide in Bivio* (1780) he wrote: 'I have worked very hard at it, since I wanted to get away from the inconveniences created in Italian theatres, and have completely excluded vocalizations, cadenzas and ritornellos, and set nearly all the recitatives with orchestral accompaniment'. After his return to Naples he was no longer able to work toward a comprehensive reform of heroic opera because of the necessity of pleasing conservative taste at the S Carlo. Nonetheless, several of his later operas lack vocalizations and pauses for cadenzas, and a few contain interesting experimental features. *Pirro* (1787) uses ensemble finales of a type normally reserved for comic opera, during which the action continues to progress. *Elfrida* (1792), the first of two operas with texts written for him by Calzabigi, is unusual in allocating all solo songs to the principal characters. *Proserpine* (1803), Paisiello's only opera in French, has orchestral accompaniment for all the recitatives, as was usual in French grand opera of the period. It is worth noting that the Italian version, called *Proserpina* (adapted 1807–8 though not staged until 1988), also has orchestral accompaniment throughout.

A quantity of sacred music by Paisiello has survived, but the purpose for which it was written is often hard to ascertain. His first church appointment came in 1796 when he was elected *maestro* of Naples Cathedral. In his autobiographical sketch Paisiello maintained that he had composed for the cathedral a number of services 'alla Palestrina', i.e. in the polyphonic 'stile antico'. The small amount of surviving choral music of this type, with figured bass support, may generally be placed in this category. A substantial group of liturgical and non-liturgical works with orchestral accompaniment, ranging from short motets to large-scale settings of the mass and vespers psalms, dates from the last decade or so of the century. Many works in this group were, according to the composer's evidence, commissioned by Neapolitan monasteries and convents later dissolved during the days of the Parthenopaean Republic in 1799. Paisiello's contributions to the religious services of Ferdinando's court were few; this was in part because he was never officially in charge of Ferdinando's chapel until the last year of his life. These contributions, however, include the large Requiem in C minor (1789) and the highly effective Te Deum in B♭. The latter work was originally written in 1791 to celebrate the return of the king and queen from a visit to Vienna; it became a favourite piece with Napoleon, who used it at a ceremony in Notre Dame on Easter Day 1802 and again at his own coronation in December 1804. Paisiello's compositions for the chapels of Napoleon and Joseph make up most of his music from 1802 onwards. His autobiographical sketch declares that he composed 16 'services' for Napoleon, in addition to the mass for his coronation and a sacred composition sent each year after his return to Naples, and another 24 'services' for Joseph. The curiosity of these musical services is that they contain an ad hoc selection of texts from liturgical and non-liturgical sources; it seems they were in reality sacred concerts performed in the chapel during 'low' mass, i.e. mass that was said. Another feature of these services is that much of their music is borrowed from earlier Paisiello compositions. The implication is that the steady flow of his inspiration, which he had constantly relied on, was beginning to dry up.

His instrumental compositions constitute a very small part of his output. His autobiographical sketch mentions five groups of pieces: 12 quartets for two violins, viola and keyboard (nine have survived as string quartets); a set of 'Sonates, Caprices et Pièces pour le Piano' for his pupil the Grand Duchess Maria Feodorovna (composed around 1781–3); 12 symphonies for Emperor Joseph II (which must be presumed lost); the funeral march for General Hoche (1797); and six keyboard concertos commissioned by the Princess of Parma (before December 1788). The principal works not mentioned in the sketch are two further keyboard concertos written in Russia, one of which was again for the Grand Duchess. Given that all his keyboard music was for genteel, high-ranking ladies, it is not surprising that the keyboard parts require finger dexterity but offer no outstanding technical challenges. The six concertos for the Princess of Parma may be judged his best essays in the realm of instrumental music. They contain some memorable tunes and a few surprising modulations and chromatic sections that relieve the otherwise rather conventional passage-work. They are pleasing and amiable, but hardly affect the composer's reputation.

Paisiello's popularity was at its height in the last two decades of the 18th century. During that period his dramatic works were as much in demand outside Italy as within it. In Vienna, for example, the Italian opera



3. Irene Tomeoni in the title role of Paisiello's 'Nina, o sia La pazza per amore': engraving by Jacques-Louis Copia, after 1791

company installed by Joseph II performed during the 1780s more works by Paisiello than by any other single composer (fig.3). Londoners too were particularly partial to his operas. The decline in the demand for his music, which became noticeable everywhere after about 1800, was a sign that taste had changed. The works that retained their popularity longest were his best comic operas, including *Il barbiere di Siviglia*, *L'amor contrastato* and *Nina*, but even these went out of the repertory after the 1820s. Thereafter he was remembered as one of the main names in the so-called 'Neapolitan school'. Promoters have revived a few of his operas in the late 20th century, kindling a renewed flicker of public interest. It remains to be seen whether this interest will be sustained.

WORKS

Catalogue: M.F. Robinson: *Giovanni Paisiello: a Thematic Catalogue of his Works* (Stuyvesant, NY, 1991–3)

OPERAS

NC – *Naples, Teatro S Carlo*
NFI – *Naples, Teatro dei Fiorentini*
NN – *Naples, Teatro Nuovo*
cm – *commedia per musica*
dg – *dramma giocoso*
dm – *dramma per musica*
int – *intermezzo per musica*

variants are MSS that include musical alterations by other composers

Le virtuose ridicole (dg, 3, C. Goldoni), Parma, Ducale, ? 21 Jan 1764

La moglie in calzoni (dg, 3, after J.A. Nelli), Modena, Rangoni, 18 Feb 1764

Il ciarlone (dg, 3, A. Palomba), Bologna, Marsigli-Rossi, 12 May 1764

I francesi brillanti (dg, 3, P. Mililotti), Bologna, Marsigli-Rossi, *c*24 June 1764, *D-Wa*

L'amore in ballo (dg, 3, A. Bianchi), Venice, S Moisè, early Jan 1765, *E-Mp*, *I-Nc**, *P-La*

Madama l'umorista (dg, 3, after A. Palomba), 26 Jan 1765 [rev. of P.A. Guglielmi: La donna di tutti i caratteri, 1762]

Le nozze disturbate (dg, 3, G. Martinelli), Venice, S Moisè, carn. 1766, *I-Nc**, *P-La*

Le finte contesse (int, 2, after P. Chiari: *Il marchese Villano*), Rome, Valle, Feb 1766, *F-Pn*, *I-Nc* (2 copies, 1 autograph)

La vedova di bel genio (cm, 3, Mililotti), NN, spr. 1766, *Nc**

Le 'mbroglie de le Bajasse (cm, 3, Mililotti), NFI, carn. 1767; rev. as La serva fatta padrona, NFI, sum. 1769, *E-Mp*, *I-Nc**

L'idolo cinese (cm, 3, G. Lorenzi), NN, spr. 1767, *A-Wn*, *E-Mp*, *F-Pn* (2 copies), *GB-Lbl*, *I-Mc* (Acts 2 and 3), *Nc* (2 copies, 1 autograph); variants *B-Bc*, *F-Po*, *US-Bp*, *Wc*

Lucio Papirio dittatore (dm, 3, A. Zeno), NC, *c*30 June 1767, *I-Nc**, *P-La*

Il furbo malaccorto (cm, 3, Lorenzi), NN, wint. 1767, *E-Mp*, *I-Nc**

Olimpia (dm, 3, D. Trabucco), NC, 20 Jan 1768, *Nc**, *P-La* (2 copies)

Festa teatrale in musica [Peleo; Le nozze di Peleo e Tetide] (2, G.B. Basso Bassi), NC, 25 or 31 May 1768, *I-Nc**, *S-St*

La luna abitata (cm, 3, Lorenzi), NN, sum. 1768, *E-Mp*, *I-Nc**, *S-St*

La finta maga per vendetta (cm, 3, Lorenzi), NFI, aut. 1768, *I-Nc**

L'osteria di Marechiaro (cm, 2, F. Cerlone), NFI, ?carn. 1769, *E-Mp*, *I-Nc** [perf. with a separate Act 3, La Claudia vendicata, *Nc**]

Don Chisciotte della Mancia (cm, 3, Lorenzi, after M. de Cervantes), NFI, sum. 1769, *A-Wn* (variant), *E-Mp*, *F-Pn*, *I-Nc**; vs (Milan, 1963)

L'arabo cortese (cm, 3, Mililotti), NN, wint. 1769, *E-Mp*, *F-Pn*, *I-Nc* (2 copies, 1 inc. autograph), *US-Wc* (Acts 1 and 2)

La Zelmira (cm, 3, Cerlone), NN, sum. 1770, *F-Pn*, *I-Nc**

Le trame per amore (cm, 3, Cerlone), NN, 7 Oct 1770, *B-Bc*, *F-Pn*, *I-Nc**

Demetrio [1st version] (dm, 3, P. Metastasio), Modena, Corte, carn. 1771, *F-Pn*, *I-Mc*, *Nc**

Annibale in Torino (dm, 3, J. Durandi), Turin, Regio, 16 Jan 1771, *Nc**, *Tf*, *P-La*

La somiglianza de' nomi (cm, 3, Mililotti), NN, spr. 1771, *E-Mp* (frag.), *F-Pn*, *I-Nc**

I scherzi di amore e di fortuna (cm, 3, Cerlone), NN, sum. 1771, *Nc**; rev. (int), *Nc*

Artaserse (dm, 3, Metastasio), Modena, Corte, 26 Dec 1771, *Nc**

La Semiramide in villa (int, 2), Rome, Capranica, carn. 1772, *Nc**

Motezuma (dm, 3, V.A. Cigna-Santi), Rome, Dame, Jan 1772, *Nc**

La Dardanè (cm, 3, Cerlone), NN, spr. 1772, *E-Mp*, *I-Nc**

Gli amanti comici (cm, 3, Lorenzi), NN, aut. 1772, *E-Mp* (Acts 2 and 3), *F-Pn*, *I-Nc**, *OS*; rev. as Don Anchise Campanone, Venice, S Samuele, aut. 1773, *E-Mp* (Acts 1 and 2), *H-Bn* (variant, Act 1), *I-Vnm*

L'innocente fortunata (dg, 3, F. Livigni), Venice, S Moisè, carn. 1773, *Fc*, *Vnm*; variants *H-Bn*, *RUS-SPtob*; rev. as La semplice fortunata, NN, sum. 1773, *I-Nc**

Sismano nel Mogol (dm, 3, G. De Gamerra), Milan, Regio Ducal, 30 Jan 1773, *Nc**, *Vnm* (variant), *P-La* (2 copies inc.)

Il tamburo (cm, 3, Lorenzi, after J. Addison: *The Drummer*), NN, spr. 1773, *A-Wn* (variant), *E-Mp*, *I-Nc* (2 copies, 1 autograph); rev. as Il tamburo notturno, Venice, S Moisè, aut. 1773, *Nc**, *Vnm*, *RUS-SPtob*

Alessandro nell'Indie (dramma serio, 3, Metastasio), Modena, Corte, 26 Dec 1773, *I-Nc* (inc. autograph)

Andromeda (dm, 3, Cigna-Santi), Milan, Regio Ducal, carn. 1774, *F-Pn*, *I-Nc**, *P-La* (Acts 2 and 3)

Il duello (cm, 1, Lorenzi), NN, spr. 1774, *E-Mp*, *F-Pn*, *I-Mc* (2 copies), *Vnm*, *US-Bp*; rev. as Il duello comico, Tsarskoye Selo, 1782, *I-Nc**, *RUS-SPtob*, vs (Rome, 1944); rev. as Le duel comique (P.-L. Moline), Paris, Comédie-Italienne (Bourgogne), 16 Oct 1776 (Paris, 1777)

Il credulo deluso (cm, 3, after Goldoni: *Il mondo della luna*), NN, Sept 1774, *F-Pn*, *I-Nc* (2 copies, 1 autograph), *OS*; rev. as Orgon dans la lune (M.J. Mattieu de Lépidor), *F-Pn*, *R*

La frascatana (dg, 3, Livigni), Venice, S Samuele, aut. 1774, *B-Bc*, *D-Wa*, *I-Bc*, *Mc*, *Nc**, *PAc*, *Rsc*, *Vnm*, *P-La*, *S-Skma*, *US-R*, *Wc*; variants *A-Wn* (2 copies), *D-Bsb* (2 copies, 1 in Ger.), *Hs*, *DK-Kk* (in Dan.), *F-Pn* (2 copies), *GB-Lbl* (2 copies inc.), *I-Bc*, *Vnm*, *US-Bp*, *NYp*; rev. as L'infante de Zamora (N.E. Framery), Strasbourg, 1779, and Versailles, 1781 (Paris, n.d.)

Il divertimento de' numi (scherzo rappresentativo per musica, 1, Lorenzi), Naples, Palazzo Reale, 4 Dec 1774, *I-Fc* (inc.), *Nc**

Demofoonte (dm, 3, Metastasio), Venice, S Benedetto, carn. 1775, *F-Pn*, *I-Mc*, *P-La*

La discordia fortunata (dg, 3), Venice, S Samuele, carn. 1775, *I-Fc*, *P-La*; variants *A-Wn*, *Wa*, *H-Bn* (Act 1)

Le astuzie amorose (cm, 3, Cerlone), NN, spr. 1775, *E-Mp* (variant), *I-Nc**, *Tf* (variant)

Socrate immaginario (cm, 3, Lorenzi and Galiani), NN, Oct 1775, *A-Wgm* (inc.), *D-Bsb*, *F-Pn*, *GB-Ob*, *H-Bn* (Acts 1 and 2), *I-Nc* (2 copies, 1 autograph with later alterations), *PAc*, *Rsc* (Act 1), *RUS-SPsc*, *S-St*, *US-Wc*; variants *GB-Lbl* (Act 1), *I-Bc*, *P-La* (Acts 1 and 2); vs (Florence, 1931)

Il gran Cid (dm, 3, ? after G.G. Bottarelli), Florence, Pergola, aut. 1775, *I-Fc*, *Nc**, *US-Wc*

Le due contesse (int, 2, G. Petrosellini), Rome, Valle, 3 Jan 1776, *E-Mp* (2 copies), *F-Pn* (4 copies), *GB-Lbl* (2 copies), *H-Bn*, *I-MOe*, *Nc**, *Vnm*, *S-St*, *US-NYp*, *Wc*; variants *A-Wn* (2 copies), *RUS-SPtob*; rev. as Les deux comtesses (Framery), Versailles and Strasbourg, 1781 (Paris, n.d.), *F-Pa* (variant)

La disfatta di Dario (dm, 3, Duke of S Angelo Morbilli), Rome, Argentina, carn. 1776, *B-Bc* (Acts 1 and 2), *D-Hs*, *GB-Lbl*, *I-Bc*, *Nc**, *Vnm*, *S-St*, *US-Wc*; variants *F-Pn*, *I-Nc*, *P-La*

Dal finto il vero (cm, 3, F.S. Zini), NN, spr. 1776, *F-Pn*, *I-Nc* (2 copies, 1 autograph), *OS*, *S-St*, *US-Wc*; variants *I-Vnm*, *RUS-SPtob*

Nitteti (dm, 3, Metastasio), St Petersburg, Imperial, *c*17/28 Jan 1777, *D-Bsb*, *F-Pn* (2 copies), *GB-Ob*, *I-Mc*, *Nc**, *RUS-Mcm*

Lucinda ed Armidoro (azione teatrale, 2, M. Coltellini), St Petersburg, aut. 1777, *D-Bsb*, *F-Pn* (Act I), *GB-Lbl*, *Ob*, *I-Nc**, *RUS-SPtob*, *US-Bp*, *Wc*

Achille in Sciro (dm, 3, Metastasio), St Petersburg, 26 Jan/6 Feb 1778, *D-Bsb*, *F-Pn*, *GB-Lbl*, *Ob*, *I-Nc**, *RUS-Mcm* (Acts 1 and 3), *SPtob*, *US-Wc*

Lo sposo burlato (dg, 2, G.B. Casti), Peterhof, 13/24 July 1778, *RUS-SPtob* [pasticcio]

I filosofi immaginari [Gli astrologi immaginari] (dg, 2, G. Bertati), St Petersburg, Hermitage, 3/14 Feb 1779, *A-Wn**, *B-Bc*, *DK-Kk*, *F-Pn* (2 copies), *GB-Ob*, *H-Bn*, *I-Fc*, *RUS-SPtob*, *S-Skma*; variants *D-Wa*, *DK-Kk* (2 copies, 1 inc. in Dan.), *I-Pc*, *Vnm*, *US-Bp*, *Wc*; as Le philosophe imaginaire (P.U. Du Buisson), Paris, Tuileries, 1780 (Paris, n.d.); as Die eingebildeten Philosophen, *A-M*, *Sca*, *Wn*, *D-Bsb*, *Hs*, *DK-Kk*, *RUS-SPtob*; as I visionari, Dresden, 1793

Demetrio [2nd version] (dm, 2, Metastasio), Tsarskoye Selo, 13/24 June 1779, *GB-Lcm*, *Ob* (Act 1), *I-Nc**, *RUS-SPtob*

Il matrimonio inaspettato (dg, 1 [some MSS in 2 Pts], after Chiari: *Il marchese Villano*), Kammeniÿ Ostrov, St Petersburg, 21 Oct/1Nov 1779, *F-Pn* (2 copies), *I-Mc*, *Nc**, *RUS-SPtob*; variants *B-Bc*, *E-Mp*, *GB-Cfm*, *Lbl*, *I-Vnm*, *RUS-SPtob* (in Russ.), *S-St* (in Swed.); as La contadina di spirito o sia Il matrimonio inaspettato, *A-Wn*, *H-Bn*, *I-MOe*; as Le marquis Tulipano (C.J.A. Gourbillon), Paris, Monsieur, 28 Jan 1789, *F-R* (Paris, n.d.)

La finta amante (ob, 2), Moghilev, 25 May/5 June 1780, *A-Wn* (2 copies), *B-Bc*, *D-Bsb*, *F-Pn* (3 copies), *GB-Lbl*, *I-MOe*, *Nc* (2 inc. copies, 1 autograph), *Vnm*, *RUS-SPtob* (2 copies, 1 shortened)

Alcide al bivio (festa teatrale, 1, Metastasio), St Petersburg, Hermitage, 25 Nov/6 Dec 1780, *B-Bc*, *GB-Lcm*, *Ob*, *I-Nc**, *RUS-SPit* (inc.), *SPtob* (variant)

La serva padrona (int, 2, G.A. Federico), Tsarskoye Selo, 30 Aug/10 Sept 1781, *A-Wn*, *B-Bc*, *D-MÜs* (inc.), *F-Pn* (4 copies), *GB-Lbl*, *I-Bc*, *Mc* (2 copies), *MC*, *Nc* (3 copies), *PAc* (variant), *PESc*, *Rsc*, *Rvat* (Part 1), *Vnm*, *RUS-SPsc*, *SPtob* (3 copies, 1 in Fr., 1 in Russ.), *S-Skma*, *US-Bp*, *NYp*, *SFsc*, *Wc*; (Paris, n.d.)

Il barbiere di Siviglia, ovvero La precauzione inutile (dg, 4, after P.-A. Beaumarchais: *Le barbier de Séville*), St Petersburg, Hermitage, 15/26 Sept 1782, *A-Wn*, *CDN-Lu*, *CH-Zz*, *D-Hs*, *Wa*, *E-Mc* (2 copies), *F-Pn* (2 copies), *GB-Lbl*, *Lcm*, *Ob*, *H-Bn*, *I-Bc*, *Mc* (2 copies), *MOe*, *Nc**, *OS*, *Pc*, *PAc* (2 copies), *PESc*, *Rsc*, *Rvat*, *Vc*, *Vnm*, *P-La*, *RUS-SPsc*, *S-Skma*; rev. (3), NFI, spr. 1787, *I-Nc* (2 copies, 1 inc.); variants *A-Wn*, *B-Bc*(in Fr.), *D-Bsb* (in Ger.), *Hs* (2 copies, 1 in Ger.), *I-PAc*, *S-St* (in Swed.), *US-CA*; as Le barbier de Séville (Framery), Versailles, 14 Sept 1784, *F-Pn* (Paris, ?1784); as Le barbier de Séville (Moline), ? Paris, 1787 (Paris, 1787); ed. G. Guidi (Florence, 1868)

Il mondo della luna (festa teatrale comica, 1, after Goldoni), Kammeniÿ Ostrov, St Petersburg, 24 Sept/5 Oct 1783, *A-Wn*, *I-Nc**, *RUS-SPtob*, *US-Wc*; variants *A-Wn*, *E-Mp*, *F-Pn*

Il re Teodoro in Venezia (dramma eroi-comico, 2, Casti), Vienna, Burg, 23 Aug 1784, *A-Wgm* (2 copies), *Wn* (3 copies, 1 in Ger.), *B-Bc*, *CH-Zz*, *D-Bsb* (2 copies in Ger.), *HR*, *Mbs* (inc.), *DK-Kk*(2 copies, 1 in Dan.), *F-Pn* (3 copies), *Po*, *GB-Lbl*, *H-Bn* (inc.), *I-Bc* (variant), *Gl*, *Mc*, *Nc**, *OS*, *Pc*, *PAc* (2 copies), *Rvat*, *Vnm* (2 copies), *RUS-SPtob*, *US-Bp* (Act 1 in Ger.), *CA*, *Wc*; as Le roi Théodore à Venise (Du Buisson), Fontainebleau, 28 Oct 1786 (Paris, n.d.); as Le roi Théodore à Venise (Moline), Paris, Opéra, 1 Sept 1787, *F-Po* (Paris, n.d.); ed. M. Robinson (Milan, 1996)

Antigono (dm, 3, Metastasio), NC, 12 Jan 1785, *B-Bc*, *D-Mbs*, *F-Pn*, *I-Nc**, *P-La*, *US-Wc*

L'amore ingegnoso (int, 2), Rome, Valle, carn. 1785, *F-Pn*, *I-Nc**, *Vnm*

La grotta di Trofonio (cm, 2, G. Palomba, after Casti), NFI, aut. 1785, *A-Wn*, *D-Mbs*, *Wa*, *E-Mp* (as Amor non a' riguardi), *F-Pn* (2 copies), *GB-Ob*, *I-Nc**, *RUS-SPsc*, *US-R* (Act 1); variants *A-Wgm*, *Wn* (in Ger., as Die Trofonius Höhle), *F-Pn* (2 copies), *I-Gl*, *Vnm*

Olimpiade (dm, 3, Metastasio), NC, 20 Jan 1786, *D-Mbs*, *I-Nc*, *P-La*, short score, arias, duet, terzet (Naples, 1786); rev. NC, 30 May 1793, *F-Pn*, *GB-Ob*, *I-Nc**

Le gare generose (cm, 2, G. Palomba, after Calzabigi: Amiti e Ontario, o i selvaggi), NFI, spr. 1786, *A-Wn*, *D-Wa*, *E-Mp*, *F-Pn* (2 copies), *I-Gl*, *Nc**, *Tf*, *Vnm*; variants *A-Wn*, *B-Bc* (Act 2), *F-Pn*, *H-Bn*, *RUS-SPtob*, *US-Wc*; as Gli schiavi per amore, London, King's, 24 April 1787, *GB-Lbl*, vs of Act 1 (London, n.d.); as Le bon maître, ou L'esclave par amour (Gourbillon and P.G. Parisau), Paris, Monsieur, March 1790, *F-Pn*, *R* (shortened) (Paris, 1790)

Pirro (dm, 3, De Gamerra), NC, 12 Jan 1787, *A-Wn*, *B-Bc*, *F-Pn* (4 copies), *GB-Cpl*, *Lcm*, *I-Bc*, *Nc**, *PAc*, *Vnm*, *P-La*, *S-Skma*, *US-Bp*; variant, Tuileries, Paris, 24 Jan 1811, *F-Pn*

Giunone Lucina (componimento drammatico, 1, C. Sernicola), NC, 8 Sept 1787, *D-Mbs*, *GB-Lbl*, *I-Nc**

La modista raggiratrice (cm, 3, Lorenzi, after G.A. Federico: *Il Filippo*), NFI, aut. 1787, *GB-Ob*, *I-Nc* (2 copies, 1 autograph), *Pc*, *Rsc*, *Vc*, *Vnm*; variants *A-Wn*, *D-Bsb*, *F-Pn* (2 copies), *GB-Lbl*, *I-PAc*, *Rsc*, *Tf*, *P-La*, *RUS-SPtob*, *US-Bp* (inc.); as La scuffiara raggiratrice, Florence, 1788; as La scuffiara amante, o sia Il maestro de scuola napolitano, Rome, 1788; as La cuffiara, Monza, 1789

Fedra (dm, 3, L.B. Salvioni, after C.I. Frugoni), NC, 1 Jan 1788, *A-Wn*, *D-Bsb*, *F-Pn*, *GB-Lbl*, *Ob*, *I-Nc**, *P-La*

L'amor contrastato [La molinara] (cm, 3, G. Palomba), NFI, aut. 1788, *D-Mbs* (2 copies), *E-Mp*, *F-Pn* (2 copies), *GB-Lbl*, *I-Mc*, *Nc**, *US-SFsc* (inc.); variants *A-Wgm*, *Wn* (3 copies, 2 in Ger.), *B-Bc*, *CH-Zz* (in Ger.), *D-Bsb* (2 copies, 1 in Ger.), *NEhz* (in Ger.), *DK-Kmk*, *F-Pn* (2 copies), *I-OS*, *PAc*, *Vnm*, *P-La*, *RUS-SPit* (inc.), *SPsc*, *SPtob* (4 copies, 1 in Ger.), *US-Bp*, *BEm* (inc.), *Wc* (2 copies); Acts 1 and 2 (Florence, 1962), vs in Ger. (Berlin, n.d.), (Leipzig, n.d.)

Catone in Utica (dm, 3, Metastasio), NC, 5 Feb 1789, *F-Pn*, *GB-Lcm*, *Ob*, *I-Gl* (variant), *Nc**, *P-La*

Nina, o sia La pazza per amore (commedia in prosa ed in verso per musica, 1, G. Carpani, after B.-J. Marsollier des Vivetières, with addns by Lorenzi), S Leucio, Caserta, 25 June 1789, *A-Wn*, *D-Mbs*, *GB-Lbl*; rev. (2), NFI, aut. 1790, *D-Bsb*, *Hs*, *Mbs*, *DK-Kk* (2 copies), *E-Mc*, *IRL-Dtc*, *F-Pn*, *GB-Lbl*, *Lcm*, *Ob*, *I-Bc*, *Mc*, *Nc* (3 copies, 1 autograph), *OS*, *Rsc*, *Vc*, *S-Skma*, *St*, *US-Bp*, *Wc*; variants *A-Wn*, *B-Bc*, *Br*, *D-Hs* (Act 2), *DK-Kk*, *F-Pn*, *R* (in Fr.), *GB-Lcm* (Act 1), *I-Mc* (2 copies), *Mr*, *PAc* (2 copies), *Tf*, *Vc* (2 copies), *Vnm* (3 copies), *RUS-SPit*, *SPsc* (in Russ.), *US-NYp*; vs ed. C. Gatti (Milan, 1940)

I zingari in fiera (dm, 2, G. Palomba), Naples, Fondo, 21 Nov 1789, *B-Bc*, *D-Bsb*, *Hs* (2 copies), *E-Mp*, *F-Pn*, *GB-Lbl* (2 copies), *Ob*, *I-Mc*, *MOe*, *Nc**, *P-La*, *S-Skma*; variants *A-Wgm*, *Wn*, *I-Pc*, *PAc*, *Rsc*, *Vnm*, *RUS-SPtob* (in Russ.)

Le vane gelosie (cm, 3, Lorenzi), NFI, spr. or early sum. 1790, *E-Mp*, *I-Nc**, *P-La*; as La discordia conjugale, *GB-Lcm* (Act 1); collab. S. Palma

Zenobia in Palmira (dm, 2, G. Sertor), NC, 30 May 1790, *GB-Lcm*, *I-Nc**, *US-Bp*

Ipermestra (dm, 3, Metastasio), Padua, Nuovo, June 1791, *GB-Lcm* (variant), *I-Pc*, *Vnm* [incl. music by Bertoni, Fabrizi and Tarchi]

La locanda (dg, 2, G. Tonioli, after Bertati), London, Pantheon, 16 June 1791, *I-Nc**; rev. as Il fanatico in Berlina (3), NFI, carn. 1792, *A-Wn*, *E-Mp*, *IRL-Dtc*, *GB-Lbl* (Acts 1 and 2), *I-Mc*, *Pc* (Acts 1 and 2), *PAc*, *PESc*, *Vnm*, *P-La* (Act I), *US-Bp*; variants *A-Wn*, *D-Bsb*, *RUS-SPtob*

I giuochi d'Agrigento (dm, 3, A. Pepoli), Venice, Fenice, 16 May 1792, *A-Wgm*, *D-Mbs*, *F-Pn* (2 copies), *GB-Lcm* (2 copies), *Ob*, *I-Nc* (2 copies), *PAc*, *Vlevi*, *Vnm*, *RUS-SPit*, *SPtob*, *US-Bp* (variant), *Wc* (inc.)

Elfrida (tragedia per musica, 2, R. de Calzabigi), NC, 4 Nov 1792, *B-Bc*, *F-Pn*, *GB-Lbl*, *Ob*, *I-Nc**, *PAc*, *Rmassimo*, *Rsc*, *Vnm*, *S-St*, *US-Bp*; variants *RUS-SPtob*, *US-NYp*

Elvira (tragedia per musica, 3, Calzabigi), NC, 12 Jan 1794, *B-Bc*, *F-Pn*, *I-Nc**, *PAc*, *Vnm*, *US-Bp*

Didone abbandonata (dm, 2, Metastasio), NC, 4 Nov 1794, *A-Wgm*, *D-Bsb*, *F-Pn*, *GB-Lbl*, *I-Nc**, *Rsc*, *Vnm*, *US-Bp*
La Daunia felice (festa teatrale, 1, F.P. Massari), Foggia, Palazzo Dogana, 25 June 1797, *I-Nc**
Andromaca (dm, 2), NC, 18 Nov 1797, *A-Wn*, *F-Pn*, *I-Nc**, *RUS-SPsc*, *SPtob*, *US-Bp*; variants *I-Pc*, *Vnm*
L'inganno felice (cm, 2, G. Palomba), Naples, Fondo, wint. 1798, *GB-Ob*, *I-Mc* (2 copies), *Nc**, *Rsc*, *Vnm*, *US-Bp*; variants *B-Br*, *RUS-SPtob* (as L'ingiusta gelosia)
L'isola disabitata (Metastasio), 1799
Proserpine (tragédie lyrique, 3, N.-F. Guillard, after P. Quinault), Paris, Opéra, 29 March 1803, *F-Pn*, *Po* (2 copies) (Paris, 1803); rev. as Proserpina (G. Sanseverino), *I-Bc*, *Bsf*, *Nc*
Epilogue for S. Mayr: Elisa (farsa, 1, ?Nicolini), NC, 19 March 1807, *F-Pn**
I pittagorici (dramma, 1, V. Monti), NC, 19 March 1808, *D-Mbs*, *F-Pn*

Doubtful [operas mentioned in Paisiello's autobiographical sketch (see *Choron-FayolleD*) and for which no other evidence has been found; comp. ?before 1776]: Il mondo alla rovescia, Bologna; I bagni d'Abano, Parma; Le pescatrici, Venice; Il giocatore, Turin; Il finto principe, Florence

CANTATAS AND OCCASIONAL WORKS

Le nozze di Bacco ed Arianna (mascherata coreografica, A. Biondini), Modena, 11 Feb 1765; *I-MOe* (2)
L'Ebone (cant., S. Mattei), 3vv, orch, Naples, S Carlo, 20 Jan 1768
La Sorpresa delli dei (serenata, G.B. Locatelli), St Petersburg, Prince Potemkin's palace, Dec 1777
2 notturni, S, S, bc, ?1778–80, *F-Pn*, *GB-Lbl* (2 copies), *Lcm*, *Ob* (2 copies), *HV-Zba*, *S-Skma* (2 copies), *RUS-SPsc*
La libertà e Palinodia a Nice (canzoni, Metastasio), S, S, bc, St Petersburg, before July 1783; *A-Wgm* (2 copies), *D-Hs*, *Mbs*, *GB-Lbl* (2 copies), *Ob* (2 copies), *I-Mc*, *Vnm*, *RUS-SPsc* (London, n.d.; Paris, n.d.; Zürich, n.d.)
Il ritorno di Perseo (cant., L. Serio), Naples, Accademia degli Amici, 6 Oct 1785; *GB-Ob*, *I-Nc* (2 copies, 1 autograph)
Amore vendicato (favola boschereccia, di Gennaro), Naples, Accademia dei Cavalieri, 30 June 1786; as Apollo e Dafne, Naples, S Carlo, carn. 1790; *F-Pn*, *I-Nc**, *US-SFsc*, *RUS-Mcm*
Il genio poetico appagato (cant., G. Pagliuca), Naples, S Ferdinando, 17 Aug 1790; *I-Mc*
Cantata epitalamica, Florence, Intrepidi, 6 May 1791
La volontaria & marcia militare, Naples, 1796; *I-Vlevi*, *Vnm* (Naples, *c*1796)
Le nozze di Silvio e Clori (cant.), Naples, Accademia dei Cavalieri, for wedding of Francesco, Prince of Calabria, and Archduchess Maria Clementina, July 1797; *F-Pn*, *I-Nc**
La pace (componimento drammatico), Naples, ?1802; *Nc*, probably completed by others
Cantata for birthday of Prince Felice of Lucca (B. Cenami), Naples, 1807, *I-PAc*
Fille a Tirsi (cant.), S, bc, *D-MÜs*, *I-Nc*, *Vnm*; La lontanza di Tirsi (cant.), A, bc, *GB-Ckc*; La scusa (cant., Metastasio), S, bc, *Ckc*, *Ob* (inc.), *I-Mc*, *Nc*; Tirsi a Fille (cant.), S, bc, *Nc*
Miscellaneous arias and ensembles (many doubtful)

SACRED ORATORIOS AND CANTATAS

Jephte sacrificium (actio sacra), Venice, Ospedale dei Mendicanti, 1774
La passione di Gesù Cristo (orat, 2, Metastasio), Catholic Cathedral, St Petersburg, 1783; *A-Wn* (2 copies), *B-Bc* (2 copies), *D-Bsb*, *Hs* (2 copies), *MÜs* (inc.), *DK-Kk*, *F-Pn* (4 copies), *R* (1st pt), *GB-Lbl* (2 copies), *Lcm* (2 copies), *Lgc*, *Ob*, *I-Bc* (2 copies), *Gl*, *LEp*, *Mc* (2 copies, 1 inc.), *Nc* (2 copies), *OS* (2 copies), *Pc*, *PAc* (2 copies), *Rf* (2 copies), *Rsc* (3 copies, 1 inc.), *Tf*, *Tn*, *Vc*, *Vnm* (3 copies), *P-La* (2nd pt), *US-Bp* (1st pt), *RUS-SPtob* (facs., 1987); with rev. 2nd pt, *I-Nc**
Il transito di S Luigi Gonsaga (cant.), ?Naples, *c*1785–90, *Rmassimo*
Cantata fatta in occasione della transalazione del sangue di S. Gennaro, Naples, Sedile di Nido, 5 May 1787, *Nc**
Baldassare (dramma sacro per musica [pasticcio], 2, P. Giovannini), 1787, *Mc*
Cantata per la sollenità del SS Corpo di Cristo, Naples, 3 June 1790, *Nc*
Cantata per la transalazione del sangue del glorioso martire S Gennaro (G. Pagliuca), Sedile di Nido, Naples, 4 May 1793, *Nc**
Il fonte prodigioso di Orebbe (cant., P.D.A. Rota), Piazza del Pendio, Naples, 13 June 1805

Passio per la domenica delle palme (Bible: *Matthew* xxvi-xxvii), *Nc*
Passio per il venerdì santo (Bible: *John* xviii-xix), *Mc*
Doubtful: La concezione di Maria Vergine (orat), *Bc*, *Mc*

SACRED MUSIC FOR THE BONAPARTES

Masses: Messa in pastorale, 1802, *F-Pn*, *I-Nc**; Masses in A, 1802–3, *F-Pn*, *Us-Wc* (inc.); F, C, F, B♭, 1802–4, *F-Pn*; G, 1802–4, *Pn*, *I-Nc* (inc.); F for Passion and Palm Sundays, 1802–4, *F-Pn*; B♭, 2 Dec 1804, *Pn* (2 copies), *I-Nc**; D, 1807, *F-Pn*, *I-Mc*; C, 1807, *F-Pn* (2 copies), *I-Mc*; F, *c*1807, *Mc*; D, perf. 15 Aug 1808, *F-Pn* (2 copies); G, perf. 15 Aug 1809, *Pn* (3 copies); G, perf. 15 Aug 1811, *Pn* (2 copies); E♭, 1811, *Pn* (2 copies), version dated 1812, *I-Mc*; C, perf. 15 Aug 1812, *F-Pn*; B♭, ?1812, *Pn*, *I-Nc**
Other liturgical: Veni sancte spiritus, 1803, *Mc*, *Nc**; Laudate pueri, *Mc*; Te Deum Breve, 1813, *F-Pn* (2 copies)
Motets: Absit sonitus, Coeli stella, Non est in vita amara, Splendete of coeli, Veni ferox, Virgam virtutis tuae, 1802–4, *Pn*; Coeli stella, Deh resplende o clara stella, Gratiae sint deo devotae, Heu nos jam velum, In tuo beato ardore, Ne lucem, Non est in vita amara, O mortales summo ardore, Quis est, Rosea lux, Si mare ferox murmurat, Sitibundi desolati, Splendete o coeli stellae, Vivat deus, 1806–8, *I-Mc*; Absit sonitus, Alma fax, Atlas olympi fores, 1806–8, *Nc*
Other sacred: Sagro trattenimento musicale, B♭, ?1810, *F-Pn*, *I-Mc*; Sagro componimento musicale, C, 1809–10, *F-Pn*, *I-Mc*; Componimento sagro musicale, G, perf. 9 June 1811, *F-Pn* (2 copies)

MUSIC FOR THE ORDINARY AND PROPER OF THE MASS

Masses in G, *c*1786–92, *A-Wn*, *I-Nc* (2 copies, 1 autograph), *PLcom*; D, *c*1790–91, *A-Wn*, *D-MÜs*, *I-Nc**; F, *c*1787–1800, *A-Wn*, *D-MÜs* (2 copies), *GB-Lbl*, *I-Bsf*, *Nc*, *US-Wc*; D, *c*1787–1800, *D-Mbs*, *I-Mc*, *Nc*, *Vnm*; B♭, perf. 21 March 1796, *A-Wn*, *GB-Lbl**; F, *c*1796–1800, *D-MÜs*, *I-Bc*; C, *c*1790–1805, *Nc*, F, perf. 2 July 1805, *F-Pn*, *I-Mc* (2 copies); Requiem, c, perf. 11 Feb 1789 *D-MÜs*; perf. with extra items 7 Nov 1799, *I-Fc*, *FAN*, *Mc* (2 copies), *Nc* (2 copies, 1 autograph), *Nf*, vs (Paris, n.d.)
Introit, Gradual, Offertory, Post-Communion, Responsory, *Mc*; Introit, Kyrie, Offertory, *Bc*; Omnes de Saba venient, *Mr*; Alleluja in aeternum, *Nc*; Veni Sancte Spiritus, *GB-Ob*; Libera me Domine, *I-Mc*
Reorchd arr. of Pergolesi: Stabat mater, perf. 16 Sept 1810 (Paris, 1810)
Doubtful: Masses in B♭, *I-Mc*; B♭, *Bc*; C, *D-MÜs* (inc.); D, *I-Fc*; E♭, *Mc*; E♭, *Vnm*; E, *D-MÜs*, *I-Mc*; F, *D-MÜs* (inc.); G, *I-Mc*; 7 masses, *I-Ac*; Requiem, f (Paris, n.d.); Kyrie, E♭, *A-Wn*; Lauda Sion, *D-Bsb*, Quotiescumque manucabitis, *I-Bc*, Rumpe dolore, *CH-E*

OTHER LITURGICAL MUSIC

Benedicat, F, *I-Nc*; Christus factus est, & Miserere, perf. Holy Week, 1794, *A-Wgm*, *Wn*, *GB-Lbl*, *Ob*, *I-Ac*, *Fc*, *Mc*, *Nc* (2 copies, 1 autograph), *Ng*, vs (Paris, n.d.); Dixit Dominus, A, 1789, *GB-Lam*, *Lcm*, *Lgc*, *I-Fc* (2 copies), *Mc* (2 copies), *Nc**, *Ng*, *P-La*; Dixit Dominus, D, perf. 9 March 1797, *I-Nc**; Dixit Dominus, D, *I-Bc*, *Mc*, *Nc*; Dixit Dominus, G, *Nc*; Dixit Dominus, G, *MC*, music by Paisiello and Giuseppe Scodari; Domine ad adiuvandum, & Dixit Dominus, F, 1792, *D-MÜs* (Domine only), *I-Nc* (2 copies, 1 autograph), *P-La*; Domine ad adiuvandum, & Dixit Dominus, C, 1795, *I-Fc*, *Nc**, *PLcom*, *P-La* (Dixit only); Lesson for Thursday of Holy Week, *I-Ac*; Litany, *Mc*, *Nc* (2 copies); Magnificat, C, *Nc*; Magnificat, G, *PLcom*; Pange lingua, 1799, *RUS-SPtob* (inc.); Regina coeli, B♭ 23 July 1787, *F-Pn**; Responsories for Good Friday, *Nc*; Responsories for Thursday of Holy Week, *Nc*; Responsories for Wednesday, Thursday & Friday of Holy Week, *Nc*; Salve regina, E♭, *OS*; Te Deum, B♭, April/May 1791, *A-Wn* (2 copies), *D-Bsb*, *Hs*, *MÜs*, *F-Pn* (2 copies), *F-Pn* (version in reduced orch), *GB-Lbl*, *I-Fc*, *Nc* (2 copies, 1 autograph), *P-La*, *US-SFsc*; Te Deum, C, *F-Pn*, vs (Paris, n.d.); 3 Tantum ergo in B♭, A, C, *I-Mc*, *Nc*; Tantum ergo, A, *D-Mbs**; Tantum ergo, C, *I-Mc*
Doubtful: Dixit Dominus, C, vs (Paris, n.d.); Confitebor tibi Domine, D, *D-MÜs*; Magnificat, G, *I-Mc*; Miserere, g, *F-Pn*; Pange lingua, 1808, *CH-E*

NON-LITURGICAL SACRED MUSIC

Motets: Astra coeli, 1762, *D-Bsb*; O luminosa aurora, 1762, *A-Wgm*; In corde intrepido, 1769, *I-Nc*; Mille furis, *c*1785–90, *B-Br*; Absit sonitus, *c*1787–90, *I-Mc*; Si mare ferox, *c*1785–90, *Mc*; Oh

stupor! Oh portentum, 1791, *D-MÜs*, *F-Pn*, *I-Mc*, *Nc* (2 copies, 1 autograph), *Nf* (3 copies), *Ng*; Magna dies, *c*1787–90, *Mc*; Qualis stella, ?1806–8, *Nc*; Veni ferox, *A-Wn*; Alma fax, *Wn*
Chorus: Audite pastores, ?1791, *I-Mc*, *Nc*
Aria: Miles fortis, *F-Pn*
Pastorale: Jam splendet, *I-Nc*

INSTRUMENTAL

Kbd concs. in C, *c*1781–3, *Gb-Ob*, *I-Bc*, *Nc** (Milan, 1937), ed. A. Lualdi (Milan, 1948); F, *c*1781–3, *GB-Ob*, *I-Bc*, *Nc**, ed. G. Tintori (Rome, 1964); A, A, B♭, D, before Dec 1788, *GB-Ob*, ed. P. Spada (Rome, 1977); g, before Dec 1788, *Ob*, ed. P. Spada (Rome, 1979); C, before Dec 1788, *Ob*, *US-Bp*
Sym., C, *I-Rdp*; 12 Syms. for Joseph II, lost
16 Divertimenti, wind instr, *c*1782-3, *RUS-SPsc*; Musica funebre, on death of General Hoche, 1797, *F-Pn*; 3 pieces for military band (Paris, n.d.)
12 Qts, 2 vn, va, kbd, 1774, 9 survive as str qts, A, A, C, C, D, E♭, E♭, E♭, G, *GB-Lbl* (lacking vc pt), *I-Mc*, *TRc*, *Vcm* (Paris, n.d.; Offenbach am Main, n.d.)
Collection of rondos and capriccios for kbd, opt. vn acc., before April 1783, *A-Wn* (2 copies), *CH-Gpu*, *F-Pn* (inc.), *I-Mc*, *Nc* (2 copies), *Vnm*, *RUS-SPsc*, *US-NYp*, also many MSS and printed copies of single pieces
Sonata, vn, pf, E, between 1786 and 1798, *I-Nc* (2 copies) (Naples, n.d.)
Andante, hn, hp, 1802–4, *F-Pn*
Doubtful: syms. in C, *I-TRc*, D, *RVE*, D, *CH-Zz*, D, *D-MÜu*, E♭, *I-Mc*; 6 Fl Qts in C, D, e, G, G, G (Berlin, n.d., Brunswick, n.d.); 6 Minuets for orch, *I-Mc*; March for wind, *Rvat*; str trio, C, *Gl*; 6 kbd sonatas with vn acc., A, B♭, E♭, F, G, g, *IRL-Dtc* (vn pt only); 6 kbd sonatas with vn acc., A, B♭, C, D, E♭, G, *I-Rsc*; kbd sonata with vn acc., C, *D-Hs*; 3 duos, 2 vn, *S-Skma*; 7 kbd sonatinas, *I-Mc*; minuet for kbd, *TRa*

PEDAGOGICAL

Regole per bene accompagnare il partimento, St Petersburg, *c*1781–2, *I-Bc*, *Nc* (2 copies) (St Petersburg, 1782)
Doubtful: Regole e partimenti, *Nc*

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MICHAEL F. ROBINSON

Paiste & Sohn. Manufacturers of gongs and cymbals. The firm originated in 1909 in St Petersburg, but in 1917 the family moved to Estonia. Owing to the prevailing political situation Michael Paiste lived for a time in China, later in New York, but at the age of 17, he returned to Estonia where he became involved in the manufacture of cymbals. His experiences in the East induced him to add the craft of gong making to the Paiste organization. In 1939 the firm moved to Gdynia, Poland, and in 1945 to Schacht-Audorf, Schleswig-Holstein. The factory in Rendsburg was opened in 1951, and in 1957 a second factory was built in Nottwil, Switzerland; Robert and Thomas Paiste, the owners, are the sons of Michael Paiste.

The firm produces cymbals of all types, tam-tams ranging from 51 to 200 cm in diameter, various types of gong, including a series of tuned (cupola) gongs covering a compass of over four octaves (*C*–*f'''*), two octaves of crotales (*f''*–*f''''*) and two octaves of tuned discs (*c'''*–*c'''''*). Their instruments are used worldwide. Paiste tam-tams are decorated with Chinese characters meaning 'come the good, go the evil'.

JAMES BLADES/JAMES HOLLAND

Païta, Carlos (*b* Buenos Aires, 10 March 1932). Argentine conductor. He studied counterpoint, harmony and composition with Jacob Fischer and the piano with Jan Nuchoff. He never entered a conservatory, but spent several years as assistant conductor with various orchestras. He also studied conducting with Artur Rodzinski and met Furtwängler several times in Buenos Aires. He made his début in 1956 at the Teatro Colón, after which he became a musical assistant at the theatre. In 1964 he was invited to study in the USA and from 1966 to 1968 he appeared as a guest conductor in Europe. In 1967 he became permanent conductor of the Argentine National RSO and began to record for Decca the following year. He made his US début, with the Houston SO, in 1979. He has been interested in new recording techniques and was among the first to make digital recordings. The Philharmonic SO was formed in London with the purpose of making recordings with him, but he also gave live performances with the orchestra and led it on its first tour in 1982. Païta's repertory, in concert and on disc, emphasizes large-scale Romantic works, notably those of Berlioz, Verdi and Mahler.

JOSÉ BOWEN

Paiva, Heliodoro de (*b* Lisbon *c*1500; *d* Coimbra, 21 Dec 1552). Portuguese composer and organist. His father, Bartolomeu de Paiva, was governor and wardrobe master to the young Prince João (later João III), and his mother, Filipa de Abreu, was the prince's wet-nurse; Heliodoro

was brought up as João's foster-brother. He became an Augustinian canon regular, a member of the monastery of S Cruz in Coimbra, the most powerful Augustinian house in Portugal. A manuscript obituary depicts him as a remarkable polymath, admired for his knowledge of theology, Hebrew, Greek, Latin and philosophy, as well as music. These academic accomplishments are reflected in the publication of his *Lexicon Graecum, et Hebraicum* in 1532. He was also known as both a composer and a keyboard player.

The musical sources from S Cruz (*P-Cug*) preserve only six works attributed to Dom Heliodoro. Five are transmitted without text, although two of these are identified as Alleluia settings in the source; the three others, which are clearly not vocal works, might have been conceived either for the organ or for instrumental consort (2 ed. in Faber Early Organ Series, iv, London, 1987; 1 ed. in *PM*, xix, 1969). The sixth and most substantial work is an alternatim setting of the *Salve regina* for men's voices, which is partly illegible (though not difficult to reconstruct) owing to ink corrosion. The composer's counterpoint is vigorous, particularly in the four-voice Alleluia, although technically crude on occasion (including parallel 5ths and octaves).

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OWEN REES

Paix, Gilis (*fl* 1583–90). ?German composer. Jakob Paix's *Tabulaturbuch* (Lauingen, 1583) includes a five-part intabulated motet, *Jubilate Domino*, and his *Fugae* (Lauingen, 1590) contains a 'Fuga in homophonia, trium vocum'; both these pieces are ascribed to Gilis Paix. According to Eitner, Gilis Paix was an uncle of JAKOB PAIX. The *Tabulaturbuch* also contains three 'new German dances' by A(egidius) P(aix) O(rganista), who may perhaps be identified with Gilis Paix.

CLYDE WILLIAM YOUNG

Paix, Jakob (*b* Augsburg, 1556; *d* ?Hiltpoltstein, after 1623). German organist, composer, editor and writer. His father, Peter, was of Dutch extraction and served as organist at St Anna in Augsburg from about 1548 to his death in 1567. Paix studied with his father, and in 1576 became organist at St Martin, Lauingen an der Donau in Swabia; he married Anna Neunhofer in the same year. At Lauingen Paix also taught at the Lateinschule and at the royal Gymnasium. Since his salary would not support his family of ten children, he applied, unsuccessfully, in 1595 for the position of organist at Ulm Cathedral. In 1609 he became organist at the ducal court in Neuburg an der Donau, where he organized the instrumental players and served in the church chancery. Paix seems to have left Neuburg in June 1617, when Roman Catholicism was reinstituted, to live in a Protestant area.

Paix is important not for his vocal works, which follow traditional practices, but for his keyboard settings, especially the organ tablature (in new German tablature) of 1583, an important source of German keyboard music in the second half of the 16th century. In the foreword Paix advocated extensive use of the thumb to hold a harmony note and thus free other fingers for ornamentation. He excused parallel perfect intervals in instrumental writing by saying one was not obliged to follow the usual rules for vocal composition. He urged the player to ornament imitative lines similarly, to preserve the imitation, but deplored inappropriate or excessive decoration. The book begins with 26 motets including 13 by Palestrina and 7 by Lassus. Two fantasias resembling ricercares and another motet by Lassus follow, then 27 popular French, German and Italian songs, mostly secular, by himself and others. Coloration abounds. 30 dances and two *canzoni alla francese* (by Ingegneri) close the work; Paix included passamezzos, saltarellos, pavans, galliards, branles and German dances. These German dances generally tend to be less complicated musically and less ornamented than the others. Paix apparently borrowed dances from Phalèse's *Chorearum molliorum collectanea* (RISM 1583[12]) and Mainerio's *Primo libro de balli* (Venice, 1578). The 1589 tablature contains 24 motets in new German tablature arranged according to mode. There is no coloration. The *Liber fugarum* and the *Selectae … fugae*, with examples from Glarean's *Dodecachordon* (1547), were used as didactic models. They are in regular mensural notation.

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Ein schön nutz unnd gebreüchlich Orgel Tabulaturbuch (Lauingen, 1583[23])
Missa ad imitationem mottetae In illo tempore J. Moutonis (Lauingen, 1584)
Parodia mottetae Domine da nobis auxilium Th. Crequilonis (Lauingen, 1587)
Selectae, artificiosae et elegantes fugae (Lauingen, 1587, lost, 2/1590[30])
Missa helveta (1587 or 1590), lost
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CLYDE WILLIAM YOUNG

Paixiao. Chinese PANPIPES.

Pajaro, Eliseo (Morales) (*b* Badoc, Ilocos Norte, 21 March 1915; *d* Houston, Texas, 6 Oct 1984). Filipino composer and conductor. He studied at the Conservatory of the University of the Philippines and with Barlow, Rogers and Hanson at the Eastman School (MMus 1951, PhD 1953). In 1955 he founded the League of Philippine Composers and the Philippine Music Educators' Group. He was cultural adviser, executive vice-chairman of the

University Committee on Cultural Presentations and a professor at the University of the Philippines, where he was acting director of the conservatory (1967–8) and acting dean (1968–9). He received a Republic Cultural Heritage Award (1964) for the opera *Binhi ng kalayaan* ('Seeds of Freedom'), and another such award (1970) for the ballet *Mir-i-nisa*. His compositions are marked by quartal-quintal harmonies, dissonant counterpoint and polychords; many use folksongs as thematic material.

WORKS
(*selective list*)

Stage: Binhi ng Kalayaan [Seeds of Freedom] (op, 3), 1961; Ang Magsasaka [The Planter] (zar, 1), 1968; Mir-i-nisa (ballet, 3), 1969; May Day Eve (ballet), 1969; Balagtas at Selya (op, 3), 1977; Tuwa-ang (ballet, 3), 1978

Orch: The Cry of Balintawak, ov., 1947; The Life of Lam-Ang, sym. legend, 1951; Philippine Sym. no.1, 1952; Ode to Academic Freedom, 1958; Philippine Sym. no.3, 1962; Prelude and Testament, 1962; Pf Conc., 1964; Vc Conc., 1975

Choral: Himig Pilipino [Philippine Airs], series, 1956–8; Himig Iloko [Ilocano airs], series, 1966–8; Himig Pilipino, 30 educational pieces, 1972, anthems

Chbr: 2 str qts, 1957–8; Fantasy on a Bontoc Melody, vn, pf, 1958; Variation on a Fugue, vn, pf, 1962; Harana [Serenade], str qt, 1959; Marilag Fantasy, vn, pf, 1976; 2 pf sonatas, 1976–7

LUCRECIA R. KASILAG

Pajeot [Pageot], **Etienne** (*b* 25 Jan 1791; *d* 24 Aug 1849). French bowmaker. He was the son of Louis Simon Pajeot (*b* ?Grenoble, 1759; *d* Mirecourt, 31 Jan 1804), also a bowmaker. The surname appears in several spellings in documents relating to the family. When stamped on the bows it appears as PAJEOT. Some bows are not stamped but others are stamped twice, on the stick above the frog and also under the lapping. At least three other outstanding bowmakers supplied completed bows to Pajeot on which he stamped his name: Nicolas Maire, Nicolas Maline and Joseph Fonclause. Each supplied bows in his own characteristic style, making possible their identification. In addition, lesser makers worked for Pajeot and are not identifiable.

Pajeot made both round and octagonal bows; the former are more often seen. The pernambuco wood is often of superb quality, frequently of a veined, dark rich colour. The metal underslide of the frog usually ends in a turn to resist the wearing of the wood by the thumb. Some frogs are without underslide. The pearl used in the frogs is of a green flamed abalone. The mountings vary and are of all possible combinations, most frequently in ebony and silver or a less expensive German silver, more rarely in gold and ivory or tortoise shell. Since a number of different makers worked for or supplied bows to Pajeot, the pattern of the heads vary. Those made by him have a distinctive charm and grace, being elegant with a flowing line created by a gently swept-back head. The bows are greatly appreciated and sought after by players. A full account of the lives and work of the Pajeot family is given in S. Bowden: *Pajeot, Bow Makers of the 18th and 19th Centuries* (London, 1991).

SIDNEY BOWDEN

Pakhāvaj. *See* MṚDAṄGAM, §2(i).

Pakhmutova, Aleksandra Nikolayevna (*b* Volgograd, 9 Nov 1929). Russian composer. She studied composition with V.Yu. Shebalin at the Moscow Conservatory, as an undergraduate (until 1953) and at postgraduate level (1953–6). She made an immediate impact on the world of Soviet song, securing a high reputation among popular songwriters through her individual voice and unfailing ability to respond acutely to contemporary events, whether it be the heroism of Gagarin or the tragedy of Chernobyl. Her treatment of important social themes carries a personal stamp, and even the 'official' songs she was obliged to write – Pakhmutova's heyday occurred during the 'period of stagnation' under Brezhnev – are individual and of high quality. Her songs are also inseparably linked with the Komsomol movement of the 1960s; their performance was a high point of congresses and the songs became popular because the composer succeeded in emphasizing the best aspects of the movement – its spirit rather than its formal ideology. Pakhmutova was secretary to the Board of the USSR Composers' Union and enjoyed not only official Soviet recognition, rare for a composer, but also international renown. She was the first composer to be awarded the Komsomol prize, was twice a state prize-winner and was decorated with the Order of Lenin and the Order of the Red Banner of Labour.

Pakhmutova is a true romantic who is fully aware of the dramatic possibilities of the song genre and who possesses an unerring sense of how to express the essence of each song. Her characters are drawn from all aspects of life – from astronauts to ice-hockey players – and she skilfully combines within her simple diatonic melodies soulfulness, passion and every shade of emotion, while always maintaining dignity of expression. Although she has set existing poetry to music, in most cases it is the musical idea that precedes the writing of the words, collaboration with the poet beginning once the latter has responded to the theme and established the verse structure; this is particularly true of her work with N. Dobronravov. In her early songs Pakhmutova combined different styles, often boldly juxtaposed: art song, folksong, Soviet songs, the guitar song, military music and Western pop music. Later her range of contrasting styles was extended to include operatic arioso, love songs, disco and rock music.

WORKS
(*selective list*)

Stage: Ozarennost′ [Illumination] (ballet, I. Dobronravov)

Choral: Vasily Tyorkin (cant., A. Tvardovsky), 1953; Lenin v serdtse u nas [Lenin is in our Heart] (cant., I. Dobronravov, S. Grebennikov), spkr, children's choir, orch, 1957; Prekrasnaya, kak molodost′, Strana [The Country Beautiful as Youth] (cant., I. Dobronravov, N. Dorizo, V. Lebedev-Kumach, S. Orlov), spkr, 1v, 2 choruses, orch, 1977; Oda na zazhzheniye olimpiyskogo ognya [Ode to the Lighting of the Olympic Flame], wordless chorus, orch, 1980

Orch: Russkaya syuita [Russ. Suite], 1952; Tpt Conc., 1955; Tyuringiya [Thüringen], ov. on Ger. folk themes, 1957; Yunost′ [Youth], festive ov., 1957; Vesyolïye devchata [The Happy Girls], ov., light variety orch, 1964; Dinamo-marsh, light variety orch, 1965; Conc. for orch, 1971; Lyubov′ moya – sport [Sport is my Love], ov., light variety orch, 1974

Chbr inst: Sonatina, pf, 1946; Notturno, hn, pf, 1955; Toccata, pf

Vocal (1v, pf): Tayezhnïye zvyozdï [Stars of the Taiga] (I. Dobronravov, S. Grebennikov), song cycle, 1963; Obnimaya nebo [Embracing the Sky] (I. Dobronravov, S. Grebennikov), song cycle, 1966; Sozvezdiye Gagarina [Constellation of Gagarin] (I. Dobronravov), song cycle, 1971; over 300 other songs

Incid music

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OL'GA MANUL'KINA

Pakistan, Islamic Republic of (Urdu Islami Jamhuriya e Pakistan). Country in north-western South Asia. It lies along the watershed of the Indus river system and the surrounding mountains and desert (fig.1). Historically a part of the Indian musical region, Pakistan has developed a distinct musical culture that has links with Afghanistan, Iran and, to a lesser extent, the Islamic Middle East.

1. INTRODUCTION. Pakistan comprises four culturally and linguistically distinct regions, corresponding roughly to the four provinces of Punjab, Sind, North-West Frontier Province (NWFP) and Baluchistan. Of these, only Sind is exclusively contained within Pakistan; Baluchistan extends into Iran, the Punjab into India and the Pathan population of NWFP into Afghanistan. Pakistan also controls the northern and western portions of KASHMIR, currently disputed territory.

Pakistan's national language is Urdu, the Muslim lingua franca of South Asia. The main regional languages are Punjabi, Sindhi, Baluchi and Pashto. Historically, Pakistan comprises the Muslim majority areas of India (initially including East Bengal as East Pakistan, since 1971 Bangladesh). After the country's formation in 1947, massive urban migration of Muslims from India decisively influenced the supra-regional Muslim character of the country. Urdu became the medium for a developing national culture espoused largely in urban centres and by the mass media. Music reflects this constellation; art music and urban entertainment genres fall into pan-South Asian styles, but each of the four major linguistic regions has a distinct musical identity, especially in rural areas.

Pakistan's population lives mostly in villages and is predominantly agricultural and feudal, with the exception of pastoral tribes in most of Baluchistan and parts of NWFP. The strongly hierarchical, nearly caste-like class structure of rural Pakistan is based on land ownership and occupation. The socially separate classes are linked by common village allegiance and patron-client relationship between landowners, cultivators, craftsmen and labourers. Throughout Pakistan the most important social unit is the extended patrilineal family. Married women provide the essential links between such familes. Influenced by Islam, Pakistan society is strongly male-dominated, and there is considerable separation of the sexes in both social and working contexts.



1. *Map of Pakistan showing the four provinces*

2. MUSIC AND NATIONALITY. Founded on the Islamic presence in South Asia, the new state of Pakistan was guided by the affirmation of Muslim identity and the negation of anything identified with India. Reinterpretations of music history are based on both regional and religious foundations and focus on the ancient Indus valley civilization, on later Graeco-Buddhist cultures and, for more recent periods, on West Asian and Islamic influences on art music. Pakistan's search for a national musical culture, distinct from India's and appropriate to its Muslim identity, was further complicated by the contest between the cultural-musical identities of immigrant and indigenous communities.

Initially Radio Pakistan and the ruling immigrant élite, centred on Karachi, served as a hub of patronage for classical musicians who were mostly of Indian origin. The state radio also created and massively disseminated a choral national song genre, named *Iqbaliat*, based on the poetry of Muhammad Iqbal. More lasting was the use of the Sufi *qawwālī* as a quasi-national music, retaining its strongly rhythmic, improvisational character and its flamboyant performance style, broadcast on state television from the 1960s onwards.

In the 1970s a shift of power to indigenous élites led to regional musics becoming national and to the preservation of musical heritage. The result of this was the founding of two centres for music research: the Classical Music Research Cell within Radio Pakistan Lahore, a rich if underfunded repository of Pakistan's own classical traditions; and the National Institute of Folk Heritage, or Lok Virsa, in Islamabad, which sponsors and disseminates research and documentation of the country's music through festivals, concerts and recordings.

Political Islamization in the 1980s meant musical Islamization of the public media by extensive patronage of religious genres and support for musical 'Arabization'. In the 1990s the rise of a new generation and a growing awareness of international trends led to the increasing usage of Western popular and electronic instruments in the recasting of traditional styles. With all these shifts, however, poetry set to music in solo songs has remained the nationally preferred genre across musical styles.

(i) Art music. Among the recognized fine arts (*funūn-i-latifa*) music occupies an ambivalent position, not only because of religious constraints but also because of its essential similarity to Hindustani music, the art music style of north India. The resulting lack of institutional support (music education and concert organizations) has caused a decline in patronage and teaching. Transmission remains oral and personal, and performing practice is orientated to feudal and personal patronage. Distinct musical characteristics of stylistic lineage (*gharānā*) and region include the use of many syncretic 'Muslim' *rāgas*,

which resulted from contact with Iranian and Turkish music as early as the 13th century; the use of song texts with Muslim religious or historical content; a preference for *tarānā*, a syncretic genre with an Iranian Sufi-derived text; and an instrumental preference for regionally prevalent bowed chordophones, especially the *sāraṅgī* (renowned players include Ustad Hamid Husain, Ustad Nathu Khan and Ustad Bunda Khan).

Lahore and Karachi are the two major centres for the performance of Pakistani art music. The former has a rich and diverse regional tradition, the latter a tradition of eminent migrant musicians from India. After a first generation of renowned artists such as *sitārist* Sharif Khan and singers Raushanara Begum, Ustad Nazarkat Ali, Ustad Salamat Ali and Ustad Feteh Ali Khan, the Pakistani preference for sung poetry has shifted artistic succession to semi-classical song, mainly *ghazal*, as well as *ṭhumrī* and *dādrā* (*see* INDIA, §IV). The most outstanding exponents of *ghazal* are three women trained in the courtesan tradition: Farida Khanum, Maika Pukhraj and Iqbal Bano. Outstanding male singers are Mehdi Hassan and Ghulam Ali. Other semi-classical genres include Punjabi and Urdu *qawwālī* (sung by musicians such as Mubarak Ali Fateh Ali) and the Sindhi *kāfī* (e.g. sung by Abida Parveen). Classical music has thus become part of an eclectic musical continuum of élite entertainment, a development that was initiated and internationally displayed by the influential PIA Arts Academy in the 1960s and 70s. At a more popular level, certain film songs have attained a semi-classical status, as performed by the prominent female singer Noorjahan.

(ii) Religious and poetic chant. For Muslims, enhancing religious texts with musical sound is not considered music but recitation. Subject to restraints on independent musical features, especially instruments, such recitation or chanting escapes the censure of orthodox Islam. In Pakistan the recitation of the Qur'an provides a textually based chant that follows Arabic norms (*see* ISLAMIC RELIGIOUS MUSIC, §I, 3); diverse hymn genres in Urdu are musically South Asian, but they too serve to articulate the text structure and meaning through formal, rhythmic and melodic structure.

Linked to their respective devotional assemblies, *ḥamd* and *na't* praise God and the Prophet, while *sōz*, *marṣiyā*, *nauḥa* and *mātam* commemorate the martyrdom of the Prophet's family. These genres are unaccompanied, although purely musical features are found in the rhythmic chest beats of *mātam* and the vocal drone of *sōz*. In *qawwālī*, the mystical hymns of the Sufi ritual, the articulation of strong-pulsed drumming (on the *ḍholak*) and hand-clapping functions as part of the spiritual experience. The improvisational structure delivers the text in accordance with the spiritual needs of the listeners. Chanted Urdu poetry, *tarannum* (*see* INDIA, §V, 1), is disseminated by poets at *mushā'irā* assemblies and follows the same method of textual enhancement as religious chant.

3. MUSIC AND SOCIETY. In rural Pakistan there are broadly related kinds of music and ways of music-making. The association between social context and musical category may be specific, as in life-cycle songs that are strictly situational and likely to be performed only on relevant occasions; or more generic, as in the case of festival or entertainment music, such as traditional live songs, epics and group dances.

(i) Music in life-cycle ceremonies. Birth, circumcision, marriage and death are marked by special family gatherings. In the home these are celebrated ceremonially by the women of the family who, together with female professionals, sing a repertory of traditional songs specific to each occasion. Often these songs accompany ceremonial activities. These are usually followed by informal singing, including a variety of appropriate traditional songs, epics and sometimes modern popular songs. The event often culminates in group dancing. Men's gatherings include group singing and dancing as well as entertainment by professional performers. Life-cycle songs express sentiments appropriate to the occasion and in a wider sense serve to reaffirm family solidarity and relationships. Through teasing and humour, many of these songs also allow the expression of feelings of family hostility that are normally repressed, principally those of a young wife towards her in-laws.

By far the greatest number and variety of life-cycle songs are associated with marriage, the central life-event in Pakistan. Several ceremonies, each accompanied by the appropriate songs preceding the wedding itself, focus on either the bride or groom. The most important are the engagement and the *mehndī* (henna application ceremony). On the wedding day, special songs mark the arrival of the groom's party at the bride's home, the wedding feast (which is also the principal occasion for family teasing songs) and later the *dolī* (the bride's leave-taking from her family). The couple's subsequent arrival at the groom's home is also celebrated with songs. Because of the different social implications that marriage has for the bride and groom and their respective families, there are separate categories of wedding song for brides and grooms.

Professional musicians sing and play at most life-cycle celebrations; their performance, even when unsolicited, is considered auspicious and is always well rewarded. Two types of instrumental music are specifically associated with such occasions: solo drumming, which announces the event (in particular, the birth of a son), and the wedding band of wind instruments and percussion, which heralds the wedding procession. The use of music in life-cycle ceremonies continues to be a relatively stable tradition even in the urban environment, where wedding songs, for instance, play an essential role in the wedding ceremony.

(ii) Music and work. Music accompanies a variety of traditional occupations. For women's activities there are songs for spinning, grinding grain or soothing children; for men's work there are the tunes of the solitary herdsmen and the drumming patterns to solicit and sustain communal harvesting and construction. Some descriptive occupational songs are sung during leisure rather than working hours.

(iii) Festival music. Harvest festivals and fairs, both religious and secular, are occasions for all kinds of music-making. After the first harvest in spring, men gather to sing harvest songs and to dance. Most popular throughout Pakistan is a circle-dance accompanied by drumming and singing or oboe playing, often interspersed with solo improvisations by paired dancers. Fairs may be agricultural or associated with anniversaries of Muslim saints. For musical entertainment of the assembled crowds, various professional performers present musical plays and puppet theatre, solo singing and dancing, satire, instrumental solo playing and animal shows accompanied by music. Amateur groups of men from the villages may also

sing and dance at fairs. At saints' shrines devotional songs are performed continuously throughout the festival, one professional or amateur group following another.

(iv) Entertainment music. Music may be part of leisure time entertainment; for example, when men gather in villages or fields on moonlit nights and when women visit each other in the hot afternoons, there is likely to be group singing of love- or teasing-songs, and soloists may sing familiar epics as well as modern film songs. Among amateur instrumentalists flute playing is most common. Itinerant musicians may also be invited to perform.

4. PERFORMERS. The puritanism of Islam and its traditional censure of music are principal factors in the social restrictions on amateur performers, especially at higher levels of the social hierarchy. Apart from ceremonial occasions, performance in the presence of elders or within the hearing of the opposite sex is generally discouraged; young men therefore often sing or dance away from the village, and women sing in the privacy of the home. The more affluent hire professional musical entertainment.

Professional musicians belong to various hereditary classes, all with a low social status. They are generally treated as outsiders, if not regarded as ethnically apart. Most important among these are the Ḍom (Ḍūm, Ḍomb), also called Mīrāsī, a caste of musicians found throughout Pakistan as well as in north-west India and even in Iran. Mostly sedentary, the Ḍom are ranked with menial workers and depend on village support and approbation. Ḍom and Mīrāsī men sing, dance, play instruments and do female impersonations, while the women mainly sing and dance for the entertainment of their female social superiors. In addition to their role as village entertainers, the Mīrāsī may be employed as village genealogists.

Other performing classes found mainly in Sind and Baluchistan are the Lorī, blacksmiths and tinkers as well as musicians; the nomadic Jat; and the Manganiyār. All three are probably related to each other and possibly to the Ḍom as well; they are variously said to be the ancestors of the European Gypsies. Other wandering entertainers include snake-charmers, animal showmen and minstrels. The most urbane of these professional musicians are the courtesan ensembles accompanied by male instrumentalists, in the 'nautch girl' tradition of entertainment based on classical dance and song.

5. INSTRUMENTS. Pakistan shares many instruments with India and some with Afghanistan, Iran and the Islamic Middle East. Partly because of the country's location at cultural crossroads, the number and variety of Pakistani instruments is considerable. There is little standardization among traditional instruments, and even within the same locality variants abound. Standardized versions of some traditional instruments have found their way into art music (e.g. *sārangī, śahnāī*), while others have provided the model for instruments used only in art music (e.g. the *ektārā* for the *tambūrā*, the *rabāb* for the *sarod*). Conversely, some instruments primarily associated with art music have been adopted by traditional musicians (e.g. *tablā*, harmonium). Various Western instruments are used, notably in modern wedding bands (military band instruments) and in popular music (e.g. bowed strings, guitar, clarinet). Instrumental music is often subordinated to singing in the form of melodic accompaniment, and much instrumental solo melody is based on vocal models.

(i) Membranophones. The ḌHOLAK (*ḍholki*), the most widely used drum, is a double-headed barrel drum. The *ḍholak* is played with the hands; occasionally the wooden body may be tapped with a metal ring on the player's right thumb or by a second player. Played by both amateurs and professionals, the *ḍholak* is used to accompany dancing and all types of singing, including the whole genre of *ḍholak gīt* (*ḍholak* songs) in the Punjab.

Similar in construction but larger than the *ḍholak*, the ḌHOL (*ḍuhūl*) is played with sticks and serves principally as an instrument for outdoor music-making. It is played solo for calling attention to community announcements and work projects. Along with wind instruments, the *ḍhol* is used in wedding bands and to accompany group dancing. Historically part of the *naubat* ensemble of South Asian Muslim royal and religious ceremony, the *ḍhol* has a complex performance tradition, especially in Sind and Baluchistan.

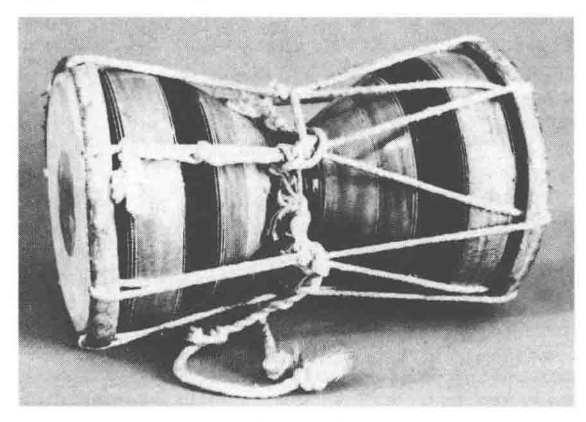
The *ḍamru* (*ḍugḍuggi*) is a small, double-headed hourglass drum, with a cord tied around its waist (fig.2). The loose ends of the cord are knotted, and their length is so adjusted that as the player manipulates the drum, the knots hit the drumheads alternately in rapid succession. The *ḍamru* is played throughout Pakistan by mendicants and wandering entertainers, especially animal showmen.

The NAQQĀRA (*naghāra, naubat, bhēr*), clay or metal kettledrums of various sizes, are played with two beaters. The larger *bhēr* and *naubat* are played singly, the smaller *naqqāra* in a pair. Historically these kettledrums were the principal instruments of the *naubat* ensemble; in the 20th century the *naqqārā* have been the most widely used, especially in NWFP, where their uses are similar to those of the *ḍhol*.

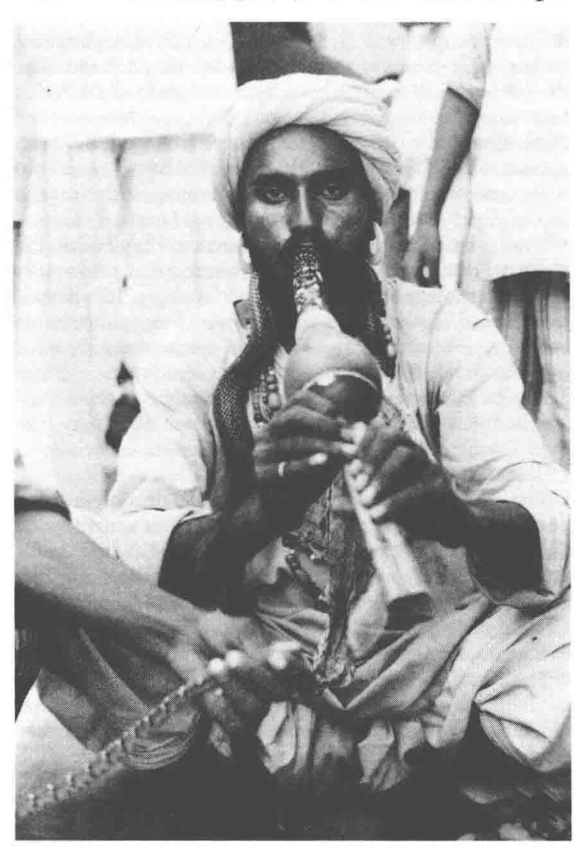
The DAFF (*kañjrī, dā'ira*), a hand-struck frame drum, sometimes has brass discs inserted in the wooden or metal frame. Of Middle Eastern origin, it is played mainly to accompany women's songs.

(ii) Idiophones. The principal types of idiophone are *ghungrū*, small brass pellet bells also worn as ankle bells by dancers; *ḍanḍo*, a short wooden stick with *ghungrū* attached; *mañjīrā* (*tāliyūn, kanjiyūn*), brass hand cymbals, small to medium in size; *chapṛī*, rectangular wooden clappers, often with thin brass discs or *ghungrū* attached to one end; and *chimṭā*, metal tongs, derived from kitchen tongs, also with brass discs attached.

The *maṭkā* (*mangai, ghaṛā, dillo, ghaghar*) is a large clay waterpot in household use throughout Pakistan. It is played with the right hand striking the round body while



2. *Ḍamru or ḍugḍuggi (hourglass drum)*



3. *Bīn (double clarinet) played by a snake-charmer, Karachi, 1968*

the left covers and strikes the narrow opening. A pebble or ring may be used for tapping, as with the *ḍholak*, for which the *maṭkā* often acts as a substitute, particularly in family singing. In Sind and NWFP it is also played by professionals.

(iii) Aerophones. The double-reed ŚAHNĀĪ (*surnā, sharnai*) is associated with ceremonial outdoor music. Played by professionals, it is the principal melodic instrument of the traditional wedding band as well as of the *naubat* ensemble. Both the instrument and its principal uses are of Middle Eastern derivation.

The *bīn* (*murlī*, PUṄGĪ; fig.3) is played by snake-charmers all over Pakistan. In Sind there is a tradition of solo *bīn* playing, which includes rhythmic articulation on the drone pipe. The *bīn bājā* (*mashq*) is a bagpipe, with a goatskin bag operated by arm pressure, into which is inserted a small blow-pipe and two single-reed pipes, one a drone and the other a chanter. Found mainly in NWFP, this instrument is played out of doors, often in conjunction with the *śahnāī* in wedding bands, as well as for Pathan group dancing.

The portable free-reed harmonium, an instrument introduced by Western missionaries, is used mainly to accompany singing. The *chang*, a jew's harp, is found in all regions of Pakistan and is played mainly by herdsmen. Usually made of metal, it also exists in a bamboo version (*paṭṭī*) popular in Punjab.

Of the various flute types covered by the term *'bānsurī'* the end-blown flute of wood or bamboo is most common, especially among amateurs for solo playing. A transverse *bānsurī* may also be made of metal. The *alghoza* (*jorī*, *pāvā, bīnōn*) is a double duct flute usually made of wood. One flute may serve as a drone, or the melody may be played on both flutes. Traditionally the double flute is a herdsman's instrument in Sind and Punjab; it is played by professionals in Sind with great virtuosity, usually to the accompaniment of a *dillo* (clay waterpot). The *naṛ*, an end-blown flute with four finger-holes, is prominent in Sind and especially Baluchistan, where it is used in a varied solo tradition as well as for vocal accompaniment.

(iv) Chordophones. The most common bowed lute in Pakistani traditional music is the SĀRINDĀ (*surindo, saroz*) with three playing strings, used most widely to accompany vocal and flute music. It is played in an upright position; the player either stands or sits, resting the instrument on the ground. The convex bow is held with an underhand grip.

Like its standardized version prominent in art music, the regional versions of another bowed lute, the SĀRAṄGĪ (*sangī*), are used for vocal accompaniment, mainly in the Punjab and in Sind (fig.4).

The RABĀB, a lute plucked with a wooden plectrum (fig.5), is also a popular instrument in Afghanistan. It is used both as a solo and as an important accompanying instrument, mainly in the adjacent NWFP and Baluchistan regions. The unfretted *rabāb* is the predecessor of the modern *sarod*.

The terms *'ektārā'*, *'yaktāro'*, *'dambūro'*, *'tumbā'*, and *'king'* cover a variety of plucked long-necked lutes with a skin soundboard and a bowl-shaped resonator often made from a gourd. One or more open strings provide a drone



4. *Sāraṅgī (bowed lute) player, Lahore*



5. Rabāb (plucked lute) player, Peshawar

as well as rhythmic accompaniment for singers, who vary from wandering minstrels to professional performers at Muslim shrines. The *dambūro* of Sindhi devotional music is also used to provide melodic accompaniment.

Unlike the Western instrument of the same name, the *bānjo* or *mānḍolīn* belongs to the zither family. It is an obsolete version of the Japanese koto dating from the Taisho period (early 20th century), in which the strings are stopped by metal keys operated by the player's left hand. It is used in popular and traditional music, mainly in Sind.

6. MUSICAL STRUCTURE. In Pakistani music there is a considerable range of performing practice and ensemble structure. Pakistani music is generally monophonic with various types of accompaniment. Its primary dimension is the melodic line, which may be performed solo, by a group or responsorially. Unaccompanied melody exists in epics or reflective life-cycle songs, but most melody is performed with rhythmic accompaniment, whether a simple pulse maintained by hand-clapping or on idiophones, a complex metric pattern played on drums or both together. Instrumental drone accompaniment is usually found in addition to rhythmic accompaniment, as in wind melody-and-drone ensembles, while the plucked open strings of lutes and zithers may provide a combination of drone and rhythm. Melodic accompaniment of a heterophonic type is mainly associated with professional solo singing.

(i) Form. In Pakistani vocal music the textual structure is the basis for a variety of musical forms. Most songs consist of verses of two to four lines with varying rhyme patterns; accordingly, the musical structure is strophic. Within the strophe the musical unit coincides with the verse line. Often rhyming and non-rhyming lines are musically differentiated, either by varying the beginning or ending of the same melodic line or by the choice of two different melodic lines, in an alternation reminiscent of the *sthāyī-antarā* pattern of Hindustani music.

Instrumental music based on vocal forms is generally governed by the same structure but may allow embellishment, intermittent improvisation or alternative tune arrangements. Purely instrumental forms consist typically of a flexible series of short motivic tunes, often symmetrical, built into rondo-like structures with intermittent return to one of the main tunes. Simple or sequential repetition of small motifs is characteristic, particularly of music for wind instruments.

(ii) Melody. Great melodic diversity exists between as well as within the major regions and extends to both tonal inventory and pitch sequence. Pakistani traditional music is modal and includes a tonal centre on the basis of which a great variety of scales can be identified, ranging from three notes to over an octave. The parameters of Hindustani music may be applied to the tonal inventory: common scale-types correspond to popular *rāga* scales such as *bhairavī, kāfī, khamāj, bilāval* and others. In the pitch sequence there is a preference for conjunct motion, with scale degrees raised or lowered allophonically according to melodic direction. Within any one scale-type, tunes vary widely in motivic character, although tunes of different scale-types may resemble each other, notwithstanding different tonal ingredients. To some extent regional preference governs particular scale-types and motifs.

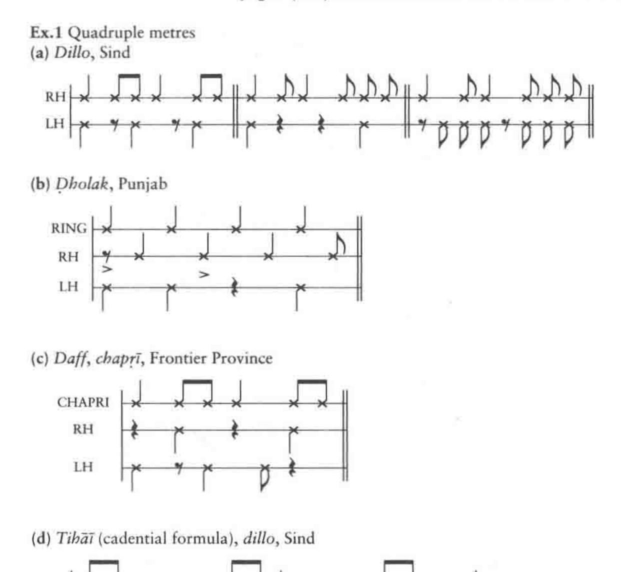
(iii) Rhythm. Pakistani traditional music ranges from rhythmically free and highly melismatic songs to those in which the regular pulse of the melody is reinforced by drum and drone accompaniment. Most Pakistani melody, however, is organized rhythmically into recurring metric patterns with an underlying pulse or 'beat'. Predominant rhythmic movement is by single beats and by beats divided into two parts, whether of equal or of unequal duration. Syncopated sequences of these units are common, particularly in the Punjab.

Most Pakistani traditional music has some form of rhythmic accompaniment. Whereas hand-clapping and idiophones merely reinforce or embellish the pulse, drummed accompaniment spells out the rhythmic metre in a wide variety of ways. The pitch, quality, intensity and duration of drumstrokes are all variables in the realization of rhythmic metres. The result is a great diversity of rhythmic patterns, some of which may be associated with regional styles and particular genres.

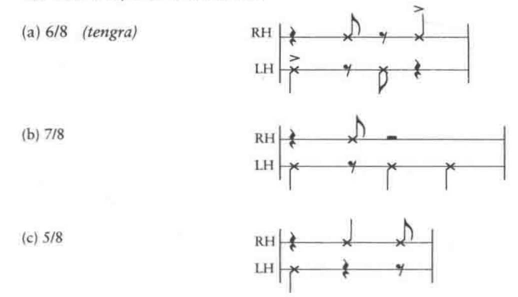
Quadruple metres, predominant in Sind and Punjab, are widespread in all regions and are employed especially in dance music and group songs. Ex.1 shows a sample of quadruple metres from different regions. In quadruple metres, some improvisations include rhythmic cadential formulae resembling the *tihāī* of Hindustani art music: in its simplest form this cadential formula consists of a threefold repetition of three beats starting and ending on the first beat of a metric unit (ex.1*d*).

A variety of metres composed of units of unequal duration is found particularly in Baluchistan and NWFP, where they correspond to the verbal and poetic rhythm of song texts. Perhaps the most popular one approximates to a 6/8 metre, usually subdivided long–short–short–long (ex.2*a*). Known as *tengra* in Pashto, it is also the metre of the widely known *simmī* dance-song of north-western Punjab. A type of 7/8 metre subdivided long–short–long–long (ex.2*b*) is prevalent in NWFP; related is the *shādmān* ('wedding measure') of Baluchistan and Sind. A 5/8 metre, subdivided long–long–short (ex.2*c*), is found mainly in Baluchi songs. The long–short units of these metres are not always in a strict 2:1 ratio; they may even be of

Ex.1 Quadruple metres



Ex.2 Unevenly subdivided metres



virtually equal length but are still distinguished by dissimilar tonal quality and accentual weight.

7. Musical idioms.

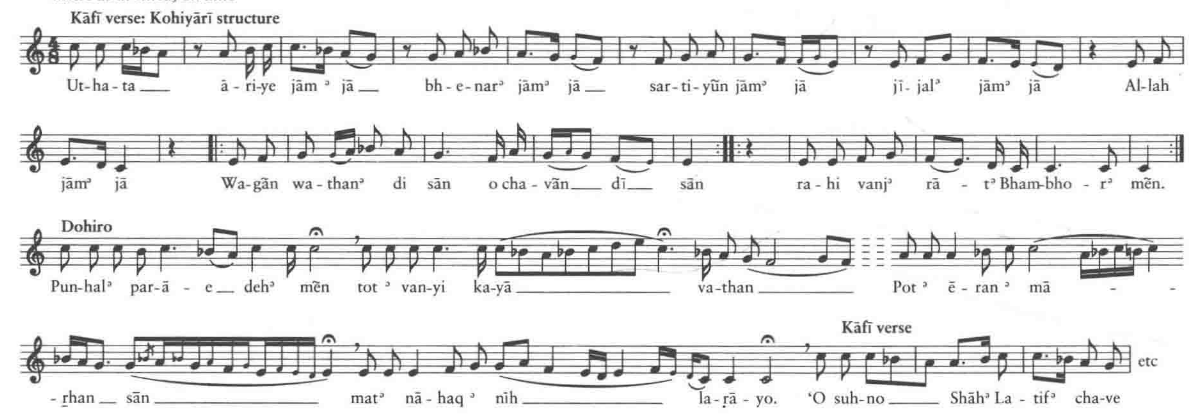
(i) Sindhi music. Sind is notable for the cultural importance of its many shrines, which are also its main centres of music-making. Sind excels in 'performance music' by professional musicians of various communities. The dominant tradition of Sindhi music is the *kāfī* (*wā'ī*), associated with Sind's most revered poet and mystic, Shāh Abdul Latīf (1690–1752). Both his poems and their *sur* (melodic settings), according to which he grouped them, represent a remarkable synthesis of art and traditional influences. The poems express Islamic mysticism through the themes of Sindhi folk romances, whereas their musical settings are based on melodic patterns derived from both classical *rāga* and traditional song. Unlike *rāga*, they are characterized not only by a melodic progression but by a fixed sequence of specific motifs. Within the *kāfī* these motifs appear in a set progression with measured rhythm as the principal song-tune, the *kāfī* proper. Between strophes of the *kāfī* poem, thematically related verses are inserted to a rhythmically free improvisation on the *sur* motifs; this part is called *dohiro*.

Kāfī music is performed all over Sind. In the villages it is sung in the form of mystic or solo love-song to the accompaniment of the *yaktāro* and the *chapṛī or danḍo*, both played by the male singer, and sometimes accompanied by a drummer. In the 20th century instrumental versions of *kāfī* music supplanted the simpler instrumental styles of *lehrā*, especially on *alghoza, bīn* and *naṛ*. One of the best-known *kāfī* melodies, the *kohiyārī*, is a traditional tune from western Sind associated since Latif with the Sassui-Punhun romance. In its motivic structure *sur kohiyārī* exhibits two common Sindhi musical characteristics, sequential repetition and a descending melodic line. In its traditional *kāfī* setting of a poem by Latif the *kohiyārī* includes a short *dohiro* improvisation (ex.3), while an instrumental version (ex.4) stresses *lehrā*-style rhythmic improvisation on sequential patterns.

Sindhi community songs and dances are musically simpler, but stylistic similarities with *sur* music may be noted, especially as regards the descending character of many tunes, for example the responsorial dance-song for the popular *jamālo* dance.

(ii) Punjabi music. In the music of the Punjab community, songs and dances are more prevalent than 'performance music' on account of two factors: compared to other regions Punjab is less conservative (especially with regard to the separation of the sexes), and non-Muslim influence has contributed to singing and dancing being practised more freely. Also, unlike the other regions of Pakistan, Punjab has geographically and historically been part of the culture area of north India; hence its professional

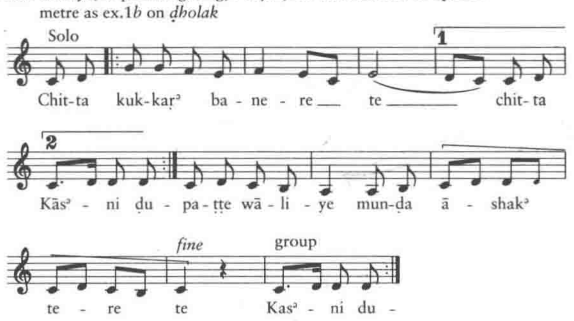
Ex.3 *Kafī* devotional song, *dillo* accompaniment, Sind; transcr. R. Qureshi
metre as in ex.1*a, on dillo*



Ex.4 Instrumental *kāfī*, Sind; transcr. R. Qureshi
melody and drone on *alghoza*, metre as in ex.1*a* on *dillo*



Ex.5 *Māhiya*, improvising song, Punjab; rec. and transcr. R. Qureshi
metre as ex.1*b* on *ḍholak*



performance music consists essentially of the various 'Punjabi' styles and schools within the Hindustani music tradition. Sikh religious music, the one Punjabi musical tradition that might be termed 'performance music', is strongly community-orientated and shares many of the characteristics of traditional music in that region.

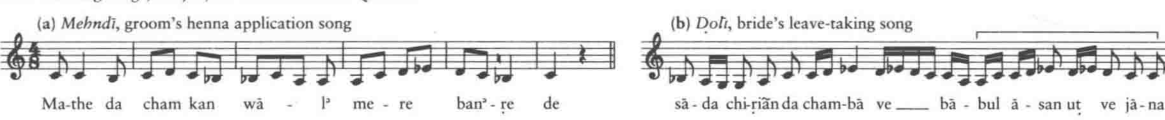
The Punjabi song repertory is characterized by distinctive musical settings and recurring motifs. Most widely known are the improvising songs made up of aphoristic and often humorous verses rhyming with any one of several stereotyped first lines. Accompanied by the *ḍholak* or *ḍhol*, they also serve as the principal dance-songs. The performance pattern is responsorial: one or two singers, with or without drum accompaniment, intone the verse, and then the group, accompanied by the drum, repeats it, apart from the stereotyped first line. Most popular and versatile among these improvising songs is the *māhiya* (*māhiya bālo, ṭappa*), made up of the favourite Punjabi verse form, the three-line *tappa*. *Māhiya* songs are sung at weddings or as leisure time entertainment, often by competing groups, and they may deal with any kind of subject. Ex.5 shows a humorous *ṭappa* set to the standard *māhiya* tune. *Bolī* (improvised couplets) make up the principal dance-song for the men's *bhaṅgṛa* and women's *giḍḍa* dance (ex.6). Here the soloists accompany their recitative with mimetic gestures, and the group dances in a circle while singing the refrain. Motivically close to the *bolī*, yet of a completely different genre, is the tune pattern serving the epic *Heer-rañjha* (ex.7). Similar motivic and tonal characteristics in two wedding songs (ex.8) are representative of many life-cycle songs.

(iii) Pathan music. In the conservative milieu of NWFP, 'performance music' stands out over community

Ex.6 *Bhaṅgṛa* and *giḍḍa* dance-songs, with *bolī* (improvised couplets), Punjab; rec. and transcr. R. Qureshi
metre as in ex.1*b*



Ex.8 Wedding songs, Punjab; rec. and transcr. R. Qureshi



Ex.9 *Chārbait* song, Frontier Province; transcr. R. Qureshi



singing. The principal Pathan singing tradition is closely linked with Pashtun poetry; its main locale is the men's gathering place, the *hujra*. *Hujra* music is ideally performed by professional singers, usually accompanied by *rabāb* or *sarinda* and drum. The *chārbait* (*tang takor*) extols love or heroism in four-line verses intoned alternately by two singers and sometimes repeated by all those present. The verses are interspersed with the freely intoned invocation *ya qurbān* ('I sacrifice myself'), a typical musical formula of Pathan singing. Ex.9 illustrates both this formula and the mode favoured by Pathan music.

A strong Pathan instrumental tradition is associated with the male group dances collectively, if inaccurately, termed *khattak* dance. Like wedding music, this instrumental music is played mainly on the *surnā* and accompanied on the *ḍhol* or *naqqāra*. Its short and strongly rhythmic motifs are arranged within rondo forms (ex.10).

Ex.10 *Khattak* dance music, Frontier Province; transcr. R. Qureshi



(iv) Baluchi music. Wandering professional performers are the principal music-makers in this arid region populated by widely scattered herding tribes; *līku* (love songs) and *dāstānagah* (ballads) are the principal genres. These songs are most often accompanied on the *saroz* by the singer himself and consist of short verses sung in a rhythmically free style to one or two recurring melodic phrases, which are often adapted for more than one song (ex.11). Typical of many of these melodic patterns is a nearly *rāga*-like pitch sequence and a final phrase with a marked tonic emphasis. The *saroz* provides a heterophonic accompaniment as well as an intermittent open-string drone, repeating freely elaborated versions of the melodic outline between verses. Also played on the *saroz* are *baggay* (solo improvisations), in which sequential patterns are played with strongly articulated bowing.

Among life-cycle songs played by Baluchi professionals and amateurs, wedding songs are prominent, such as the well-known traditional *halo hālo*.

(v) Popular music and the media. Popular music is widely circulated through radio, film and television, and today most extensively through cassettes as well as CDs. Many popular songs have now become part of the traditional repertory. Initially the main genre was film song, a successor to the semi-classical and courtesan singing tradition. However, popular songs have increasingly drawn from traditional music of different regions, and there are electronic rock and pop versions of tunes from all regions (the melody of ex.5 has been used in this way).

Western rock music is a strong influence on a thriving Pakistani rock scene among the affluent urban young. With the spread of cassette and CD technology, popular genres have diversified and are more widely disseminated within South Asia as well as internationally. *Qawwālī* by the superstar Nusrat Fateh Ali or Punjabi traditional songs by Ataulla Isa Khelvi are cast as Western pop music; however, hereditary performers also continue to follow inherited models, combining traditional and Western elements.

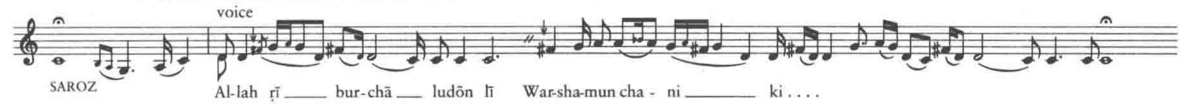
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Ex.11 *Līku* love-song, male solo, *saroz* accompaniment, Baluchistan; transcr. R. Qureshi



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REGULA QURESHI

Pakke, Thomas. *See* PACK, THOMAS.

Pak Tongjin (*b* South Ch'ungch'ŏng Province, Korea, 1916). Korean performer of the dramatic narrative genre *p'ansori*. He began his vocal studies at the age of 16, studying each of the five stories in the active modern repertory with a different teacher. He was appointed to the National Center for Korean Traditional Performing Arts (Kungnip kugagwŏn) in 1962. He built up an enormous repertory; in addition to the standard set of five stories, he composed new musical settings for seven more stories, which had fallen out of the active repertory, as well as a lengthy new story about Yi Sunsin, a famous Korean admiral of the late 16th century. After his conversion to Christianity he composed *Yesujŏn*, narrating the life of Jesus.

In the 1960s and 1970s Pak became particularly famous for his ability to perform complete *p'ansori* stories non-stop; this included *The Story of Hŭngbo* over five hours, *The Story of Ch'unhyang* over eight hours, and, most remarkably, his own story about Admiral Yi Sunsin, lasting almost ten hours. He became known as the 'great singer of the entire repertory', and recorded extensively throughout his career. In 1973 he was named an Intangible Cultural Treasure for the story *Chŏkpyŏkka* ('Story of the Red Cliff'), a Koreanized version of a famous Chinese tale from the ancient Three Kingdoms period. He was also active in the revival of *ch'anggŭk*, a kind of staged *p'ansori* which had been in decline since the early part of the 20th century.

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ROBERT C. PROVINE

Palace Theatre. London theatre built in 1891 as the English Opera House. *See* LONDON, §VI, 1(i).

Palacios, Fernando (*b* Castejón, 13 Oct 1952). Spanish composer and teacher. He studied at the Madrid Conservatory and the Orff Institute in Salzburg, where he specialized in music teaching. From his formative years he was interested in bringing music closer to ordinary people through performing, composing, teaching and writing. His strong sense of humour is manifested in his espousal of the whistle and the tiny plastic trumpet, of which instruments he is an outstanding virtuoso. He has commissioned and given premières of works by notable Spanish composers and performed in several festivals of contemporary music.

As a composer, he was active in all the avant-garde trends in Madrid in the 1970s and 80s. An excellent craftsman, his language is mainly eclectic, as it is shown in pieces written for genres as diverse as electro-acoustic music (*Un millón de pasos*), technically demanding works for whistle and plastic instruments (*Calla, trompetilla, calla*), instrumental music and, in recent years, didactic compositions for large orchestra (*La mota de polvo*, *Las baquetas de Javier*). He is also a successful and influential broadcaster both in radio and television and has written extensively on music teaching. His most outstanding contribution in this field is his collection of writings *Escuchar*. In demand as a teacher all over Spain, he is also educational adviser of many Spanish orchestras.

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Orch: La mota de polvo, 1991; Modelos para armar, 1993; Las baquetas de Javier, 1996
Chbr and solo inst: Antiestudio no.1, pf, 1975; Un triedro, gui, 1976; Viaje arbóreo, chbr group, 1976; Minuta perversa, 3 fl, 1985; Ojo con la pintura, chbr group, 1986; Presto a la zurda, pf, 1991; Capullito güisnicial, pf duet, 1991; Reel, bolero, polka, chbr group, 1992; Variaciones olímpicas sobre el canto del ogro de Cornualles, 4 cl, 1992; Pianocócteles, 2 bks, pf, 1994 and 1998; Variaciones Estigma, chbr group, 1997; Calla, trompetilla, calla, plastic insts
El-ac: Cantos desde mi hígado, 1979; Big piña, 1988; Geometría de la memoria, 1989; Un millón de pasos, 1989; No, no, no, 1990; Cantaleta en virutillas, 1990

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Piezas gráficas para la educación musical (Gijón, 1993)
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LUIS CARLOS GAGO

Palacios y Sojo, Pedro (Ramón) (*b* Santa Cruz de Pacayrigua, Venezuela, 17 Jan 1739; *d* Caracas, after 17 June 1799). Venezuelan musician. Ordained a priest in 1762, he travelled in Europe (1769–71), where he came to know continental music. In 1771 he founded in Caracas a congregation of the Oratorio S Felipe Neri, in which he established in 1783 or 1784 what was to become the most important music school in colonial Venezuela. The school employed Juan Manuel Olivares (1760–97) and trained most colonial composers of the 1770s to 1790s, including Cayetano Carreño, Lino Gallardo, José Ángel Lamas and Juan José Landaeta, a group known as the 'Chacao school'. In 1789 two Austrian naturalists who had visited Sojo in 1786 sent him a gift of scores by Haydn, Mozart and Pleyel, which had great influence on his students. His will is dated 17 June 1799.

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ALEJANDRO ENRIQUE PLANCHART

Paladi, Radu (*b* Storojineţ [now Storozhinets, Ukraine], 16 Jan 1927). Romanian composer. After studying with Leon Klepper (composition), Constantinescu, Mendelsohn and Rogalski at the Bucharest Academy, he taught at the Academy of Theatre and Film in Bucharest and conducted the Botoşani Philharmonic for a time. A subtle musician with a rich resource of melodic invention, Paladi combines folk-influenced modalism with a modern post-Romantic style. Though well-versed in modern compositional techniques he has remained faithful to the means of expression found in popular folk music. Initially making his name with highly accessible choral songs, he worked in many other genres before ultimately establishing a reputation as a composer of choral music of great depth and structural complexity. Further details are given in V. Cosma: *Muzicieni români* (Bucharest, 1970).

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(*selective list*)

Choral: Dar de nuntă [The Wedding Gift] (cant.), chorus, orch, 1956; 12 poeme (M. Eminescu), 1988–92; Poeme corale (V. Alecsandri, G. Cosbuc, I. Pillat), 1993; collection of 60 carol arrs., 1990–6
Orch: Fluieraşul fermecat [The Enchanted Flute], suite, 1955; Ciulinii bărăganului [The Thistles of the Steppe], suite, 1957; Pf Conc., 1981
Chbr and solo inst: Suite, pf, 1949; Temă cu variaţiuni, pf, 1950; Rondo a capriccio, pf, 1951; Prelude and Fugue, pf, 1954; Str Qt, 1957; Wind Qnt, 1967

OCTAVIAN COSMA

Paladilhe, Emile (*b* Hérault, nr Montpellier, 3 June 1844; *d* Paris, 8 Jan 1926). French composer. He was a child prodigy who entered the Paris Conservatoire at nine, studying composition, the piano and organ (with Halévy, A.F. Marmontel and Benoist respectively); he won the Prix de Rome in 1860 when barely 16. Apparently during his Rome period he wrote what was to become his most popular piece, the song *La Mandolinata*. It was included in his first staged opera, *Le passant* (1872), but neither that nor the colourful singing of his mistress Galli-Marié could save the work from closing after only three performances by the Opéra-Comique. *L'amour africain*

(1875) fared little better, but the graceful, attractive score of his third work for the company, *Suzanne* (1878), received an honourable 30 performances.

Although the *opéra comique Diana* (1885) failed, with the grand opera *Patrie!* (1886) Paladilhe finally achieved true success. He had matched Sardou and Gallet's fine libretto with a score of power and range (from the delicate and touching to the noble and vast). The work was revived and given at the Opéra until the end of World War I, and was staged elsewhere in Europe. However, even in this work critics noted resemblances to Meyerbeer and Gounod, for Paladilhe lacked a truly original musical personality, despite elegant ideas, a sense of form and great skill in orchestration. Paladilhe did not repeat his long-sought success in opera; instead, the most important large-scale works in the years after *Patrie!* are his sacred choral pieces. He was elected to the Institut de France to succeed Guiraud in 1892, and became an Officier of the Légion d'Honneur in 1897.

WORKS

OPERAS

first performed and published in Paris unless otherwise stated

Le chevalier Bernard (oc, 1), Salle Herz, 16 Feb 1859, excerpts perf.
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La fiancée d'Abydos, 1864 (op, 3, J. Adenis), unperf.
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Le passant (opéra en vers, 1, F. Coppée), OC (Favart), 24 April 1872, vs (1872)
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Suzanne (oc, 3, Lockroy [J.-P. Simon] and E. Cormon), OC (Favart), 30 Dec 1878, vs (1879)
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Patrie! (grand opéra, 5, V. Sardou and Gallet), Opéra, 20 Dec 1886, *F-Po** vs (1886). os (*c*1886)
Dalila, ?1896–7 (op, 4), unperf.
Toute la France (à-propos lyrique, 6 tableaux, Sardou, Sully-Prudhomme, de Bornier and Hérédia), Palais Bourbon, 1900, collab. Reyer, Massenet, T. Dubois and Lenepveu
Vanina (op, 3), unperf.

Inc.: Untitled work, 1862–3 (oc), *Pc**

OTHER VOCAL

Sacred: Les Saintes Maries de la mer (sacred lyric drama, 4. L. Gallet), vs (1892); Messe de St François d'Assise, solo vv, chorus, org, orch, 1862 (1895); Messe solennelle de la Pentecôte, solo vv, chorus, org, str qt ad lib/orch (1899); Stabat mater, solo vv, chorus, org, orch, vs (1905); 6 motets, 1v, org/pf, nos.2, 5; chorus ad lib, nos.1, 3, 4; chorus obligé, no.6 (1906); other minor works
Secular: Cantate composée à l'occasion du centenaire de Favre, 4 male vv, wind band (1884); Lous Cantaires dau Clapàs (F. Troubat), male vv, pf ad lib (1893); La cigale et la fourmi (J. Combarieu), children's/female vv, pf ad lib (1910); other minor works
Songs, 1v pf: La Mandolinata (1869); 6 chansons écossaises (Leconte de Lisle) (1877); 5 mélodies (1884); *c*100 others

INSTRUMENTAL

Orch: Sym., E♭ *c*1863; Fragments symphoniques, 1882; Marche de fête (1906)
Chbr: Canzonetta, vc, pf (1895); Solo, ob, pf (1898); Danse noble, concertino (2 va)/(vn, va), vc (1902); other minor works
Pf: *c*20 pieces, incl. 6 pièces caractéristiques op.13 (1882)
Org: *c*10 pieces, incl. Andante cantabile (1907); Choral-Marche (1907)

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LESLEY A. WRIGHT

Paladino [Paladin], **Giovanni Paolo** [Jean Paul] (*b* ?Milan; *d* Lyons, before Sept 1565). Italian lutenist and composer, active in France. On the title-page of his *Tabulature de lutz en diverses sortes* printed by Moderne in 1549 he is described as 'milanoys'. A 'Jean Paulle' was a lutenist to François I between 1516 and 1522. A lutenist at the court of Duke François of Lorraine at Nancy in 1544–5 was referred to as Jehan Paul, as was one in the service of Mary Queen of Scots between 1548 and 1553. Whether or not any of these was Paladino, it seems likely that he spent many years in Lyons, where he traded at the city's fairs; all his extant music was printed there and he purchased a house and vineyard on the banks of the Saone in 1553, where he died without heirs. His musical gifts were lauded in a sonnet published in Guillaume de la Tayssonnière's *Amoureuses occupations* (Lyons, 1555).

The only surviving music attributed to Jean Paul Paladin is found in two books. The first, *Tabulature de lutz en diverses sortes* (Lyons, 1549), contains five chansons (by Janequin, Sermisy, Jacotin, Sandrin and Arcadelt), two fantasias, three pavans and two galliards intabulated in the Italian system. A larger collection, now lost, *Premier livre de tablature de luth* (Lyons, 1553), again in Italian lute tablature, included arrangements of madrigals and motets. It was reissued in 1560 with a short introduction describing the lute and illustrating the principles of Italian tablature. Six free fantasias follow, with short motifs extended and varied with contrapuntal developments; the second fantasia had already appeared in print ascribed to Morlaye (RISM 1558[20]). The next group comprises arrangements of six unattributed madrigals (by Nollet, Rore, Arcadelt and Reulx, with one still unknown), two of which are followed by derivative fantasias. After intabulations of six four-voice chansons by Certon, Gardano, Hugier, Janequin and Sandrin, and motets by Sermisy and Jacotin, each followed by a derivative fantasia, the book ends with two pavan and galliard pairs and two separate galliards of unusual length, with divisions and variations. (Both books are ed. M. Renault and J.-M. Vaccaro, *Oeuvres de Jean-Paul Paladin*, Paris, 1986.)

Antoine Du Verdier's *Bibliothèque* (Lyons, 1585) reports two books of lute tablature, containing several psalms and *chansons spirituelles* by 'Antoine François Paladin milanois', published by Simon Gorlier at Lyons in 1562. The composer of these works may have been a relative of Giovanni Paolo Paladino.

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FRANK DOBBINS

Palanca, Carlo (*b* Valsesia, *c*1691; *d* Turin, 23 Dec 1783). Italian bassoonist and woodwind instrument maker. He was the son and pupil of the recorder maker Giovanni Lorenzo (*b c*1645; *d* after 1705). Carlo entered the ducal *cappella* of Turin on 7 March 1719 as '*Suonatore di bassa d'Autbois*', a post he held until 13 May 1770. He was

associated with the brothers Alessandro and P.G. Besozzi, respectively first oboe and first bassoon in the same orchestra; in some orders for his instruments, the approval of Alessandro was required. Among Palanca's surviving instruments the recorders and flutes are made in the late Baroque style, whereas the oboes are narrower in bore and have thinner walls than their Baroque counterparts, the Classical type. The two existing bassoons show similarity to French models. Palanca's instruments are marked 'CARLO/PALANCA'.

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ALFREDO BERNARDINI

Palatio, Paolo Jacopo. *See* PALAZZO, PAOLO JACOMO.

Palau. *See* MICRONESIA, §II, 4.

Palau Boix, Manuel (*b* Alfara del Patriarca, 4 Jan 1893; *d* Valencia, 18 Feb 1967). Spanish composer, conductor and teacher. He studied the piano and composition at the Valencia Conservatory (1914–19) and had conducting experience with small orchestral groups; a little later he gave the first performances of several of his works. Thereafter he moved to Paris for further composition studies with Koechlin (1924–6) and Bertelin (1930–32), also receiving advice on instrumentation from Ravel. After his return to Valencia he was appointed associate professor at the conservatory, where he established a reputation as a fine teacher of composition, orchestration and conducting. In 1952 he was made director of the Valencia Conservatory and a member of the Consejo Nacional de la Música; he was also director of the Instituto Valenciano de Musicologia. As a conductor he appeared with orchestras throughout Spain as well as with the municipal bands of the Valencia area. His work did much to enliven the musical life of Valencia, and his compostions depict the spirit of the region. There are elements of Mediterranean folk music in his style, as well as examples of polytonality, atonality, modality and the influence of Impressionist music. He twice won the National Music Prize (1927 and 1947).

WORKS
(*selective list*)

Orch: Poemas de juventud, 1926; Gongoriana, 1927; Siluetas, 1928; Homenaje a Debussy, 1927; Poemas de llum, 1935–6; Marcha burlesca, 1936; Valencia, pf, orch, 1936; Mascarada sarcástica, 1939; Sym. no.1, e, 1945; Sym. no.2, D, 1946; Concierto levantino, gui, orch, 1947; Concierto dramático, pf, orch, 1948; Sym. no.3, 1950; Tríptico catedralico, 1956

Other works: Sino (ballet, 1), 1939; Atardecer, solo vv, chorus, orch, 1945; Maror (op, 3), 1953–6; sacred and secular choral pieces, 25 songs, chbr pieces, pf music

Principal publisher: Unión Musical Española

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ANTONIO RUIZ-PIPÓ

Palazol [Palaol, Palaiol], **Berenguier de.** *See* BERENGUIER DE PALAZOL.

Palazzo, Paolo Jacomo [Palatio, Paolo Jacopo] (*fl* 1540–44). Italian composer. He contributed three works for four voices to an anthology containing all of Verdelot's madrigals from his first and second books, together with pieces by Arcadelt, Willaert and others (RISM 1540[20]). Another four-voice work, *Maledetto sia amor*, was printed in Antonfrancesco Doni's *Dialogo della musica* (1544[22]). In a letter dated 3 June 1543 to the sculptor Giovanni Angelo, Doni mentioned that Palazzo was then working in Piacenza, apparently a centre of some importance in the early history of the madrigal.

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DON HARRÁN

Palazzotto e Tagliavia [Palazotto Tagliavia, Pallazzotti, Palazzotti], **Giuseppe** (*b* Castelvetrano, Sicily, ?*c*1587; *d* before 1 Dec 1653). Italian composer. He was of noble descent through the Counts of Castelvetrano. By 1603 he was a pupil of Antonio Il Verso, who in that year included a madrigal by him in his eighth book of five-part madrigals. He was a cleric by 24 July 1606, when he was received into the Congregazione dell'Oratorio dei Filippini at Palermo, and on 31 May 1608 he was ordained priest by the Bishop of Cefalù. He became a full member of the order on 17 September 1609 but left on 31 May 1613. In 1617 he was in Naples, having arrived there with the court of the viceroy, the Duke of Osuna. When the duke was disgraced in 1620 he returned to Palermo. He was at Messina at the end of 1631, by which time he had graduated in theology. He dedicated his op.10 (1632) to Ottavio Branciforte, who had just been nominated bishop of Cefalù and during whose episcopate (1633–8) he was archdeacon and synodal inquisitor at Cefalù Cathedral. Di Maggio, also of Castelvetrano, was his pupil.

Palazzotto was, with Sigismondo d'India, one of the two most important Sicilian musicians of his generation and was the foremost composer active in Sicily in his day. His madrigals are among the finest of the period. In addition to the contrapuntal skills that he acquired from Il Verso he made fruitful use of his knowledge of Gesualdo's chromaticism and of Monteverdi's *seconda pratica*; his intensive, telling use of dissonance may have derived from Pari. Each piece is conceived as an organic unity with regard to the tonal plan and to rhythmic and harmonic contrasts between the subtly and distinctly characterized sections. Nevertheless, reconciling the tradition of the madrigal as domestic chamber music with the ideal of the Baroque concerto, Palazzotto announced in the preface to his first book (1617) that he had been anxious not only to 'make every part sing well so that each singer may take pleasure in what he is singing' but also to include 'many things … that a good singer would do of his own accord and thus … to move the affections more readily, which must be the musician's true aim'. In sacred music too, following Monteverdi, he developed, through truly Baroque sonorities and contrasts, the

Gabrieli type of sacred concerto, which he must have learnt about from Il Verso. Palazzotto's music, rich in supple, florid melody, flawless in counterpoint, varied in harmony and bold in its modulations and striking use of chromaticism, does indeed 'move the affections' powerfully and is among the finest produced in Italy in the first half of the 17th century.

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PAOLO EMILIO CARAPEZZA, GIUSEPPE COLLISANI

Palella, Antonio (*b* S Giovanni a Teduccio, Naples, 8 Oct 1692; *d* Naples, 7 March 1761). Italian composer. He is known only from his works; early biographers did not mention him. He studied at the Conservatorio di S Onofrio a Capuana, where his oratorio *Li scherzi delle Grazie* was performed in the summer of 1721. His librettos describe him as 'maestro di cappella napoletano'. From the opening of the new Teatro S Carlo on 11 October 1737 he held the orchestral position of second harpsichordist, with the additional duties of adapting foreign operas for production there; among these were the revival in autumn 1745 of Hasse's *Tigrane*, for which Palella rewrote about half the music, and Hasse's *opera seria Ipermestra*, performed on 20 January 1746, for which he modified the text and added three arias. It is possible that he also adapted Hasse's *Tito Vespasiano* (*La clemenza di Tito*) in 1738. Despite his personal obscurity Palella occupies a clear place in the history of *opera buffa*: at the time he was writing his three comedies for the Teatro Nuovo the genre was moving in several new directions, and his music may have helped popularize them. The most immediately noticeable of these novelties is elimination of Neapolitan dialect: in all three works, all the characters speak Tuscan. This allowed export of the works to northern Italy. Also, in all three the subject matter leans even more heavily than formerly on literary romance (the plot of *Origille* self-confessedly paraphrases an incident in Ariosto's *Orlando furioso*), with consequent increased emphasis on *parti serie* and *semiserie*, and hence less time spent on below-stairs antics of servant characters. The musical result of this move was to widen the range of emotional expression in comic opera. In addition, as a result of their plots, all three works require more elaborate mounting, with special effects like a jousting scene. These features combined to improve the literary and social respectability of *opera buffa*; economically they imply higher production budgets. Palella's setting of a libretto by P. Trinchera, *L'incanti per amore* (1741), incorporates the new decade's principal morphological development: fewer musical 'numbers' at the expense of ensembles and short ariettas; here, Trinchera retained only Act 1's opening duettino and the finales, leaving a total of 25 numbers compared with the previous decade's average of 30–37. The result is increased emphasis on solo arias, an increased proportion of 'talk' (recitative) to 'singing' (arias), and, in the best works, more attention to tight, straightforward plot construction. (*L'incanti* is also an example of that special sub-species of *opera buffa*, the 'magic' opera, an intermittently popular type that was to culminate in *Die Zauberflöte*; here the leading lady is a sorceress.) *Origille* deserves particular mention because it was one of the southern works soon to be introduced to north Italy (Ravenna, 16 November 1742 in the pasticcio version, Mantua and Venice, Teatro S Moisè, summer and autumn 1744) and to start the vogue there for *opera buffa*, even if the exported version was considerably cut to suit local tastes and retained only a few of its original numbers.

Palella's arias are early Classical in style, showing symmetrical periodization of phrasing and a firm sense of structure based on the tonic-dominant relationship. In the second half of an aria's first section, where the text is repeated, melodic material is closely derived from the first half, but varied with extensions of phrases and intensification of harmonic detail (for example, the first half's cadence progression of dominant of V–V–I could become augmented 6th–V–I). Second sections remain tonally close to the tonic key and usually contain motivic references to the aria's opening. Palella possessed a pleasant, if not especially striking, lyric talent, and was particularly fond of the 'Scotch snap' rhythmic device in melodic scale passages.

WORKS

for Naples, unless otherwise stated

Li scherzi delle Grazie (orat, T. Stasi), Capuana, Conservatorio di S Onofrio, sum. 1721
L'Origille (ob, A. Palomba), Nuovo, 8 Dec 1740
L'incanti per amore (ob, P. Trinchera), Nuovo, 2 Oct 1741
Il trionfo del valore (commedia per musica, Palomba), Nuovo, wint. 1741, collab. G. Signorille, Porpora, and G. Paolo [Palella composed the recit]
Il chimico (ob, Palomba), Nuovo, wint. 1742
Tigrane (os, F. Silvani), S Carlo, 4 Nov 1745 [revival of Hasse's work of 1725; of the orig., only recit of Act 3 scene xi, a duet, and 13 of a total of 26 arias remained; Palella wrote a new sinfonia, new recit, 13 arias, and a coro finale for Act 3]

Il geloso (ob, D. Macchia), Fiorentini, sum. 1751; 4 arias in *GB-Lbl*, *Lcm*

Other arias or cants., *Lbl*, *I-Nc*; Sinfonia, *B-Bc*; Conc. a 4, fl, 2 vn, b, *D-KA*

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JAMES L. JACKMAN/FRANCESCA SELLER

Páleníček, Josef (*b* Travnik, Bosnia-Hercegovina, 19 July 1914; *d* Prague, 7 March 1991). Czech pianist and composer. He studied the piano with Hoffmeister, and composition with Šín and Novák in Prague. In Paris he attended Alexanian's and Fournier's chamber classes and took lessons with Roussel and Cortot (until 1938). There he became friends with Martinů, whose return to Czechoslovakia after World War II Páleníček tried to obtain; similarly, he used his influence as a Communist party member to speak out on behalf of other worthwhile, but politically unacceptable, musicians. He made his début at the age of 11, but began to perform regularly as a soloist from 1935. In 1934 he was a co-founder of the Smetana Trio (later the Czech Trio), with the cellist František Smetana and the violinist Alexander Plocek, with whom he often formed a duo. After World War II he toured Europe, Japan and Central and South America. In 1963 he began to teach at the Prague Academy (AMU); he gave masterclasses in Rio de Janeiro (1962) and Montreal (1967), and sat on international juries. He was appointed soloist with the Czech PO in 1949 and with the Moravian PO in 1957.

Páleníček's playing was rich in dynamic contrasts; his repertory (Beethoven, Martinů, Prokofiev's Sixth Sonata, Musorgsky's *Pictures from an Exhibition*, Debussy, Brahms and especially Janáček, to whose works he took a highly personal and controversial approach) reflected his explosive temperament, disciplined, however, by his sense of structure. His compositions, in almost all genres, include three piano concertos (C major, 1940; E minor, 1952; 1961), the oratorio *Píseň o člověku* ('Song of Man', 1960), the *Symphonic Variations on an Imaginary Portrait of Ilya Ehrenburg* (1971) and the Cello Concerto (1973).

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ALENA NĚMCOVÁ

Palentrotti [Palantrotti, Palontrotti], **Melchior** (*b* Venafro, nr Naples; *d* Rome, 18 Sept 1614). Italian bass. He sang in S Luigi dei Francesi, Rome (1588–9), and at the Este court in Ferrara (1589–97), and he entered the Cappella Sistina on 14 July 1597. He was dismissed in mid-1603, ostensibly because he had left to seek service with the viceroy of Naples. Between 1612 and 1614 he was again singing at S Luigi dei Francesi, but his main support came from the distinguished Roman patron Cardinal Montalto. Palentrotti was one of a generation of bass singers praised by Vincenzo Giustiniani for their virtuoso technique. He took part in Peri's *Euridice* (as Pluto) and Giulio Caccini's *Il rapimento di Cefalo* at the festivities for the marriage of Maria de' Medici and Henri IV of France (Florence, October 1600). He sang in Quagliati's *Carro di fedeltà d'Amore* (Rome, 1606) and returned to Florence for the wedding festivities of Prince Cosimo de' Medici in 1608. His last known appearance was as Jupiter in *L'amor pudico* (with music by C. Marotta, G.B. Nanino and others), sponsored by Montalto and first performed in Rome on 5 February 1614.

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TIM CARTER

Paléographie musicale. *See* SOLESMES, §4.

Palermitano, Bartolomeo Lieto. *See* LIETO PANHORMITANO, BARTOLOMEO.

Palermitano, Il. *See* PALOTTA, MATTEO.

Palermitano, Mauro. *See* CIAULA, MAURO.

Palermo. City in Italy, on the island of Sicily. It was originally a Phoenician colony whose culture became hellenized and which underwent periods of Punic and Roman domination. In the Byzantine era (7th–9th centuries) it was the centre of a school of hymn writing. Under the Arabs it became the capital of Sicily. Traces of these periods still remain in the local folksongs.

1. Early history, to *c*1650. 2. *c*1650–1900. 3. 20th century.

1. EARLY HISTORY, TO *c*1650. Palermo reached the summit of its political and cultural power in the Norman period. Under King Roger (1094–1154) the best of the treasures of three cultures was concentrated in the capital of his kingdom: the Byzantine liturgy in the church of La Martorana and the Latin plainchant in the cathedral were matched by Islamic courtly music, which is represented in paradise scenes painted on the ceilings of the Cappella Palatina and of Cefalù Cathedral. The *eccellentissimi cantori* at the court of William II (1166–89) were particularly famous. In 1194 the Emperor Henry VI of Swabia came to the throne of Sicily; a celebrated Minnesinger himself, he brought to Palermo two great troubadours, Raimbaut de Vaqeiras and Bonifazio di Monferrato. His son, the Emperor Frederick II, who was also a poet and musician, made Palermo the foremost Italian centre of the arts; at his court Italian literature had its beginnings, as an extension of Provençal poetry, and these were closely linked with music. The liturgical music used in the cathedral in the Norman and Aragonese periods survives in numerous manuscripts with neumatic notation, of which most were carried off at the end of the 17th century and are now in Spain; but the Archivio Storico Diocesano at Palermo still has some, including a Gregorian missal of the 11th century with adiastematic accent-neumes, and the *Cantus diversi ad usum sanctae panhormitanae ecclesiae* of the 14th and 15th centuries.

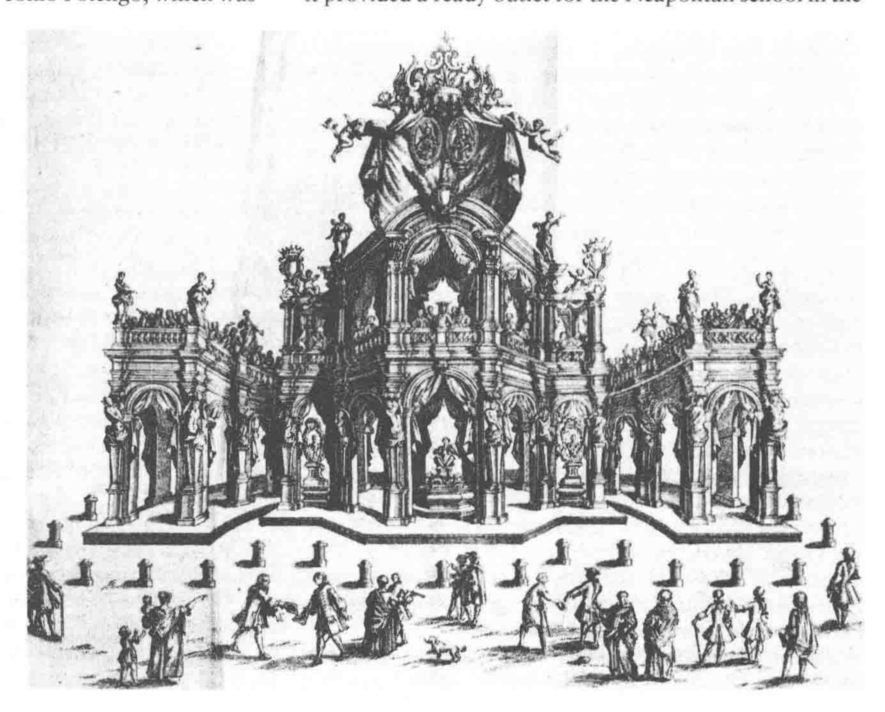
As early as the 14th century there were at least two organs in Palermo Cathedral, relatively large instruments standing on stone choirs.

In the 16th century aristocratic houses held musical 'academies' where virtuoso lutenists performed, including Giacomo d'Auria at the beginning of the century and Mario Cangialosa at the end. Sicilian compositions were first printed in Venice in the 1550s, for example those of Giandominico La Martoretta and Pietro Vinci, the founder of a school of polyphonic composition. Palermo was the principal centre for some 60 musicians who between 1552 and 1659 published more than 200 collections, mostly of madrigals. At least 50 of these were printed in Palermo, by G.F. Carrara (1583–95), G.A. de Franceschi (1588–1636) and, most important, G.B. Maringo (1597–1638) and Giuseppe Bisagni (1652–9). The royal palatine chapel flourished as a result of a financial decree of 1587; Raval and Gallo were both *maestri di cappella* there, and Clavijo and Oristagno were organists. A truly Sicilian school of polyphony may be discerned in the group of composers who centred on Antonio Il Verso (*c*1565–1621), a pupil of Vinci and permanent resident of Palermo. He had numerous pupils there, of whom Giuseppe Palazzotto e Tagliavia, Giovan Battista Calì, Francesco del Pomo, Domenico Campisi and Antonio Formica were also composers. Other musicians active in Palermo at this time included Mauro Chiaula, Giulio Oristagno, Nicolò Toscano, Vincenzo Gallo and Erasmo Marotta (Sicilians), Bernardo Clavijo del Castillo and Sebastián Raval (Spaniards), Claudio Pari (from Burgundy), Bartolomeo Montalbano (from Bologna), Antonio and Achille Falcone (from Cosenza) and Livio Lupi (from Caravaggio), a dancing-master. Sigismondo d'India, a patrician of Palermo, pursued his musical career outside Sicily.

The sacred drama with related musical interludes was vigorously cultivated in Palermo. The greatest example of the genre is the *Atto della Pinta*, the *Rappresentazione della creazione del mondo* by Teofilo Folengo, which was presented by the senate in the church of S Maria della Pinta from 1539; the music for the performance of 1581 was composed by Mauro Chiaula. When Bonaventura Rubino was *maestro di cappella* at the cathedral (1643–65), solemn polychoral liturgies took place in the principal churches: the *Stellario* of the Holy Virgin was celebrated with 12 choirs in 1644 at S Francesco. Two passions 'in *stile recitativo*' by Vincenzo Amato, Rubino's successor (1665–70), survive in manuscript copies ranging from the mid-17th century to the early 20th.

2. *c*1650–1900. Opera came late to Palermo; it was imported from Venice via Naples. The first opera to be performed was *Giasone* (1655), followed by *Ciro*(1657), *Xerse* (1658) and *Artemisia* (1659, given in the Teatro della Misericordia). Comparison of the Palermo librettos with the first Venice editions shows that these were Cavalli's, with additions by Francesco Provenzale acquired at the time of their performance in Naples, and with additional local variants. These variants must have been extensive in the case of *Elena* (1661), also by Cavalli, of which Marc'Antonio Sportonio proclaimed himself composer in the Palermo libretto.

Alessandro Scarlatti was born in Palermo in 1660. Vincenzo Amato, the last of the Sicilian polyphonists, was a relation (probably a cousin) of Scarlatti's mother, and it is probable that he and Sportonio were his first teachers. The first opera by Scarlatti performed in Palermo was *Il Pompeo* (1690); he dominated the Palermo theatre from Naples for at least 15 years, and the subsequent history of music in Palermo is substantially that of its opera houses. The earliest performances of opera, up to the end of the 17th century, were given in the Teatro della Misericordia and the Teatro della Corte del Pretore. The Teatro S Cecilia was specially built by the Unione dei Musici and opened on 28 October 1693 with *L'innocenza pentita: o vero la Santa Rosalia* (libretto by Vincenzo Giattino, music by Ignazio Pollice – both from Palermo); it provided a ready outlet for the Neapolitan school in the



Teatro Marmoreo della Marina, Palermo, showing the set of the serenata 'I ritratti' by Fabrizio La Rocca, performed on 7 and 8 July 1738 in celebration of the wedding of Carlo VII of Sicily and Naples: etching by Francesco Cichè from Pietro La Placa's 'Relazione delle pompe festive seguite in Palermo' (1739)

18th century. Domenico Scarlatti is registered as having been a member of the Unione dei Musici, and present in Palermo, from 1720–22.

The Teatro Marmoreo or 'nuovo teatro della musica' (see illustration) on the coast was completed on 17 April 1682 and was inaugurated a week later with a serenata to a text of Baldassare Gonzales by Bonaventura Aliotti, *maestro di cappella* of the cathedral and senate. Designed by Paolo Amato, brother of Vincenzo and architect to the senate of Palermo, it was intended to provide a luxurious setting for the outdoor musical entertainments that had been traditional on that spot for nearly a century.

The Teatro della Corte del Pretore, later known as the Teatro di S Lucia or Teatro di S Caterina, devoted at first to *opera buffa*, came into regular service in 1726. The powerful Valguarnera family directed its reconstruction in 1809, when it was enlarged and renamed the Real Teatro Carolino, and became the foremost theatre in the city. It was one of the very few in Italy to remain open the whole year. A collection of its music (260 volumes of manuscript scores, including 171 complete operas) was recently discovered in Boston. The theatre was visited by the most celebrated opera companies and singers, and its artistic directors included Natale Bertini, Giuseppe Mosca and Pietro Generali who succeeded each other between 1813 and 1828, and Donizetti, in 1825–6, when his new opera *Alahor in Granata* was performed there. The repertory was similar to that of other Italian theatres of the period: operas by Cimarosa, Paisiello, Guglielmi, Fioravanti, Paer and Mayr predominated at first; to these were added the successes of Rossini (from 1816), Donizetti and (from 1829) Bellini, and finally (from 1844) Verdi almost completely dominated the seasons. During the Revolution of 1848 and after the unification of Sicily with the Kingdom of Italy (1860), the Real Teatro Carolino changed its name to the Real Teatro Bellini and the seasons gradually became shorter.

The Politeama Garibaldi was built by the city council to a design by Giuseppe Damiani Almeyda and opened in 1874. It is a singular theatre with a liftable roof to accommodate various kinds of spectacle, from circus to opera. The opera seasons were gradually transferred to it; on 24 April 1896 Puccini's *La Bohème* had its first successful performance there. The Teatro Massimo, designed by G.B.F. Basile, opened on 16 May 1897 with Verdi's *Falstaff*. It is one of the largest theatres in the world, with a total area of 7730 m², a stage of 1214 m², five tiers of boxes and 3200 seats.

3. 20TH CENTURY. The Orchestra Sinfonica Siciliana (formed in 1958) gives a rich season of symphony concerts, three a week, from October to June. The Politeama Garibaldi was its home from 1968 to 1974, after which it moved to the Cinema-Teatro Golden. It has created a huge following for symphonic music, especially among young people. Concerts have been promoted by various organizations: the Associazione Palermitana dei Concerti Sinfonici (1922–31); the Società dei Concerti del Conservatorio (1945–52); the Amici della Musica (founded 1946), the Goethe Institut (founded 1962) and the Opera Universitaria (founded 1973). Opera seasons at the Teatro Massimo continued until 1974, when it was closed for restoration and operatic activity moved to the Politeama. It reopened on 12 May 1997.

The Settimana di Monreale, a festival of religious, liturgical and spiritual music (1949–50 and from 1957), is given in the historic churches of Palermo and Monreale. Six Settimane Internazionali di Nuova Musica were organized by the Gruppo Universitario per la Nuova Musica (GUNM) in the years 1960–63, 1965 and 1968. GUNM drew its support from the major musical organizations of the city, having prepared them with a season of concerts of contemporary music in 1959–60. The first Settimana broke the monopoly on new music previously held by Darmstadt and made the public aware of some important composers, such as Bussotti, Clementi, Donatoni, Evangelisti, Kayn and the Palermitans Sciarrino, Arrigo and Belfiore.

The Vincenzo Bellini Conservatory originated in a 'pia casa degli spersi', called the Conservatorio del Buon Pastore (1618). Musical tuition was introduced, after the example of Neapolitan conservatories, at the end of the 17th century. Nicola Logroscino was *maestro di cappella* there from 1758 to 1764. After a crisis, it flourished again under the direction of Pietro Raimondi (1833–52). In the 20th century some distinguished musicologists have taught there, including A. Favara, F. Mompellio and N. Pirrotta. The Istituto di Storia della Musica dell'Università, founded by Luigi Rognoni in 1958, has helped to stimulate a revival of interest in music, and has particularly encouraged contemporary music. It began publishing the series Musiche Rinascimentali Siciliane in 1970, Puncta (musicological studies) in 1974 and Dafni (musical texts and studies) in 1991. *Collage*, an international yearbook for new music and visual arts, was published at Palermo (1963–70). The Centro d'Avviamento all'Arte Lirica, a school associated with the Teatro Massimo, was active from 1965 to 1977. Organizations arising in the 1970s and 80s included Brass Group (jazz concerts and training), Ars Nova (amateur tuition, concerts and symposia), Folkstudio (folk music research and editions) and the Associazione per la Musica Antica Antonio Il Verso (early music and opera). The most important chamber orchestras are Gli Armonici and the Zephyr Ensemble (renowned for contemporary music). The CIMS (Centro per le Iniziative Musicali in Sicilia) was constituted in 1982 by Sicilian universities and concert societies; it maintains a centre of documentation for contemporary music and an archive of folk music recordings. CIMS is the seat of the Mediterranean Musical Conference and of its yearbook *Memus*.

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PAOLO EMILIO CARAPEZZA, GIUSEPPE COLLISANI

Palero, Francisco Fernández. *See* FERNÁNDEZ PALERO, FRANCISCO.

Palester, Roman (*b* Śniatyn, [now Snyatyn, Ukraine], 28 Dec 1907; *d* Paris, 25 Aug 1989). Polish composer. He began his piano studies in 1914 and continued them at the Music Institute in Kraków (1919–21) and at the conservatory in Lwów with Maria Sołtys (1921–5). From 1925 he studied history of art at Warsaw University, and later (1928–31) music theory and composition at the Warsaw Conservatory with Kazimierz Sikorski. His early pieces were awarded prizes at composers' competitions and were performed at ISCM festivals. During the 1930s Palester produced music for theatre and film (the early Polish films with sound). In 1945 he became prorector and professor of composition at the State Higher School for Music (now the Academy of Music, Kraków). In 1947 he settled in Paris, and in 1951 chose to become an emigré by consciously breaking all ties with Communist Poland.

From 1952 until 1972 he led the cultural department of the Polish section of Radio Free Europe in Munich; in this capacity he was the author of numerous radio programmes, not only in the field of music, but also literature, theatre and philosophy. In Poland the political restrictions of the time (except for a short period at the end of the 1950s) determined that Palester's music was proscribed, and his name could not appear in any publications until 1977. His most significant works date from after his emigration. Among the many awards he received was a gold medal at the Exposition Internationale in Paris in 1937, and first prize in the 1962 competition of the Italian section of the ISCM for the opera *La mort de Don Juan*. In 1972 he left Munich to settle once more in Paris. He returned to Poland only once, in 1983, for the world première of his *Hymnus pro gratiarum actione (Te Deum)* in Kraków.

Palester's earliest works were shaped and styled either by the prevailing neo-classicism of the time or by folklore. Examples of the former include *Muzyka symfoniczna* (1930), *Suite symphonique* (1937–8) and the Concertino for saxophone and chamber orchestra (1938). Examples of the latter include *Taniec z Osmołody* ('Dance from Osmołoda') and the ballet *Pieśń o ziemi* ('Song of the Earth'). His work had developed more individuality by the time of the Second String Quartet (1936) and the Sonata for two violins and piano (1939), and especially throughout the 1940s. Works such as the Second and Third Symphonies, *Requiem* and the cantata *Wisła* are characterized by the generation of large-scale form; masterly thematic development, with a tendency to integrate a whole cycle of motivic material; linear textures; dissonant harmony bordering on atonality; and profound emotion.

From the Fourth Symphony (1952) Palester's creative work entered a new phase inspired by the Second Viennese School, particularly the music of Alban Berg. Palester's treatment of 12-note principles shows a free approach, giving higher consideration to elements such as expression, colour and the dramatic shaping of form. The piece which encapsulates the character of this phase in his composition is the stage work *La mort de Don Juan* (based on the play by Oscar Milosz, *Miguel Mañara*), which combines elements of opera, dramatic cantata and oratorio. In *Varianti* for two pianos (1963–4) and in *Metamorphoses* (1966–8), Palester used open form and controlled aleatory rhythm. In general, however, he had great reservations about the ideas of the avant garde. In his later pieces he created his own individual, stylistic idiom: 12-note principles give way to a more relaxed treatment, and post-serial atonality, athematicism, collective rhythm and richness of colour suggest a link with tradition; this is borne out by his use of generic titles such as symphony, concerto and sonata. On the one hand he was interested in the problems of structure and form, as in his chamber and piano works, while on the other hand he sought enrichment through extramusical sources and the use of words, for example: *Hymnus pro gratiarum actione (Te Deum)*; *Trzy wiersze Czesława Miłosza* ('Three Poems by Czesław Miłosz'); and *Listy do Matki* ('Letters to Mother'). Palester's work treated a new musical synthesis, combining constructivist thinking with rich, colouristic fantasy, and an intellectual approach with expressionism.

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ORCHESTRAL AND VOCAL ORCHESTRAL

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ZOFIA HELMAN

Palestine, Charlemagne [Martin, Charles] (*b* Brooklyn, NY, 15 Aug 1945). American composer, pianist and video artist. Although chiefly self-taught, he studied composition and singing at the Mannes College (1967–9) and electronic music with Subotnick at New York University (1969). From 1962 to 1970 he was a carillonneur at St Thomas's Church, New York; this experience had a pronounced effect on his music, which has a relentless, sustained quality. He continued his studies at the California Institute of the Arts (1970–71), where he developed a style of music based on drones using both electronic and instrumental sources. His vocal improvisations, loosely based on his studies of Indian music, emerged from working with the dancer Simone Forti. After returning to New York in 1973 and becoming part of the city's downtown scene, Palestine began work on a series of major piano pieces performed almost exclusively on a

Bösendorfer grand. These evening-length works, quasi-improvisational but tightly structured, use an incessant 'strumming' technique for which he has developed a unique virtuosity; audiences are often mesmerized by the striking array of harmonics that emanate from the instrument. An ecstatic, religious quality connects all his work. He has also produced pioneering minimalist video studies and performance art, and in the 1980s he pursued a career, mainly in Europe, as a sculptor and visual artist. He has since revived his musical career and released a number of CDs of earlier recordings.

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INGRAM D. MARSHALL

Palestinian music. From a very early period the term 'Palestine' was applied to a coastal region of the eastern Mediterranean roughly corresponding to the land now forming Israel (*see* JEWISH MUSIC, §II). Its boundaries were imprecise and fluctuated over the centuries. Palestine was under Ottoman rule (1517–1917) and then under British mandate from 1920 until the creation of the state of Israel in 1948.

Most Palestinians (about 90%) are Sunni Muslim; others are mainly Christian. Palestinian peoples are found in parts of ISRAEL, the West Bank and Gaza, Jordan (*see* JORDAN (i)), LEBANON, SYRIA and diasporic communities in other regions. Under the 1993 Oslo Agreement, a small proportion of historical Palestine was returned to Palestinian control.

1. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND. The traditional music of the Palestinians is related to Middle Eastern Arab music in its language, forms, melodies, dances and musical instruments. The art music is generally similar in form to Arab art music, with an additional legacy of Ottoman influences found elsewhere in the Middle East. The rural folk music shares regional similarities with the sung verse styles widespread on the eastern Mediterranean coast, including Syria and Lebanon. Inland, the southern region bordering the Negev desert is dominated by the music and dances of the nomadic Bedouin tribes, which are part of the wider musical culture of the North Arabian peninsula.

The city of JERUSALEM thus forms the meeting-place of three musical worlds: the Mediterranean, the Arabian peninsula and the Syrian plateau. As a religious and cultural centre, Jerusalem has played a highly significant role in Palestinian history for many reasons. The co-existence of three monotheistic religions, Judaism, Christianity and Islam, developed a cosmopolitan spirit that has left its mark on local musical practices.

Many special features distinguish Palestinian music: the intonation of local dialects, certain idioms and customs, and specific aspects of many religious festivals. Examples are the Muslim children's songs (*ḥawwāya* or *maddāḥa*) sung during the month of Ramadan as they go from door to door begging for sweets or coins, and the Christian dance-song for the feast of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary (15 August), performed by men in a semicircle in front of the basilica of Nazareth.

Pilgrims and missionaries to Jerusalem provide the earliest information about religious and secular musical activities in Palestine. A travel account by the 5th-century Spanish nun EGERIA, *Itinerium Egeriae*, describes Christian psalmody and chant as observed in Jerusalem. Egeria especially noted the division of the choir into two groups (*antiphons*). This division, still found in certain Eastern (Orthodox) churches, has passed into local Islamic usage. In Jerusalem the recitation of the *mawlid* (ritual celebrating the Prophet Muhammad's birth) contains verses sung antiphonally; this is unusual in Muslim culture, where *mawlid* style is usually responsorial.

Early texts provide pronouncements on the practice of music by principal religious figures. In his *Panarion*, Epiphanius, the 4th-century bishop of Gaza, compares the *aulos* (reed-pipe) to a serpent demon. A Muslim legist, Ibn Qayṣarānī (*b* Jerusalem, 1058), wrote the *Kitāb al-samā'* ('Book on listening [to music]') on the admissibility of music. Ibn Ghānim al-Maqdisī (1514–95/6) violently condemned any leanings towards music in his *Maṣāyid al-Shayṭān wa dhamm al-hawā* ('On the Traps of Satan and the Censure of Passion'), written in Jerusalem.

The various Christian communities and their liturgies were important in the musical life of Jerusalem. These included the Armenian, Coptic, Ethiopian and Roman Catholic (*'latīn'*) liturgies performed in their various languages. Franciscan and Dominican monks trained local musicians to provide music for the religious services, and the musical techniques of the West were most readily adopted by the Arab Christians practising the Latin rite (see §3(ii) below). Christians of the Greek Orthodox Church, on the other hand, have probably best preserved the customs connected with local history.

In terms of Palestinian selfconsciousness, 1917, the end of Ottoman rule, was a less significant date than 1948. The creation of the state of Israel caused many Palestinians to leave their native land, taking refuge in neighbouring countries, especially Jordan. The resulting war and exodus slowly forged a new concept of cultural and musical thought, and from that time onwards a national feeling developed, especially after the wars of 1967 and 1973 between Israel and the neighbouring states of Egypt, Syria and Jordan – this despite the fact that Palestinians are called Arab by Israeli authorities and their music considered Arab music rather than Palestinian music.

Radio Jerusalem was inaugurated in March 1936, with its importance for local music broadcasting.

2. FOLK MUSIC. The music of rural areas is well preserved and firmly established. It is basically the music of song and dance, mainly in the *bayyātī* mode, corresponding to the great repertory of sung verse found all along the eastern seaboard of the Mediterranean. It is chiefly performed at festivals or marriages, even giving rise to certain particular *zaffa* (wedding procession) types. Among the most common genres of poetry is the melismatic *'atābā*, freely improvised in stanzas of four or

eight lines with a metrical syllabic refrain and known as *mījānā* (in certain localities pronounced *mayjānā*). The traditional *qaṣīda* known as the *shurūqiyyāt* is a long monorhymed poem. The *ḥidā*, an open-air responsorial song, is always accompanied by the *saḥjih* dance. A genre little performed elsewhere, the *far'āwī*, is an improvisation on one or two lines of verse sung alternately by two singers, often during processions.

Dances usually accompany these poetic genres, the best known being the *dabka* or chain dance, either for men only or for men and women. It is widespread throughout the Middle East and has been adopted into Israeli folklore under the name of *dabkot*. The *daḥḥiyya*, a dance for men advancing towards a woman soloist brandishing a sword, is performed by the Bedouin tribes of the Negev. Within rural music, wind instruments predominate: the *mijwiz*, a single-reed clarinet with double pipes and six holes; the *arghūl* (locally pronounced *yarghūl*), a single-reed clarinet with double pipes of unequal length; the *shabbāba* (locally pronounced *shibbābeh*), a reed flute with six holes. Accompaniment is provided by a pottery drum or the *darbukka* metal goblet drum (locally pronounced *dirbakka*). The recitation of Bedouin poetry is accompanied by the one-string *rabāba* fiddle. The long-necked *buzuq* lute with two double strings, brought into the area by the Gypsies of Jordan, is less frequently found. Although there is evidence that the *ṭanbūra* lyre was played at the beginning of the 20th century, it has now disappeared from Palestinian tradition. (*See also* BEDOUIN MUSIC.)

3. ART MUSIC.

(i) Urban. In his *The Land and the Book*, the American missionary William Thompson provided an account of Palestinian urban music in the last quarter of the 19th century. Music was played in cafés, sung to the accompaniment of the *qānūn* (plucked zither), *kamanja* (violin), *'ūd* (short-necked lute), *duff* (frame drum) and *nay* (rim-blown flute). This classic set of instruments making up the *takht* chamber ensemble is the basis of Middle Eastern art music and to a lesser extent of Palestinian music today. Elsewhere in the Arab world the *takht* ensemble tended towards disuse during the 20th century, superseded by the larger *firqa* orchestra in which violins predominate. (*See* ARAB MUSIC, §I, 6(iii).)

The art music practised in Palestinian areas is part of the general Middle Eastern tradition. For a number of reasons, it has not followed the modernization process prevalent in the rest of the Arab world to the same degree but reflects a more traditional spirit. A kind of musical suite performed in Nazareth, an important Palestinian city within the state of Israel, and also found in Aleppo (*see* SYRIA, §3), consists of a string of melismatic *mawwāl* improvisations linked to metrical song in the local dialect. It is part of the local tradition known as *naṣrāwiyyāt* ('of Nazareth').

Distinguished Palestinian instrumentalists are the *'ūd* players SIMON SHAHEEN (*b* Tarshiha, Galilee, 1955), who emigrated to the United States, and 'Ādil Salāmā (*b* Nablus, 1966), who emigrated to Great Britain and represents the Baghdad school (*see* IRAQ, §I, 5). SALIM SAHAB is also an important musician and conductor. Another important Palestinian musician who emigrated is Nabil Azzam, who left for America in 1982. The arrival in 1948 of Arabic-speaking Jews expelled from Iraq transplanted the Iraqi *maqām* style to Tel Aviv (*see* ISRAEL, §III, 2).

(ii). Western-based. Most contemporary Palestinian composers in Western-style music had their first musical education in the Catholic Church of the Holy Land. Their writing is often tinged with academicism, with a predominantly Italian influence. Salvator Arnita (*b* Jerusalem, 1916) won a competition in Lebanon with his *Allegretto pastorale per oboe e archi* (1965). Augustin Lama was organist of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem and director of the Schola Cantorum of the Holy Land from about 1940.

Yūsuf Khashū (1927–96) is particularly notable. He was Lama's pupil and succeeded him as organist in Jerusalem in 1942, but he was forced to go into exile in 1948, finally settling in Jordan. He composed a large body of music in 19th-century style, and his fourth symphony for large orchestra, the *Jerusalem Symphony*, was composed after the 1967 war. ḤABĪB ḤASAN TŪMA (1934–98) composed contemporary music and in later years turned to ethnomusicology. He settled in Germany in 1963.

The National Conservatory of Music at Birzeit University in Ramallah is an important symbol of Palestinian nationalist pride and cultural endeavour. It was founded in 1995 and includes a department of Arab art music. Inside Israel there are instances of Jews and Arabs coming together musically, as in the mixed Bustan group (*see* ISRAEL, §III, 2).

4. POPULAR MUSIC. The ensemble al-Funūn al-Sha'biyya al-Filasṭiniyya (Palestinian Popular Arts) was founded at el-Bireh in 1979 with a view to staging musical events tracing local life or history in operetta style as practised in Lebanon. The group produced original compositions such as *Marj ibn Amīr* (1989), a historical chronicle of a Palestinian village under British occupation.

The prolific group Al-Āshiqīn emerged in the late 1970s and achieved fame all over the Arab world with their politically based work. Another popular group, A'rās, was founded in Damascus in 1977 and is currently based in France. The creation of the Sabreen ensemble in Jerusalem around 1980 provided Palestinians with a group on the international model. Sabreen performs modern poetry by Palestinian authors, but without heavily emphasizing the theme of armed struggle. The ensemble aims for musical fusion on both the instrumental plane (where guitar, double bass and Western percussion combine with the *'ūd* and long-necked *buzuq* lute) and on the rhythmic plane, which borrows from reggae and other styles. Their singer, Kamīlya Jubrān, has artistic roots in Arab art music and accompanies herself on the *buzuq*. The result is something entirely new in the Arab world.

Palestinians who left home have worked in the field of popular music in their countries of adoption. Yūsuf Baṭrūnī worked in Damascus from 1950 on the transcription into Western notation of fashionable songs, which were published in Syria. Ṣabrī Sharīf (*b* Haifa, 1922) was director of Radio Sharq al-Adnā, founded around 1952 in Beirut, and then artistic director to the prolific Lebanese composers, brothers 'Āṣī and Manṣūr RAḤBĀNĪ; 'Āṣī Raḥbānī's wife, the internationally famous singer FAYRŪZ, has also championed the Palestinian cause. The singer RĪM YŪSUF KILĀNĪ (*b* Manchester, 1963) has parental roots in Nazareth and Jenin; her repertory is based on

direct contact with traditional singers both in Nazareth and in the refugee camps of Lebanon.

5. POLITICS AND MUSIC. Political impetus in recent Palestinian music falls into three key stages. After the 1967 war, the spirit of resistance and struggle became a theme in a vocal genre labelled *ughniyya siyāsiyya* (political song), a term retained in the Arab world at large. This ideological stage did not remain static. Its development was accelerated by concern with studying local Palestinian traditions and a move towards collecting the entire corpus of sung music. Here the original words were sometimes replaced by other more revolutionary texts calling on audiences to join in the struggle.

The 1975 Lebanese war marked a second phase of political development in music. Non-Palestinian musicians supporting the cause of armed struggle became involved in the strongly ideological movement. They were well served by the fine work of the Palestinian poet Maḥmūd Darwīsh, most of whose poems have been set to music over the last decades. Works by Lebanese composers include Marcel Khalifé's *Aḥmad al-'Arabī* (*c*1985) and Ziyād RAḤBĀNĪ's *Aḥmad al-Za'tar* (*c*1980). Moroccan compositions are Aḥmad Essayad's *Identité* (1977), a dodecaphonic work for chamber ensemble, and Nāss al-Ghiwān's *Sabra wa Chatila*, describing the massacres perpetrated on the inhabitants of the Palestinian camps at the gates of Beirut in 1982. For many people, the celebration of Palestine in song became a symbol of emancipation and commitment, reflecting a modernist state of mind, especially as the movement clearly went beyond the purely Palestinian context, extending to the Arab world and affecting Arab intellectuals.

The third phase evolved after 1985. Some people turned away from politically motivated efforts to represent the struggle in music, concentrating instead on songs about the land and its fertility, romance and dreams. At the time of writing, this trend is represented by the popular groups Sabreen and A'rās. (*See also* ARAB MUSIC, §III.)

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CHRISTIAN POCHÉ

Palestrina [Prenestino, etc.], **Giovanni Pierluigi da** ['Giannetto'] (*b* probably at Palestrina, almost certainly between 3 Feb 1525 and 2 Feb 1526; *d* Rome, 2 Feb 1594). Italian composer. He ranks with Lassus and Byrd as one of the towering figures in the music of the late 16th century. He was primarily a prolific composer of masses and motets but was also an important madrigalist. Among the native Italian musicians of the 16th century who sought to assimilate the richly developed polyphonic techniques of their French and Flemish predecessors, none mastered these techniques more completely or subordinated them more effectively to the requirements of musical cogency. His success in reconciling the functional and aesthetic aims of Catholic church music in the post-Tridentine period earned him an enduring reputation as the ideal Catholic composer, as well as giving his style (or, more precisely, later generations' selective view of it) an iconic stature as a model of perfect achievement.

1. EARLY YEARS. Palestrina's name is derived from the town of Palestrina in the Sabine Hills near Rome, known in antiquity as Praeneste. Throughout his life he was known by the surname Palestrina or Prenestino (with a variety of spellings), at times simply by the nickname 'Giannetto'; in his own letters he normally signed his name as 'Giovanni Petraloysio', only once as 'il Palestrina'. The dates between which he is presumed to have been born derive from an important eulogy by a younger

contemporary, a certain Melchiorre Major (see Mercati, 1924), entered into the tenor partbook of a printed volume of motets by Claudin de Sermisy that is still part of the library of the Cappella Sistina. It states that at his death Palestrina was 68 years old, and it concludes with a verse epitaph beginning 'O mors inevitabilis', a text strikingly similar to the epitaph for Josquin that had been set to music by Jheronimus Vinders and published in 1545. As for Palestrina's birthplace, it has long been assumed, plausibly enough, that he was born in the town from which his name is taken and in which his family had settled some years before he was born. Yet although this is indeed likely, Jeppesen observed that the earliest known document in which he is named (a will made by his grandmother Jacobella in October 1527) originated in Rome (see Cametti, 1903). Jeppesen further noted (in *MGG1*, x, col.658) that a Roman census of 1525 listed a certain 'Santo de Prenestino' as the head of a household of 12, then living in a Roman quarter near S Giovanni Laterano; he suggested that if this Santo were Palestrina's father, whose name was given elsewhere as Sante or Santo (see Casimiri, *NA*, i, 1924, pp.24ff), the composer might actually have been born in Rome. In any event there is no doubt that his early training took place there and that a subsequent period of employment at Palestrina was an interlude in an essentially Roman career. Indeed his entire later life was deeply rooted in the papal Rome of the ascendant Catholic Reformation and was steeped in the musical and liturgical traditions of three of the oldest and most celebrated of Roman churches, in which he held successive appointments – S Maria Maggiore, S Giovanni Laterano and S Pietro.

Palestrina seems to have been first trained in music at S Maria Maggiore; a document of October 1537 (first published in Casimiri, 1918–22) lists a 'Joannem da Palestrina' among the choirboys then in the care of Giacoma Coppola, one of the singers there. When he joined or how long he remained at S Maria Maggiore is not known. His probable teachers were three successive *maestri* of these years: Robin Mallapert in 1538–9, a certain 'Robert' in 1540 and Firmin Lebel from the end of 1540 (the earlier theory that Palestrina had been taught by Goudimel has no foundation, since the latter was never in Rome). At least two of these presumed early teachers, Mallapert and Lebel, were French. Palestrina obtained his first appointment on 28 October 1544, when a document shows his engagement as organist at the cathedral of S Agapito in the town of Palestrina (text given in Casimiri, 1924, pp.43–4). Here he was obliged to play the organ and also to teach music to the canons or alternatively to some of the boys. He remained in this familiar but relatively provincial setting until 1551, a period of his life for which there is little or no documentation apart from a notice of his marriage on 12 June 1547 to Lucrezia Gori, daughter of a local citizen of evidently modest means (see Casimiri, 1924, pp.51–2). Their children were Rodolfo (1549–72), Angelo (1551–75) and Iginio (1558–1610). Although Palestrina's activity as a composer is wholly undocumented before his first publication in 1554, it can be assumed that during his years in Palestrina he must have begun to develop that broad knowledge of earlier and contemporary motet and mass traditions and that remarkable technical control manifest in his own works.

2. The Cappella Giulia and S Giovanni Laterano (1551–61). On 1 September 1551 Palestrina was appointed *magister cantorum* of the Cappella Giulia, succeeding Mallapert. In contrast to the foreign-dominated papal chapel, the Cappella Giulia served partly as a training centre for native musicians. Palestrina's title referred to his responsibility for the boys; from 1553 he is referred to as *magister cappellae*. His position carried no responsibility for composition; the repertory of the cappella was generally conservative (with Costanzo Festa, Morales and Carpentras dominating) and was to remain so until well into the 1560s (see Dean, 1988). There is no certain evidence of papal involvement in Palestrina's appointment; though Pope Julius III had been Bishop of Palestrina, this carried no obligation of residence. Julius was, however, the dedicatee of the composer's first book of masses, published in Rome in 1554. The handsome volume contains a large woodcut showing the composer kneeling bare-headed presenting his work to the pope (fig.1). This woodcut is the same as that used for Morales's *Missarum liber secundus* of 1544, dedicated to Paul III (for illustration *see* Morales, Cristóbal de). While the faces of both pope and composer have been altered, along with the papal arms, the music in both illustrations is the same, though with the words deleted; thus Palestrina is inadvertently depicted presenting Morales's mass. The Morales woodcut was in turn modelled on that adorning Antico's anthology of masses, dedicated to Leo X in 1516 (for illustration *see* Antico, Andrea). The plan of Palestrina's volume may well have been influenced by that



1. Palestrina presenting his work to Pope Julius III: title-page from 'Missarum liber primus' (Rome: Dorico, 1554)

of Morales: both open with a tenor mass in which the tenor has a separate text celebrating the reigning pope (Palestrina's mass is his *Missa 'Ecce sacerdos magnus'*). Palestrina's book is the second single publication of masses by a native Italian composer (the first was Gasparo Alberti's published in 1549) and the first issued in Rome. In the same year his first published madrigal, *Con dolce, altiero ed amoroso cenno*, was included in a Venetian anthology (RISM 1554[28]).

The dedication to Julius III bore fruit when on 13 January 1555 Palestrina was admitted to the Cappella Sistina, the pope's official musical chapel. This was in spite of his being married and 'on the orders of His Holiness Pope Julius, without any examination … and without the consent of the singers' (see the 'Diarii Sistini' in *NA*, xiii, 1936, p.209). Three months later Julius III died and was succeeded by Cardinal Marcello Cervini, who took the name of Marcellus II. In turn Marcellus's reign was cut short by death scarcely three weeks later. The title of the famous *Missa Papae Marcelli* (published in 1567) quite possibly reflects a particular event in Marcellus's short reign, when he called his singers together on Good Friday 1555, the third day of his reign, to inform them that the music for Holy Week should be more in keeping with the character of the occasion and that as far as possible the words should be clearly understood. Marcellus was succeeded by the intransigent Giampietro Carafa, Paul IV, whose rigorous enforcement of the chapel's rule on celibacy brought about the dismissal of Palestrina and two other married singers in September 1555, though they were given modest pensions.

On 1 October 1555 Palestrina became *maestro di cappella* of the great church of S Giovanni Laterano, a position that Lassus had briefly held a short while previously. A musical *cappella* had been installed as late as 1535 and it had never been furnished with sufficient funds to ensure more than minimal proficiency. In 1560 Palestrina found himself opposed to the chapter over funds for the musicians, and at the end of that July he abruptly left his post, taking with him his son Rodolfo, who had been a choirboy. From then until March 1561 his exact employment is unknown.

3. S Maria Maggiore and the private service of Ippolito II d'Este (1561–71). After five unsuccessful years at S Giovanni Laterano, Palestrina returned to the basilica of S Maria Maggiore, where he had been trained. His employment there seems to have lasted until at least 1565. In 1566 he accepted the post of *maestro* at the newly erected Seminario Romano which also provided free education for his sons (Casimiri, 1935, pp.17ff). In 1564 he had spent the months from July to September in charge of the music at the Villa d' Este, the sumptuous country estate built by Cardinal Ippolito II d'Este at Tivoli, outside Rome. He was again in Ippolito's service from 1 August 1567 to March 1571, combining this with his position at the Seminario Romano.

The remarkable spreading of Palestrina's reputation during the 1560s is indicated by a flattering offer made to him in 1568, on behalf of the Emperor Maximilian II, to transfer to Vienna as imperial choirmaster, a post left vacant by the death of Vaet in 1567. But the negotiations broke down when the emperor's ambassador found Palestrina's terms too high; subsequently the post went to Philippe de Monte. Additional and important testimony to his growing circle of influential acquaintances is afforded by his correspondence with Duke Guglielmo Gonzaga, which began in 1568 and continued until 1587, the year of Guglielmo's death (the texts are published in Bertolotti, 1890, pp.47ff). No other correspondence by Palestrina is known to exist, and these 12 letters are valuable for what they reveal of his character and his thoughts on various aspects of music, including his opinion of two compositions written by the duke and sent to Palestrina for his judgment (see Jeppesen, 1926, pp.100–07; Eng. trans. in Lockwood, 1975, p.25). In addition Palestrina wrote a series of masses for the special use of the ducal chapel of S Barbara at Mantua, based on plainsongs peculiar to the Mantuan liturgy, selected by the duke and 'revised' according to late 16th-century views on the proper declamation of a text (see Strunk, 1947 and Jeppesen, 1950 and 1953).

These same years witnessed the publication of important collections: his second book of masses (containing the *Missa Papae Marcelli*) in 1567 and the third in 1570, as well as his first book of motets for four voices in 1563 and his first book of motets for five voices in 1569. That he also maintained at least an occasional connection with the papal chapel is known from an entry in the Sistine records of 1565, indicating an increase in his pension 'owing to certain compositions that he has written and is to write for the use of the chapel' (see Jeppesen in *MGG1*, x, col.685).

4. The last phase (1571–94). The last 23 years of Palestrina's life formed a period of relative security of employment. In April 1571, on the death of Giovanni Animuccia, he returned to the post of choirmaster of the Cappella Giulia, and he remained at S Pietro until his death. Yet again there were signs of his latent dissatisfaction with the terms of his employment: in 1575 an increase in his salary at S Pietro prevented his transferring once again to S Maria Maggiore, which was anxious to have him back. In 1583 there was serious discussion with his northern patron Duke Guglielmo Gonzaga about the possibility of his going to Mantua as choirmaster; but again the terms he proposed were too high, and the inducement to leave Rome was insufficient.

The 1570s were, however, also years of personal hardship for Palestrina. In 1572 and 1575 plague (probably influenza) caused the deaths of his brother Silla (in 1572) and his sons Rodolfo and Angelo (in 1572 and 1575). He had included single motets by all three in his *Motettorum liber secundus* of 1572. In 1578 Palestrina himself suffered from serious illness which delayed his work on masses commissioned by the Duke of Mantua. In 1580 his wife, Lucrezia, died; after her death, he seriously considered joining the priesthood. He initiated preliminary arrangements, receiving the tonsure in December of that year and a benefice a month later. Yet before this step could be consummated he had turned back to the world of practical affairs. On 28 February 1581, just eight months after the death of his first wife, he married again. This marriage, to the well-to-do Virginia Dormoli, widow of a Roman fur merchant, seems to have freed him at last from the financial strains imposed by many years as a poorly paid choirmaster. He combined his last productive years as a composer with a lively interest in his wife's business, investing both in it and in land and houses on the city outskirts. At the very end of his life, in 1593, Palestrina was actually planning to return

to the post of choirmaster of Palestrina Cathedral that he had held in the 1540s (see Casimiri, 1924, pp.15, 47).

In addition to fulfilling the duties of his fixed positions, Palestrina also carried out a constant if irregular series of freelance engagements for other institutions. At least 12 are recorded or can be inferred from payment records (O'Regan, 1994). Most were for three of Rome's most important confraternities (SS Crocefisso, SS Trinità dei Pellegrini and the Gonfalone) which provided opportunities for writing devotional and semi-liturgical music in more up-to-date styles. The most significant employment was at SS Trinità for which Palestrina provided music for the Lenten devotions on the five Fridays of Lent in the years 1576 and 1578, as well as for the Holy Thursday procession to the Vatican, and for the offices of Tenebrae. In these and other commercial activities (such as selling altar wine from his family vineyard to S Giovanni Laterano in 1558) Palestrina showed that he was well able to look after the practical side of affairs, to demand his due unflinchingly from often parsimonious church authorities and to improve his status through dedications to well-placed luminaries of church and state. While his fellow Roman musicians were mainly celibate clerics, for Palestrina family commitments always loomed large, for example when the death of his son Angelo meant having to repay his daughter-in-law's dowry and adopt his two baby grandchildren (both of whom died young). His career exhibits not only enormous artistic power and fecundity, exercised with great restraint, but also a strong religious feeling coupled with a sense of worldly purpose.

It is evident that in his later years Palestrina was held in some awe by musicians, both theorists and composers. As early as 1575 the agent of the Duke of Ferrara had written of him that he was 'now considered the very first musician in the world', and in the early 17th century many theorists, especially Cerone, lauded him above all others. The most unusual testimony is the special tribute paid him in 1592, two years before his death, in an anthology of vesper psalms for five voices edited by G.M. Asola (RISM 1592[3]) and dedicated to him with an eloquent letter of praise; the composers who contributed to it include Asola himself, Baccusi, Croce, Gastoldi, Pietro Pontio and Costanzo Porta. Thus the legend of Palestrina, which was to grow with unceasing vigour during the 17th and 18th centuries and to wax even further in the 19th century (see §11 below), had actually begun before his death.

5. Scope of works; publications and dedications. The scope of Palestrina's work is enormous even by the standards of such prodigious contemporaries as Lassus and Monte, and it is centrally devoted to sacred music. His output of 104 securely attributed masses is greater in quantity alone than that of any composer of his age. To this fundamental domain of sacred music can be added more than 300 motets, 68 offertories, at least 72 hymns, 35 *Magnificat* settings, 11 litanies and four or five sets of Lamentations. But he also composed more than 140 madrigals (including some very famous pieces) if his spiritual madrigals are counted alongside his settings of secular poetry. Although he was the first 16th-century composer whose works were produced in a complete edition as early as the 19th century and for whom a second one has been achieved in the 20th, a number of works attributed to him in manuscript sources remain of doubtful authenticity, and a comprehensive catalogue of Palestrina sources remains to be achieved.

Within Palestrina's own lifetime the publication of his works made a relatively slow start. His first book of masses (1554), in an expensive large choirbook format, was followed by his first book of madrigals of 1555. Between then and 1563, during his difficult period at S Giovanni Laterano, there were no new publications apart from madrigals in anthologies. It is striking that for his first editions Palestrina used Roman printers when these were available. Between 1554 and 1570 all of his music was published by Dorico in Rome. When that firm folded in 1572 Palestrina moved to the Venetian printers Scotto and Gardane; then, after 1583, when Alessandro Gardane had moved from Venice to Rome Palestrina used his services until his death (with the single exception of his 1586 madrigals printed by Scotto in Venice). This may have limited the circulation of his music but Palestrina preferred the large choirbook format used by Roman printers and favoured by Roman churches, particularly for masses (Bernstein, forthcoming). In his dedications, too, Palestrina was more mindful of career opportunities in Rome and elsewhere than in the wider circulation of his music. His dedicatees included virtually all the popes under whom he served, Philip II of Spain, Duke Wilhelm of Bavaria, Duke Guglielmo Gonzaga and Duke Alfonso II d'Este. Venetian publishers did eventually pick up on Palestrina's music in reprints: his first book of madrigals was reprinted eight times between 1568 and 1600 and his motet books from 1563 onwards all received a good number of Venetian reprints, helping to spread the composer's fame. A select number of motets and madrigals also appeared in anthologies, both in Italy and across the Alps.

The 1570s and early 1580s saw Palestrina concentrating mainly on motet publications in the more marketable partbook format. The increased financial security brought by his second marriage in 1581 led to a flurry of prints, starting with some *madrigali spirituali* in 1581 and continuing with no fewer than three motet books in 1583–4 (a privilege granted by Gregory XIII in April 1584 confirms that his second book of four-voice motets was published in that year and not in 1581, as stated by Baini). Towards the end of the 1580s he began to concentrate on single-genre volumes: Lamentations (1588), hymns (1589), *Magnificat* settings (1591), offertories (1593) and litanies (1593). In his final year came two further books of masses (one, his seventh book, was published a month after his death) and a second volume of spiritual madrigals. In the dedication of his 1588 Lamentations, to Pope Sixtus V, he complained that he had composed a great many works, many still unpublished, adding that publication 'would need no little expenditure, especially if the larger notes and letters are used, which church publications really require'. In the seven years after his death a further six books of masses were published in Venice through the aegis of the canons of S Giorgio in Alga in that city, and one of their number Tiberio de Argentis in particular, who must have acquired the works from the composer's heirs. Reprints continued, but a large number of works remained in manuscript. There is also still some uncertainty about the dating and precise location of some Palestrina editions mentioned by Baini (1828) and other 19th-century writers.

6. Palestrina and his time. The central event in the Catholic world during Palestrina's lifetime was the Council of Trent and its aftermath, the Catholic or Counter-Reformation. The Council did not itself devise legislation dealing with the reform of church music but simply adopted a broad policy and left its implementation to local councils. At its conclusion in 1563 it issued guidelines that emphasized the removal of lascivious and impure secular elements from the music, as well as the need for the sacred texts to be intelligible to congregations. In Rome a commission of cardinals was set up to oversee reform, both of musical style and of the papal chapel; commission members included Cardinals Carlo Borromeo, Secretary of State and nephew of the reigning Pope Pius IV, and Vitellozzi Vitelli, who is known to have had musicians in his private employ. Borromeo was also archpriest of S Maria Maggiore, and it was inevitable that he should involve its then *maestro di cappella*, Palestrina. An entry in the Sistine diary records that on 28 April 1565 the singers of the papal chapel 'were assembled in the home of Cardinal Vitellozzi to sing some masses and test whether the words could be understood, as their Eminences desire'. Whether or not Palestrina's *Missa Papae Marcelli* was performed on that occasion is not known, but it is certainly possible. While some have argued that it was written during Marcellus's papacy in 1555, stylistically this seems unlikely and manuscript evidence suggests around 1562, when it was copied into a choirbook at S Maria Maggiore (see Lockwood, 1975, for a full discussion). Palestrina was certainly involved in composing some works for the papal chapel at this time, as is evidenced by the increase in pension of 1565 for 'certain compositions that he has written and is to write for the use of the chapel'.

On a broader level, the real significance of the Council of Trent, for Roman music, was the liberating effect it had on what had been a fixed and backward-looking repertory. There was a strong feeling that new compositions were needed, and composers like Palestrina and Giovanni Animuccia were the most advantageously placed to provide them. In the short term, over-emphasis on word-intelligibility might have been an impediment to creative polyphony, but this seems to have been quickly forgotten in the desire to harness music to evangelical ends. Music was increasingly seen as an important weapon in this process, provided that it was used in the service of the text. This was particularly encouraged during the reign of Pope Gregory XIII (1572–85) who put aside the gloomy austerity of his predecessor, Pius V, and presided over the highly-successful Jubilee Year celebrations of 1575, a milestone year which saw a peak in devotional activity in the city and gave tremendous impetus to the composition of sacred music. The new mood was exemplified in particular by two new congregations of priests, the Jesuits of Ignatius Loyola and the Oratorians of Filippo Neri. The establishment of seminaries and colleges for the training of priests saw a renewed emphasis placed on the precise and devout celebration of liturgical ritual, including music; this was helped by the successive issuing from Rome of a revised missal, breviary and episcopal ceremonial. After 1575 religious devotion remained fashionable among all classes in Rome; people flocked to join confraternities and took part in their thousands in a multitude of processions and devotional exercises, particularly in confraternity oratories which were proliferating throughout the city. It was for this milieu that Palestrina wrote his many polychoral settings of litanies, Marian antiphons and texts taken from the psalms. Palestrina himself was member of the archconfraternity of SS Trinità dei Pellegrini and it may have been at least partly this devotional impulse which was to suggest the priesthood as an option after the death of his first wife.

Back in the confident security offered by the Capella Giulia from 1571 onwards, Palestrina forged a new style based on textural clarity and textural variety. These trends were already apparent in his *Liber primus motettorum* of 1569 and became more explicitly so in his *Motettorum liber secundus* of 1572 and the *Motettorum liber tertius* of 1575; they reached their apogee in the Song of Songs motets of 1584 and in the music for two and more choirs which occupied him increasingly from 1575 onwards. Palestrina seems to have enjoyed a good relationship with Gregory XIII, dedicating two prints to him and two to his natural son, Giacomo Boncompagni. Gregory pushed ahead vigorously with work on the new basilica of S Pietro and this was continued by his successor Sixtus V (1585–1590) who lived just long enough to see the completion of the dome and the chapels surrounding it. Prior to this, most of Palestrina's activities as *maestro* would have taken place in the rump of the nave of the Constantinian basilica, separated by a dividing wall from the building site of the new one, or in the Cappella del Coro erected by Pope Sixtus IV to the south of that nave. Liturgical celebration in the basilica was not centralised but moved around between various *cappelle* and altars according to the feastday, while the standard everyday liturgy was held in the Cappella del Coro.

One of Sixtus V's first acts in 1585 was to recognize the Congregazione dei Signori Musici di Roma as both a confraternity and guild for the city's musicians. Palestrina was closely involved in its institution, and his motet *Cantantibus organis* was used as the basis for a triple-choir mass in which sections were variously composed by members of the Congregazione: Stabile, Soriano, Dragoni, Giovanelli, Santini, Mancini and Palestrina himself. The papal singers decided to remain aloof from this organization, laying the foundation for future acrimony and increasing isolation of the members of the papal chapel from other Roman musicians. Around this time, too, moves were set afoot to have Palestrina made the permanent *maestro di cappella* of the papal choir; these were frustrated by the singers who prevailed on the pope to allow them to elect one of their member to the office on a yearly basis. Palestrina, however, retained his role as papal composer and the associated pension.

Another important aspect of Palestrina's role in the Counter-Reformation lay in his work on the revision of the plainsongs of the Roman Gradual and Antiphoner. In 1577 he and Annibale Zoilo were entrusted by Gregory XIII with this project, the purpose of which, as stated in Gregory's letter, was to rid these books of their 'superfluities ... barbarisms and obscurities' (trans. from *Strunk SR2*/p.538). In 1578 Palestrina was much engaged in this work, as is clear from his correspondence with Duke Guglielmo Gonzaga, but he never completed it, perhaps under pressure from Philip II of Spain, whose strong feelings against the project were conveyed to the Pope by the composer Fernando de las Infantas. The revision was eventually made by Felice Anerio and Francesco Soriano,

and the *Editio Medicaea* of 1614 doubtless resembles the kind of revisions that Palestrina would have made, to judge from his correspondence over the revision of plainsongs sent from Mantua. Some of Palestrina's ideas about the reform may also be seen in the mensurally notated chants of the 1582 *Directorum Chori* and other publications of basic chants by G.D.Guidetti, a canon of S Pietro. In his introduction to the 1582 book, Guidetti states that he 'gave the complete work for inspection and correction to Ioanne Petro Aloisio Praenestino, our *maestro di capella* and a man pre-eminent in the art of music who, with his natural humanity, proved not unwilling to lend me his opinion, so that I believe this book to be the best and most correct of its kind possible'. One of Guidetti's main preoccupations was that chanting of sacred texts should not lead to any loss in clarity of the words, but that they should be declaimed as if they were not being chanted. He carefully notated his chants, using two principal and three subsidiary note shapes, all with mensural values; this can be assumed to reflect performance practice in Palestrina's Cappella Guilia.

7. Masses. Of Palestrina's 104 masses, 43 were published during his lifetime, all but two of them in the six books that span the 40 years from 1554 until his death. His seventh book was presumably then ready for the press, since it appeared only a month later with a preface by his son Iginio. Between 1599 and 1601 a further six books of masses were issued in rapid succession at Venice; still more remained in manuscript sources. Elements of style and derivation in some of his masses, as well as remarks in certain of his prefatory letters, suggest that he may have written many of them long before they appeared in print. In general few of the masses can be dated, and the problem of their chronology remains almost entirely unexplored.

The tendency of earlier biographers and historians to deal with Palestrina as a great but solitary figure is nowhere more misleading than in a discussion of his masses. While his entire output spans every type of mass cultivated during the century, the largest group (53 works) is made up of works derived from pre-existing polyphonic compositions; of these, 31 are based on works by others, 22 on his own compositions. They thus correspond to the familiar 16th-century type of mass commonly called 'parody mass' but more accurately termed 'imitation mass'. The masses based on works by other composers provide insight into Palestrina's knowledge of earlier repertories, his predilection for particular groups of composers and types of models, and his specific techniques of composition. At least three of his imitation masses are based on as yet unidentified models (Reese, 1954, pp.470–72, nos.46, 56 and 93; no.40 is claimed in L.L. Perkins: *The Motets of Jean l'Héritier*, diss., Yale U., 1965, to be based on a motet by Lhéritier, but the identification is not wholly convincing). For the works whose models are definitely identified he drew chiefly on motets of the period after Josquin and principally on the French, Flemish and Spanish composers who had been assimilated into papal and other Roman circles during and after the reign of Leo X (1513–21); these include especially Andreas de Silva, Lhéritier, Penet and Morales. Of these 31 masses at least 22 are based on motets, five on madrigals and one on a chanson, while to judge from their titles the three derived from still unidentified works are also drawn from motets. In addition to the identifications given in the list in Reese, valuable identifications of models were given by Jeppesen (in *MGG1*); these include the observation that the Mass no.26 (*Missa secunda* of 1582) is based on the *Veni Sancte Spiritus* published in the Palestrina *Werke*, xxxii, as a work of doubtful authenticity; that the Mass no.36 is based on the motet *Cantabo domine* for six voices in a manuscript in Rome (*I-Rsc* G.792–5); and that the *Missa 'Dilexi quoniam'* (no.43), is based on a motet by Hieronymo Maffoni.

Among motets used by Palestrina as models only one was published as early as 1520 (Josquin's *Benedicta es*, a well-established model, used by Morales in 1544), while no fewer than 11 had been published in Moderne's *Motteti del fiore* collections of 1532 and 1538. It is particularly suggestive that of the six masses definitely based on motets derived from Moderne's 1532 volume (which is for four voices) three appear consecutively in Palestrina's first book of masses (nos.2, 3 and 4) and are based on motets by Silva, Mathieu Lasson and Verdelot. This suggests that he worked from models chosen from that book at a relatively early stage of his development. Other prominent choices of models include (for masses nos.10, 11, 13 and 18) his selection of four works by Jacquet of Mantua, an outstanding figure at the Gonzaga court, with which he himself had close connections. The absence, so far as is known, of any masses on works by Willaert, Gombert or Clemens non Papa is striking. That only one motet is by an Italian (the obscure Maffoni) emphasizes the primacy of Flemish and French composers in this field and shows Palestrina's absorption of this tradition into his own work. Of his five madrigal models (for masses nos.14, 35, 70, 76 and 94) two each are by Rore and Domenico Ferrabosco and one is by Primavera; the lone chanson model (for mass no.41) is by Johannes Lupi or Pierre Cadéac.

On present evidence it would appear that, except for the madrigal used in mass no.35, all the published works by other composers that Palestrina used as models were circulating in print by 1563. They were thus available for his use before the publication in that year of his own first book of motets, the first of his own collections from which he drew models for masses. This evidence offers some general support to the speculative assumption that his works on models by others may generally be earlier works, while those based on his own motets may generally be later and have been written fairly close in time to the motets themselves.

While much remains to be understood about the techniques of derivation used in these masses, it appears that in their means of larger distribution of material the imitation masses generally follow the procedures outlined by Pontio and Cerone in their chapters on the mass. The beginnings of the main movements of the mass normally elaborate their counterparts in the model and end with a version of its final cadence. If the motet has a second section this is used for subordinate sections of the mass. The internal distribution of material is, however, highly variable; it seems to be in part cyclic, following the order of the model but reworking it, and in part independent of the model.

Particular motifs of the original are often shifted from their original position in order to let them correspond to words that they fit well or to establish verbal parallels between model and mass text. Motifs of symbolic importance in the original, such as those mentioning Jesus

Christ, are sometimes taken out of order to reinforce certain phrases of the mass text. To illustrate the transformation of the opening of a Palestrina model in an imitation mass, ex.1 shows the opening of his own four-part motet *Dies sanctificatus* and the beginning of the Kyrie of his mass based on it.



The other broad classes of Palestrina's output of masses may be divided into several categories: paraphrase, tenor mass, freely composed masses and, as a partly overlapping category, canonic masses. No fewer than 35 works are paraphrase masses based on pre-existing plainsong or, less frequently, secular melodies. These in turn can be subdivided into several groups. 16 masses are based on plainsong mass cycles, including the Requiem, the *Missa De Beata Virgine* and the *Missa De feria*, as well as the masses for Mantua (nos.38 and 95–104). Others are based on single melodies, whether longer plainsongs such as the antiphons *Alma Redemptoris mater* (mass no.72) and *Ave regina coelorum* (mass no.57) or short melodies, such as hymns (as in nos.29 and 30), whose use gives rise to much cyclic repetition in the mass. The tenor mass is a relatively outmoded type in this period and is exemplified by only seven works (nos.1, 17, 20, 50, 71, 87 and 89), including the *Missa 'Ecce sacerdos'* for Julius III, one of the two *L'homme armé* masses (no.17) and the rigidly structured *Missa 'Ave Maria'* published in 1596. The free masses include such works as the *Missa brevis* of 1570 (a special type by virtue of its proportions), the *Missa Papae Marcelli* and several others whose movements do not exhibit the thematic correspondences characteristic of the masses based on polyphonic models. A special category is that of the Mantuan masses commissioned by Duke Guglielmo Gonzaga for his chapel of S Barbara. In a letter accompanying his first commission from the Duke on 2 February 1568, Palestrina wrote that if the work was not satisfactory 'I beg you to let me know how you prefer it: whether long or short or composed so that the words may be understood'. Among these masses is one for four *voci mutate* that is even more fully declaimed in chordal style in its Gloria and Credo than the Pope Marcellus mass. All of the Mantuan masses, except this last, are set *alternatim*, interspersing polyphony with plainsong, even in the Gloria and Credo.

Palestrina's masses run the gamut of styles from the consistently contrapuntal *Missa ad fugam*, through the largely homophonic but texturally varied *Missa Papae Marcelli*, designed for word-intelligibility (see Jeppesen's statistical comparison of its Gloria and Credo sections with those of other masses, 1923), to the antiphonal dialogue of the four polychoral masses. Much remains to be done on this genre, particularly in establishing a firmer chronology. Some help may be afforded by a general tendency, in line with the practice of other Rome-based composers such as Victoria, towards a greater compactness as the century drew to a close, especially in the Sanctus.

8. Motets and other liturgical works. In sharp contrast to his masses, more of Palestrina's motets were published during his lifetime than posthumously, or than discovered later in manuscript collections. The regularity of publication of his seven books between 1563 and 1584 suggests both a greater ease of publication of motets (especially those for five voices) and a closer proximity of dates of composition and publication than was the case with the masses. While a systematic study of his motet texts has not been carried out, it is clear that the majority come from antiphons and responsories; lesser categories include motets based on sequences, *orationes*, an occasional hymn or devotional text, and psalms.

The four-part motets of the first book (1563) display in full perfection that equilibrium in every phase of composition that has long been seen as the hallmark of Palestrina's art. Throughout a given motet each voice formulates successive melodic segments setting (usually) complete phrases of text in correct declamation, shaped with maximum care to create well-balanced melodic motion even in inner voices. The balance of leaps and stepwise motion is so precisely conceived that one virtually never finds a wide leap that is not followed by a leap or stepwise motion in the opposite direction, occasionally by a step or smaller leap in the same direction. At the same time Palestrina's control of dissonance creates a texture of unparalleled purity and consistency of sonority. Ex.2, the opening of *In diebus illis* from the motets of 1563, provides in the opening bars of a single voice a sample of the fine balance of linear motion coupled with careful control of durational units that progress gradually from longer to shorter note values. Each successive motive segment is grafted on to the preceding one with remarkable subtlety; each phrase is well adapted to the phrase of text around which it is formed, yet the phrases often exhibit subtle hints of interrelationship. Compared with the highly contrasting and vividly dramatic style of Lassus, Palestrina's classic motets convey an emphasis on the gradual unfolding of motivic segments that are broadly similar to one another and thus provide a strong sense of organic unity.

His next three books (published in 1569, 1572 and 1575) show a marked change of approach, partly because the contents are all for five to eight voices and partly reflecting Palestrina's post-Tridentine appointments at the evangelistically oriented Seminario Romano and S Pietro. In these books there is a tendency towards increased richness of sonority, variety of openings, and a diversity of textures within the motet in close response to the words; typical are *Crucem sanctam* (1569) and the six-voice *Tu es Petrus* (1572). That full sonority was a matter of conscious attention on Palestrina's part is suggested by his letter to Duke Guglielmo Gonzaga of 3 March 1570 in which he gave his opinion of a motet sent to him by the duke for appraisal (Eng. trans. in Lockwood, 1975, p.25). He said that he had scored it to be able to judge it better, then praised the work for its ingenuity and for its 'imparting a living spirit to the words', but considered it less effective than it should be in that its imitations involved too many unisons. As Jeppesen pointed out in his study of this letter (1926), the saturation of the texture by full harmonies wherever possible was a cardinal tendency in Palestrina's work as a whole. At the same time, the motets for larger forces continue to exhibit the same internal balance in individual lines, as well as the same motivic unity, as those for four voices published in 1563.

1584 saw the publication of no fewer than three new motet prints by Palestrina. These included two five-voice sets, one of which was a closely-knit cycle based on texts carefully chosen from the Song of Songs (probably by Palestrina himself; see Owens, 1994), and a second book of four-voice motets. The five-voice pieces show the richness and contrast of textures which had become the composer's hallmark (e.g. *Exsultate Deo*); the four-voice motets return to the classic imitative style of the first book of 1563, but now marked by a new fluidity and greater use of word-painting and expressive devices (e.g. *Super flumina Babylonis*).

During the years 1588–93 Palestrina issued at least four collections of liturgical settings which can be seen in retrospect to reflect his overhaul of liturgical music at S Pietro following his return in 1571. In the case of the

Ex.2 *In diebus illis*



Lamentations, hymns and *Magnificat* settings, other sets are found in manuscript or in printed anthologies, and chronological relationships are not yet clear. The nine Lamentations printed in 1588 are for four voices, with occasional sections for five; the writing is largely in falsobordone-like homophony, relying on suspensions as the main driving force. Greater textural variety is shown in the three other sets. Jeppesen posited a fifth set (in *I-SPd* 9) but Palestrina's authorship has not been confirmed and the set may be the work of another Roman composer (*MGG1*). Another set (in *Rsg* 59) is mainly holograph, with some in the hand of Alessandro Pettorini, and may have been composed for use at SS Trinità dei Pellegrini in 1576–78 (fig.2). Palestrina composed a set for use in the papal chapel in 1574 and a set was copied by Johannes Parvus for the Cappella Giulia in April 1575. Neither of these survive, but there is a set copied in 1600 for the Cappella Giulia (*Rvat* C.G.XV.21) and a further set is found in another Vatican manuscript (*Rvat* Ottob. 3387). Haberl's labelling of these as Books I–IV is arbitrary and not particularly helpful. They all seem remarkably restrained when compared with, for instance, those published by Victoria in Rome in 1585, or those by Lassus copied into manuscript around 1588.

The hymns of 1589 form a cycle for the liturgical year (most are also found in *Rsg* 59). Other hymn-settings are found in Roman manuscripts and in anthologies. They follow in a long tradition of polyphonic settings closely based on plainsong melodies, begun in the 15th century by Du Fay and continued by, among those who worked in Rome, Carpentras, Costanzo Festa and Morales. Basically for four voices, the polyphony alternates with the plainsong on which it is closely based; the final doxology increases to five or six voices and is often canonic. The book of *Magnificat* settings for four voices published in 1591 is similarly related to a vast tradition and to other sets by Palestrina (in *Rvat* C.G.XV2 and XV22). It consists of two series of works in the eight tones. Following precedent they adhere closely to the psalmodic formulae associated with the *Magnificat* tones and follow the traditional plan of setting alternate verses: the odd verses in the first eight settings, the even ones in



2. *Autograph of part of a set of Lamentations for four voices by Palestrina (I-Rsg 59, f.1r); the names Thomas, Petrus and Nicolaus are given against the upper three parts, corresponding to singers in the Cappella Giulia in 1573–8*

the second. The two sets found in Cappella Giulia manuscripts set only the even verses in polyphony, while a single double-choir setting for the papal chapel (in *Rvat* C.S.29) is through-composed.

In the view of many scholars the last in this series of cycles, the offertories for the entire year, published in 1593 is also the greatest. Palestrina assembled no fewer than 68 settings, of which 40 are for the major festivals from Advent to the ninth Sunday after Pentecost and the remaining 28 for the additional Sundays after that. There is no evidence in these works of chant paraphrase and they should be thought of as offertory motets rather than as liturgical substitutes for the plainchant. They are in many respects much like the shorter single-section motets of the 1584 fifth book for five voices, but in contrapuntal refinement and prodigality of invention in a short span they surpass the motets or any other of his later works.

Polychoral motets form a significant part of Palestrina's output. The composer wrote more polychoral music (over 70 items, including canticles, litanies, masses, Marian antiphons, psalm- and sequence-motets) than Lassus or Andrea Gabrieli and nearly as much as Giovanni Gabrieli; yet, perhaps because it has not fitted with the received perception of Palestrina's style, it has been generally overlooked. Palestrina was an innovator in writing for two harmonically-independent choirs, a feature of all his polychoral music from the 1575 third book of motets onwards (but not of the four eight-voice psalm-motets in his 1572 second book). Most of his double- and triple-choir motets follow a similar pattern, with long imitative opening sections for individual choirs, followed by increased antiphonal dialogue and a much more homphonic texture. The same features are found in the polychoral masses, litanies and Marian antiphon settings. Some, probably late, works (such as *Expurgate vetus fermentum* from *Rvat* C.G.XIII 24 or some of the double-choir litanies) show a medium which is much more highly flexible in response to the text, with syllables set to individual crotchets, an influx of word-painting devices and strongly-directed harmony, all features which show the composer alive to new trends in late 16th-century sacred music. Stylistically, there is a world of difference between these pieces and, for example, the masses of 1555 or the 1563 motets. Attempts by critics down the ages, culminating in Jeppesen and Andrews, to abstract a single Palestrina style which could be easily reproduced by students, have ignored differences such as these which are heavily related to the function of each particular work

or genre. They have also tended to play down the often innovative nature of Palestrina's work, preferring to concentrate on the classic style of many of the masses or the early motets.

9. MADRIGALS. As a madrigal composer Palestrina is often characterized as a conservative who stood wholly apart from the more experimental and text-expressive tendencies of the late 16th century. In their time, however, Palestrina's madrigals were considered to be perfectly valid and accomplished works; indeed there is ample evidence of their success and of the lasting fame of some of them. Palestrina first entered print as a madrigal composer in 1554, while his first book for four voices of 1555 had an extraordinary success and was frequently reprinted. Einstein (1949, p.314) saw this book as a continuation of the classic early madrigal style of Costanzo Festa and Arcadelt, both, significantly, Roman figures. Haar (1986) has seen the influence of Rore and of the Roman *madrigale arioso* in the five-voice madrigals published in anthologies from the 1560s; these have an increased rhythmic bounce and more painting of individual words. Two in particular became as celebrated as any in the entire period: *Io son ferito* (1561[10]) and *Vestiva i colli* (1566[3]). Both were quoted by other composers and widely used as the basis of imitation masses (the former even by Lassus); both were later paid the supreme compliment of being parodied in madrigal comedies by Orazio Vecchi and Banchieri, a sure sign of their fame. It is difficult to know how to interpret the famous dedication of his settings of the Song of Songs (1584), addressed to Pope Gregory XIII, in which Palestrina confessed his shame at having set worldly poems to music in former times: it may be taken as a sincere expression of pious regret or, as Einstein (1949, p.312) interpreted it, as 'pure hypocrisy'. Certainly it did not prevent him publishing his second book for four voices in 1586, after Gregory's death, but its contents may well be of much earlier vintage; he said in the preface that 'these fruits ... are mature' and, in general, they follow the style of the 1555 volume.

The madrigals are as a class appropriately lighter in texture and more flexible in rhythmic motion than the motets, and they make sharper use of contrasts. Yet they share the general lucidity of texture common in his music, and this quality may well have contributed to the popularity of the most famous among them. These pieces may also have made Palestrina a more distinctive figure as a madrigalist than many historians have been disposed to admit. Palestrina's two books of spiritual madrigals are dedicated respectively to Giacomo Boncompagni and Christine of Lorraine, wife of Duke Ferdinando I of Tuscany. They represent a genre which enjoyed a brief popularity in Rome from the 1580s and were probably written for private use in the devotional milieu surrounding the Jesuits, Oratorians and confraternities. Their style is restrained, closer to the motet than to the composer's more adventurous secular madrigals. Both books include extended cycles: the 1581 book has eight settings of sections of Petrarch's *Vergine* cycle while the second book of 1594 consists entirely of a modally-ordered cycle of thirty pieces making up the *Priego alla Beata Vergine* of unknown origin.

10. PUPILS AND ROMAN CONTEMPORARIES. The role of Palestrina as the leading figure of the so-called Roman school in the late 16th century and early 17th has been widely accepted as historical fact, yet evidence of his role as teacher of the next generation of Roman composers is not as plentiful as might be casually supposed. Of those who were ten to 15 years younger than he, only Annibale Stabile (*b c*1535) and G.A. Dragoni (*b c*1540) specifically claimed in printed dedications that they had been his pupils (see Casimiri, 1931, p.235). Among other prominent Roman musicians of this generation, Annibale Zoilo (*b c*1537) may be counted as a close younger contemporary and was his would-be collaborator in the project of plainsong revision, but there is no concrete evidence that he was his pupil. The same is true of G.M. Nanino (*b* 1543), who succeeded Palestrina at S Maria Maggiore and remained a pivotal figure on the Roman scene through his training of young choirboys, and Tomàs Luis de Victoria (*b* 1548), who would have known Palestrina when studying at the Seminario Romano and who was the next most influential composer in Rome up to his return to Spain about 1586. Palestrina himself claimed Francesco Soriano (*b* 1548 or 9) as a pupil and the two Anerio brothers (Felice, *b c*1560 and Giovanni Francesco, *b c*1567) were both choirboys in his charge in the Cappella Giulia during the 1570s. Among composers active in Rome before 1600 for whom, on the other hand, no direct connection can be made to Palestrina are Ruggiero Giovanelli, Asprilio Pacelli, Luca Marenzio, Jean Matelart, G.B. Nanino, Paolo Quagliati and Prospero Santini. Composers based in Rome formed a heterogeneous group and any sense of a 'school' of composition may well be largely illusory. At the same time there is no doubt that, by virtue of his position in virtually all of Rome's major musical establishments, Palestrina must have exerted a strong influence on the younger musicians of his time; nor can it be doubted that he was accepted by many of them as a musical mentor in a general sense. This is clear from the choice of his Cecilian motet as the basis for the collaborative *Missa 'Cantantibus organis'* as well as by a number of adaptions of, for instance, his *Missa Papae Marcelli* by younger composers such as Soriano and G.F. Anerio.

11. POSTHUMOUS REPUTATION. Palestrina's historical reputation resembles that of no other composer in the history of music. While Josquin had remained a celebrated figure during the 16th century, his star waned thereafter in the light of changing tastes and styles and has only been revived in the 20th century. With Palestrina, however, a concatenation of historical developments combined to maintain his prestige at an ever higher level for 200 years after his death, while most of his predecessors and contemporaries were virtually lost to view. One of these factors was the legend of Palestrina as the 'saviour of church music' because of the alleged effects of the *Missa Papae Marcelli.* This tale was propagated as early as 1607 by Agazzari, was picked up by countless later writers up to the 18th and 19th centuries and, despite the leaven of more objective investigation carried out since the 1890s, remains in broad circulation as popular history.

Another essential strand has been Palestrina's place in musical pedagogy, where from the early 17th century on his name became indelibly associated with the ideal of the *stile antico* – the strict style of diatonic counterpoint that became a widely accepted model for teaching. Long after the real style of Palestrina's music had ceased to be a norm of composition in the wake of the broad stylistic

developments of the 17th century, it continued to be used as a pedagogical model, which, however, inevitably derived from a limited perception of the full range of his music. Among the 17th-century writers who assigned him this posthumous role one of the earliest was Cerone in his *El melopeo y maestro* (1613); admirers later in the century included Berardi, who in 1689 called him 'the prince and father of music' (see Hucke, 1968). How firmly contrapuntal theory remained bound to this image of Palestrina is evident in Fux's *Gradus ad Parnassum* (1725), the most influential reformulation of contrapuntal theory in the period of incipient classical tonality. Fux gave the master in his dialogue the name Aloysius, denoting Palestrina, and named the pupil Joseph, meaning himself; he described Palestrina as 'the celebrated light of music ... to whom I owe everything that I know of this art and whose memory I shall never cease to cherish'. Through this powerfully influential treatise and other works the image of Palestrina remained vivid during the 18th century and into the 19th, when for the first time a more objective historical view became possible. In contrapuntal pedagogy he continued to be revered in works such as Bellermann's treatise (1862); this sought a more accurate representation of his style than that of Fux, which was felt to have been too much influenced by 18th-century idioms. In turn Bellermann's formulation has been wholly displaced in modern times by that of Jeppesen (*Kontrapunkt*, 1930), whose work was in turn based on exhaustive scholarly study of Palestrina's music. A parallel approach to contrapuntal technique through the work of Palestrina is provided by Andrews (1958).

In earlier historical writings Palestrina also remained the centre of attention while his contemporaries faded, and for generations a larger understanding of 16th-century music was impeded by the assumption that he was its fundamental culmination. Burney and Hawkins preserved an image that had already been established by such Roman epigones as Adami da Bolsena (in 1711) and Fornari (in 1749); as Hawkins put it, 'to enumerate the testimonies of authors in favour of Palestrina would be an endless task'. The first attempt at a truly comprehensive biography was that of Giuseppe Baini (1775–1844), whose monograph of 1828 is a vast mixture of erudition and hero-worship. It was immediately translated by Kandler, and the image created thus spread far and wide, eventually culminating in the wholly romanticized portrait of Palestrina painted by Pfitzner in his allegorical opera *Palestrina*, completed in 1915. A more objective trend was exhibited in the discussion of Palestrina by Ambros, whose knowledge of the 16th century was as comprehensive as the available monuments of his time permitted, and the anti-romantic tendency was also greatly fostered by Haberl's research and his editing of Palestrina's works. The great product of his leadership was the first truly complete edition of the music, based on the original sources and published in 33 volumes between 1862 and 1903 under his general editorship, with the collaboration of Theodor de Witt, Franz Espagne and Franz Commer. This edition, using original clefs and note values, is still a vital representation of Palestrina's works, even though a second fully complete edition, the *Opera omnia*, has sought to displace it. This latter edition was begun under Casimiri's editorship in 1938; since his death, volumes have been edited by Lavinio Virgili, Jeppesen (the Mantuan masses) and Lino Bianchi. It makes use of modern clefs and reduced note values and is based on a somewhat wider array of sources than had been known to Haberl. Nevertheless it too is likely to require addenda and revision as the advance of modern scholarship continues to facilitate a balanced understanding not only of Palestrina's achievement but of his complex role in the vast surrounding developments of his time as it increasingly becomes divested of the myths and legends that have distorted his reputation for too long.

WORKS

Editions: *Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina: Werke*, ed. F.X. Haberl and others (Leipzig, 1862–1907/*R*) [H]
Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina: Le opere complete, ed. R. Casimiri and others (Rome, 1939–87) [C]

Only those manuscript sources not given in edns or by Jeppesen in MGG1 are listed here.

MASSES

Missarum liber primus, 4–6vv (Rome, 1554) [1554]
Missarum liber secundus, 4–6vv (Rome, 1567) [1567]
Missarum liber tertius, 4–6vv (Rome, 1570) [1570]
Missarum liber quartus, 4–5vv (Venice, 1582) [1582]
Missarum liber quintus, 4–6vv (Rome, 1590) [1590]
Missarum liber primus, 4–6vv (Rome, 1591; as 1554 with 1 addl mass) [1591]
Missae quinque, liber sextus, 4, 5vv (Rome, 1594) [ded. dated 1593] [1593/4]
Missae quinque, liber septimus, 4, 5vv (Rome, 1594) [1594]
Missarum liber sextus, 4–6vv (Venice, 1596; as 1593/4 with 1 addl mass) [1596]
Missarum liber octavus, 4–6vv (Venice, 1599) [1599]
Missarum liber nonus, 4–6vv (Venice, 1599) [1599a]
Missarum liber decimus, 4–6vv (Venice, 1600) [1600]
Missarum liber undecimus, 4–6vv (Venice, 1600) [1600a]
Missarum liber duodecimus, 4–6vv (Venice, 1601) [1601]
Missae quatuor, 8vv (Venice, 1601) [1601a]
Works in 1585[5], 1592[1]

Marginal nos. refer to *ReeseMR*, pp.470ff; models are given in parentheses where known.

5 Ad coenam Agni (hymn), 5vv, 1554; H x, 105, C i, 125
9 Ad fugam, 4vv, 1567; H xi, 57, C iv, 74
29 Aeterna Christi munera (hymn), 4vv, 1590; H xiv, 1, C xv, 1
72 Alma Redemptoris mater (ant), 6vv, 1600a; H xx, 106, C xxviii, 148
75 Ascendo ad Patrem (own motet, 1572), 5vv, 1601; H xxi, 38, C xxix, 54
10 Aspice Domine (Jacquet, 1532), 5vv, 1567; H xi, 71, C iv, 91
82 Assumpta est Maria (own motet), 6vv; H xxiii, 97, C xxv, 209
44 Ave Maria (prayer), 4vv, 1594; H xvi, 1, C xxiii, 1
50 Ave Maria (unidentified), 6vv, 1596; H xv, 113, C xxi, 142
57 Ave regina coelorum (ant), 4vv, 1599a; H xviii, 1, C xxv, 1
85 Beatus Laurentius (ant), 5vv; H xxiii, 48, C xxiv, 194
91 Benedicta es (Josquin, 1520), 6vv; H xxiv, 72, C xxviii, 222
15 Brevis (free), 4vv, 1570; H xii, 50, C vi, 62
28 Confitebor tibi (own motet), 8vv, 1585[5]; H xxii, 110, C xxx, 163
98 De Beata Marie [Virginis] (i) [Mantuan], 5vv; C xviii, 83
99 De Beata Marie [Virginis] (ii) [Mantuan], 5vv; C xviii, 126
100 De Beata Marie [Virginis] (iii) [Mantuan], 5vv; C xviii, 162
6 De Beata Virgine (Mass IX, Credo I, Mass XVII), 4vv, 1567; H xi, 1, C iv, 1
19 De Beata Virgine (Mass IX, Credo I, Mass XVII), 6vv, 1570; H xii, 135, C vi, 175
16 De feria (Mass XVIII), 4vv, 1570; H xii, 66, C vi, 84
68 Descendit angelus Domini (H. Penet, 1532), 4vv, 1600a; H xx, 1, C xxviii, 1
39 Dies sanctificatus (own motet, 1563), 4vv, 1593/4; H xv, 1, C xxi, 1

43 Dilexi quoniam (H. Maffoni), 5vv, 1593/4; H xv, 84, C xxi, 105
38 Dominicalis (Masses XI, XII, Credo) [Mantuan], 5vv, 1592[1]; H xxxiii, 1 (see H xxx, 28)
55 Dum complerentur (own motet, 1569), 6vv, 1599; H xvii, 85, C xxiv, 117
52 Dum esset summus pontifex (ant), 4vv, 1599; H xvii, 23, C xxiv, 32
93 Ecce ego Joannes, 6vv; H xxiv, 129, C xxix, 197
1 Ecce sacerdos magnus (ant), 4vv, 1554; H x, 3, C i, 1
46 Emendemus in melius, 4vv, 1594; H xvi, 44, C xxiii, 61
25 Eripe me de inimicis (J. Maillard, 1559), 5vv, 1582; H xiii, 59, C, 79
81 Fratres ego enim accepi (own motet), 8vv, 1601a; H xxii, 74, C xxx, 110
4 Gabriel archangelus (P. Verdelot, 1532), 4vv, 1554; H x, 80, C i, 93
64 Già fu chi' m'ebbe cara (own madrigal, 1555), 4vv, 1600; H xix, 22, C xxvii, 30
80 Hodie Christus natus est (own motet, 1575), 8vv, 1601a; H xxii, 40, C xxx, 59
49 Illumina oculos meos (A. de Silva), 6vv, 1600; H xix, 109, C xxvii, 155
96 In duplicibus minoribus (i) [Mantuan], 5vv; C xviii, 1
97 In duplicibus minoribus (ii) [Mantuan], 5vv; C xviii, 42
101 In festis Apostolorum (i) [Mantuan], 5vv; C xix, 1
102 In festis Apostolorum (ii) [Mantuan], 5vv; C xix, 43
63 In illo tempore (P. Moulu, 1518), 4vv, 1600; H xix, 1, C xxvii, 1
83 In majoribus duplicibus (Mass II, Gloria I ad lib, Mass IX), 4vv; H xxiii, 1, C xxiii, 149
84 In minoribus duplicibus (Mass IV, Credo IV), 4vv; H xxiii, 26, C xxiii, 182
103 In semiduplicibus majoribus (i) [Mantuan], 5vv; C xix, 87
104 In semiduplicibus majoribus (ii) [Mantuan], 5vv; C xix, 129
40 In te Domine speravi (J. Lhéritier), 4vv, 1593/4; H xv, 22, C xxi, 26
61 In te Domine speravi (J. Lupi, 1532), 6vv, 1599a; H xviii, 91, C xxv, 131
7 Inviolata (seq), 4vv, 1567; H xi, 21, C iv, 26
14 Io mi son giovinetta [primi toni] (D. Ferrabosco, 1542), 4vv, 1570; H xii, 26, C vi, 30 (anon. in source)
32 Iste confessor (hymn), 4vv, 1590; H xiv, 54, C xv, 72
30 Jam Christus astra ascenderat (hymn), 4vv, 1590; H xiv, 15, C xv, 20
41 Je suis déshériteé (Lupi or P. Cadéac, 1533), 4vv, 1593/4; H xv, 44, C xxi, 52
23 Jesu, nostra redemptio (hymn), 4vv, 1582; H xiii, 29, C x, 38
21 Lauda Sion (own motet, 1563), 4vv, 1582; H xiii, 1, C x, 1
79 Laudate Dominum (own motet, 1572), 8vv, 1601a; H xxii, 1, C xxx, 1
17 L'homme armé (song), 5vv, 1570; H xii, 75, C vi, 97
24 L'homme armé (song), 4vv, 1582; H xiii, 45, C x, 60
54 Memor esto (own motet, 1572), 5vv, 1599; H xviii, 63, C xxiv, 86
35 Nasce la gioia mia (G.L. Primavera, 1565), 6vv, 1590; H xiv, 118, C xv, 161
33 Nigra sum (Lhéritier, 1532), 5vv, 1590; H xiv, 66, C xv, 89
53 O admirabile commercium (own motet, 1569), 5vv, 1599; H xvii, 38, C xxiv, 52
27 O magnum mysterium (own motet), 5vv, 1582; H xiii, 110, C x, 150
2 O Regem coeli (Silva, 1532), 4vv, 1554; H x, 32, C i, 35
74 O Rex gloriae (own motet, 1563), 4vv, 1601; H xxi, 22, C xxix, 30
86 O sacrum convivium (C. de Morales), 5vv; H xxiii, 71, C xxiv, 227
66 O virgo simul et mater (own motet, 1572), 5vv, 1600; H xix, 63, C xxvii, 89
71 Octavi toni [Festum nunc celebre] (hymn), 6vv, 1600a; H xx, 80, C xxviii, 114
89 Panem nostrum (prayer), 5vv; H xxiv, 20, C xxvii, 226
31 Panis quem ego dabo (L. Hellinck, 1532), 4vv, 1590; H xiv, 34, C xv, 44
12 Papae Marcelli (free), 6vv, 1567; H xi, 128, C iv, 167
88 Pater noster (prayer), 4vv; H xxiv, 1, C xxvii, 199
65 Petra sancta (own madrigal: Io son ferito), 5vv, 1600; H xix, 37, C xxvii, 52
22 Primi toni [secunda] (free), 4vv, 1582; H xiii, 15, C x, 19
37 Pro defunctis (Requiem Mass), 5vv, 1591; H x, 138, C i, 164
76 Qual è il più grand'amore (C. de Rore, 1550), 5vv, 1601; H xxi, 62, C xxix, 88
42 Quam pulchra es (Lupi, 1532), 4vv, 1593/4; H xv, 60, C xxi, 73
70 Quando lieta sperai (Rore, 1552), 5vv, 1600a; H xx, 50, C xxviii, 73
51 Quem dicunt homines (J. Richafort, 1532), 4vv, 1599; H xvii, 1, C xxiv, 1
67 Quinti toni (free), 6vv, 1600; H xix, 85, C xxvii, 120
69 Regina coeli (ant), 5vv, 1600a; H xx, 22, C xxviii, 32
73 Regina coeli (ant), 4vv, 1601; H xxi, 1, C xxix, 1
18 Repleatur os meum (Jacquet, 1538), 5vv, 1570; H xxi, 105, C vi, 136
47 Sacerdos et pontifex (ant), 5vv, 1594; H xvi, 60, C xxiii, 82
56 Sacerdotes Domini (unidentified), 6vv, 1599; H xvii, 113, C xxiv, 157
90 Salve regina (ant), 5vv; H xxiv, 46, C xxviii, 185
11 Salvum me fac (Jacquet, 1538), 5vv, 1567; H xi, 97, C iv, 126
45 Sanctorum meritis (hymn), 4vv, 1594; H xvi, 22, C xxiii, 30
26 Secunda (?own sequence: Veni Sancte Spiritus, 4vv), 5vv, 1582; H xiii, 85, C x, 115
34 Sicut lilium inter spinas (own motet, 1569), 5vv, 1590; H xiv, 95, C xv, 130
8 Sine nomine, 4vv, 1567; H xi, 41, C ix, 53
95 Sine nomine [Mantuan], 4 'voci mutati' C xix, 168
60 Sine nomine, 5vv, 1599a; H xviii, 64, C xxv, 93
36 Sine nomine [Beata Dei genetrix in *D-As* 181] (anon. motet: Cantabo Domine in *I-Rsc* G 792–5), 6vv, 1590; H x, 153, C i, 182
94 Sine titulo [Io mi son giovinetta] (D. Ferrabosco, 1542), 6vv; H xxxii, 10 (anon. in source)
13 Spem in alium (Jacquet, 1539), 4vv, 1570; H xii, 3, C vi, 1
62 Te Deum laudamus (hymn), 6vv, 1599a; H xviii, 119, C xxv, 172
48 Tu es pastor ovium (own motet), 5vv, 1594; H xvi, 85, C xxiii, 115
77 Tu es Petrus (unidentified), 6vv, 1601; H xxi, 86, C xxix, 123
92 Tu es Petrus (own motet, 1572), 6vv; H xxiv, 105, C xxviii, 268
20 Ut re mi fa sol la (hexachord), 6vv, 1570; H xii, 165, C vi, 216
87 Veni creator Spiritus (hymn), 6vv; H xxiii, 122, C xxv, 246
58 Veni sponsa Christi (own motet, 1563), 4vv, 1599a; H xviii, 21, C xxv, 30
59 Vestiva i colli (own madrigal, 1566), 5vv, 1599a; H xviii, 38, C xxv, 54
78 Viri Galilaei (own motet, 1569), 6vv, 1601; H xxi, 111, C xxix, 159
3 Virtute magna (M. Lasson, 1532), 4vv, 1554; H x, 55, C i, 62

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doubtful, considered authentic by Jeppesen: MGG1, x, cols.673–4

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MOTETS, ETC.

Motecta festorum totius anni cum Communi Sanctorum … liber primus, 4vv (Rome, 1563); lost, see Baini, i, 210 [1563]

Liber primus motettorum, 5–7vv (Rome, 1569) [1569]
Motettorum liber secundus, 5, 6, 8vv (Venice, 1572) [1572]
Motettorum liber tertius, 5, 6, 8vv (Venice, 1575) [1575]
Motectorum liber secundus, 4vv (Venice, 1584) [1584a]
Motettorum liber quartus ex Canticis canticorum, 5vv (Rome, 1584) (B dated 1583) [1584b]
Motectorum liber quintus, 5vv (Rome, 1584) [1584c]
Motettorum liber quintus, 5vv (Venice, 1595; as 1584c with 1 addl motet) [1595]
Works in 1563[3]; 1586[2]; G. Guidetti, ed.: Cantus ecclesiasticus officii maioris hebdomadae (Rome, 1587); 1592[2]; 1600[11]; 1609[1]; 1614[3]; 1616[7]

Accepit Jesus, 6vv, 1575; H iii, 123, C viii, 160
Ad Dominum cum tribularer, 4vv, 1584a; H v, 135, C xi, 26
Adjuro vos filiae, 5vv, 1584b; H iv, 52, C xi, 157
Adoramus te Christe, 4vv, 1584a; H v, 176, C xi, 78
Ad te levavi, 4vv, 1584a; H v, 130, C xi, 20
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Alma Redemptoris mater, 8vv; H vii, 73
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Angelus Domini, 8vv, *I-Rvat* C.S.294
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Ave mundi spes, 8vv; H vi, 111, C xxxiv, 29
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Ave regina coelorum 5vv, 1584c; H iv, 146, C xii, 80
Ave regina coelorum, 8vv, 1575; H iii, 150, C viii, 196
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Beatae Mariae Magdalenae, 5vv, 1569; H i, 54, C v, 69
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Beatus Laurentius, 5vv, 1569; H i, 61, C v, 79
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Benedictus Dominus, 4vv, in G. Guidetti: Cantus ecclesiasticus (Rome, 1587), p.36; see Jeppesen (1958)
Benedictus Dominus, 4vv, in G. Guidetti: Cantus ecclesiasticus (Rome, 1587), p.78
Benedictus Dominus, 4vv, in G. Guidetti: Cantus ecclesiasticus (Rome, 1587), p.112
Benedictus Dominus, 4vv, in G. Guidetti: Cantus ecclesiasticus (Rome, 1587), p.114; H xxxi, 169
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Domine Deus, qui conteris, 5vv, 1575; H iii, 85, C viii, 111
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Vergine bella (Petrarch), 1581; H xxix, 1, C ix, 1
Vincitrice de l'empia idra, 1594; H xxix, 137, C xxii, 40

INSTRUMENTAL WORKS

doubtful

Esercizi XI sopra la scala, a 4; H xxxi, 99
Ricercari VIII sopra li toni, a 4; H xxxii, 80

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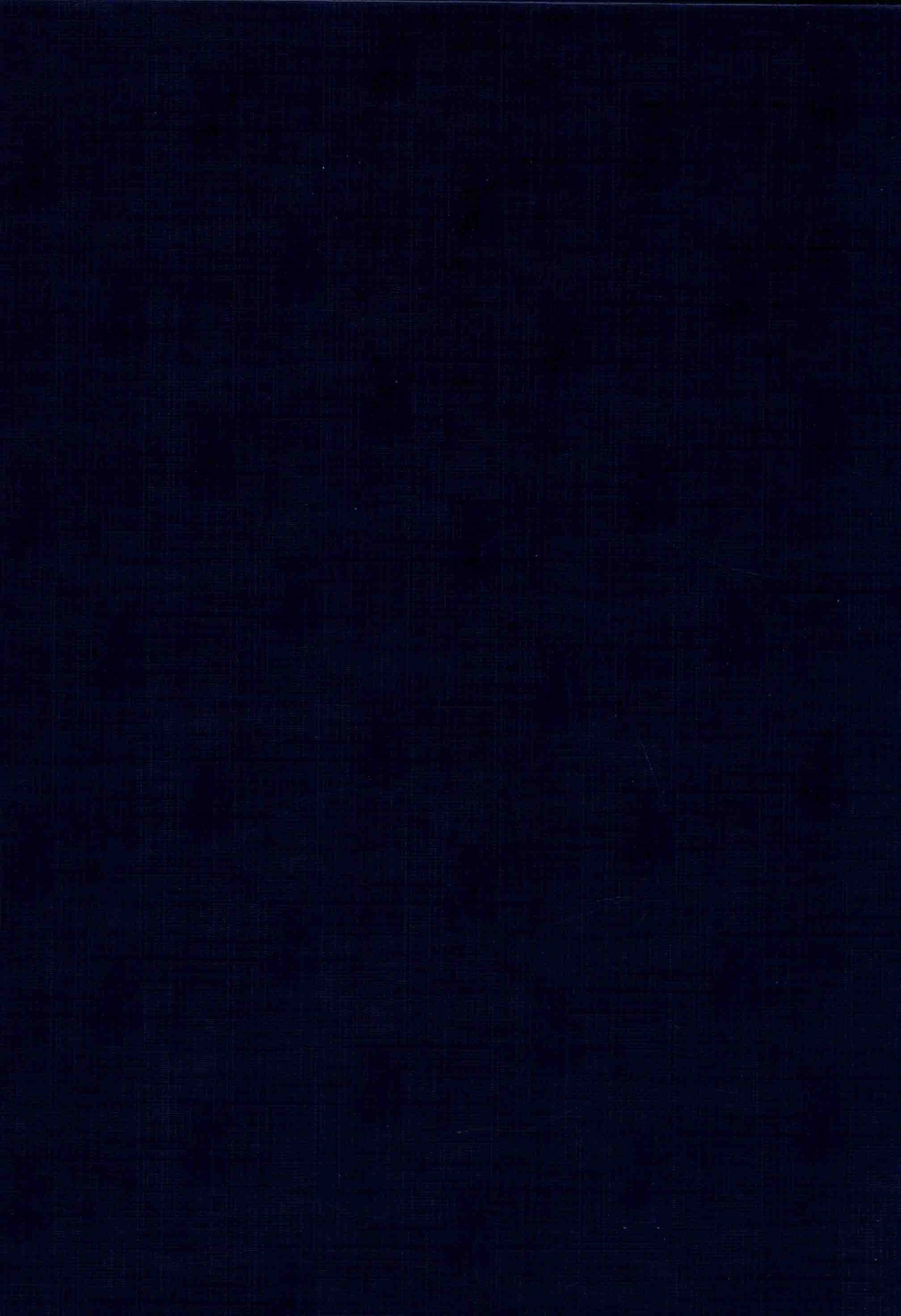
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